THE UNDERGRADUATE JOURNAL
of
THE UNH DEPARTMENT OF COMMUNICATION

COMM-EN-TARY

ART POLITICS LIFE CRITICS Stories STUDIES

The Editorial Board

A NOTE FROM OUR EDITOR

Dear reader,

Welcome to the 2018 edition of Comm-entary, the UNH Department of Communication's undergraduate research journal. For over 30 years, Comm-entary has served as showcase for exemplary student work produced in the Communication discipline. It gives Communication students the rewarding experience of showcasing the hard work that they put into research papers in their classes and it enlightens community members to the exciting and impressive breadth of research happening in the Communication discipline. Myself and the board of editors are excited to present to you this year's collection of nineteen examples of outstanding student scholarship. In the following pages you will find an abstract for each piece along with a short biography of the student. We invite you to read and view the works in full online at our website, mypages.unh.edu/commentary.

For the first time, Comm-entary is highlighting multimedia research productions in addition to traditional written research papers. This is part of a broader effort throughout the Communication department to extend the scope of student scholarship to include multimodal productions. CAMRA (Collective for Advancing Multimodal Research Arts), a newly-formed cohort of students and professors passionate about promoting multimedia research, solicited, reviewed, and edited video submissions for this issue of Comm-entary.

I would like to extend a special thank you to all the dedicated individuals who made this issue possible: our hard-working board of editors, our faculty advisor Professor Lin Zhang, our collaborators at CAMRA, the students who submitted their work to be included in Comm-entary, and all the professors in the Communication department who work tirelessly to instill a passion for the discipline in their students.

We hope you enjoy this year's edition of Comm-entary.

Sincerely,
Charlotte Harris, Editor-in-Chief

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ART THERAPY AND VIRTUES BETWEEN THE YOUNG AND OLD
BY ELLEN GIBBS

PROLOGUE

How sad it must be to grow old and alone.

That's what I first thought when Arlane commented that after treatment, she would go back home, back to her boyfriend Phil, who never really paid much attention to Arlane anyway. When Phil wasn't at the American Legion drinking a bud with his buds or yukking it up over golf, most of how he communicated with Arlane was deprecating. No, it wasn't Arlane's first relationship—that man, her acclaimed soul mate, passed away years before tragically, by some cause unknown to me. What she was left with were two, full grown sons, spread over the midwest and along the east coast, living out their 30s before hitting that mid life crisis moment.

How sad it must be to grow old and alone.

I thought, sitting in a semicircle in the sensory room during our daily needs group. As Arlane spoke, my annoyance for her tangents and rambles began to fade. In this seventy-something, French-inspired, laser blonde, wig-wearing senile, I saw a little girl who just wanted to be heard. She had been waiting her entire life to be heard, which explained why she had a hard time making friends on the unit (just for the record Arlane — any joke where the punchline includes Protestant and Jewish, isn't going to sit well with the millenials at dinner).

Yet despite the haters, Arlane grew on me. She found the soft part of my heart and poked a sparkle-pink acrylic nail right through it. Oh and yes, there were bad days, don't you forget it. Arlane, I don't want you to preach Bible verses during art therapy today. Arlane, I don't feel like repeating myself for the fifth time because you forgot your hearing aid. Arlane, I've been standing in line behind you at the med window for twenty minutes, now my yogurt is starting to get warm. But overall, she was good. I suffered through enough Hallmark movies with her to

realize that was a fact. Was it pity? Was it friendship? Was it a little of both? Yes, I decided. I pitied her loneliness and therefore volunteered to be her friend on the unit, as a result, I found out she's not as cuckoo as everyone thought. Isn't that how some friendships start? The kid sitting alone in the cafeteria, the one who gets picked last in dodgeball, the girl who would sit out during slow dances. That was Arlane in this case. I've been there too, the one not getting invited to *the* party, the one without a prom date, the one sitting alone on the bus (or worse, sitting next to the teacher). While at the time I thought these moments would haunt my existence into adulthood (which I found out, going into college, they actually made me cool) they actually gave me virtues of humility and modesty. It's these gifts that have made me into the person I am today. It's these gifts that brought me to where I am, brought me to Arlane, and inspired me to go to the senior living community where I met her in the first place.

PART I:
ART REHABILITATION TO STRENGTHEN THE AGING BRAIN

Humans are capable of two types of volitional action: mental and physical. They are interrelated through *psychomotor functioning*, in that volitional actions of the brain work together with the body when completing a task. The degeneration of these neural and cognitive skills are also dependent on each other. As we approach the late stages of life, there are certain actions that can avoid the inevitable age-related decline of the brain. Maintaining finely-tuned motor skills can lubricate the brain processes that are essential to learning, sensory, and memory.

That's where activities such as digital photography come into play. In a recent study, taking photos was proven to be a positive effect on individuals' enjoyment during varying levels of engaging activities. In this experiment, those who were given cameras on a tour of Philadelphia's landmarks rated the experience higher than those who were not allowed to take pictures. To emphasize this point, the study asked a second condition of participants to take photos during self-chosen, daily activities, considered to be mundane. Whether it was taking photos during a tour of historical sights or simply taking photos at a meal with family, each had results of increased enjoyment than if picture taking was not a factor.[1]

Art therapy and recreational activities like photography can be effective in delaying the onset of dementia, Alzheimer's and a risk of stroke can be effective through art therapy, recreational activities and specifically, photography. Studies in neuroaesthetics have been gaining momentum for its facilitation of healthy old age and its role in elderly care. For older patients who have already suffered traumatic injury to the brain, it can be used in line with a rehabilitation program.[2]

Several new programs designed for dementia and Alzheimer's patients reflect this new approach. MemVu, Inc. is a company that creates memory and brain games using photographs of an Alzheimer's or dementia patient's life. Unlike most art therapies, MemVu is based on an online social media platform. The virtual mind exercises are dedicated to vitally engaging memory and cognition. The National and Global Alzheimer's Association has recognized this practice as, "reminiscence therapy (therapy in which photos and other familiar items may be used to elicit recall)"[3], also referred to as *self-related knowledge training*, in which the AD patient's therapist

uses, "personal photos from all life periods to assess patients' memories more systematically… there is a set of stories, family photos… all of which can stimulate and support the patient's sense of personal continuity and identity."[4]

Several apps have been designed with this in mind as well. Both *Timeless* and My *Own Memory Lane* are designed to aid in memory recall by employing the same methods of customizable photographic slides and captions that can be used as familial reminders in elders with dementia. However social media platforms such as *Friendsome*, and *Spaced Retrieval Therapy* are useful in rehabilitation, they aren't necessarily concerned with patients' continuous maintenance of self-identity. The notion that *I'm still here* and fears of, *I haven't faded into the background* are among the areas that haven't been discussed nearly as much as the former. A study in *synaptogenesis* has, "shown that stimulus deficiency leads to neuroanatomical and neurofunctional losses in the cerebral cortex, whereas a stimulus enriched environment has an increased number of switching neurons, a higher degree of branching arborisation"[5] that is, increasing the number of neurons to promote the growth of dendritic trees (in order for synaptic interconnections, the foundation of learning and memory) to form.

That's why it's so important that for a photographer with AD or dementia is, "still able to choose a subject for his pictures, [despite that he] was no longer able to handle the camera… his wife took over the technical part [and] he was able to resume his hobby. The couple took pictures together: the husband was looking for interesting subjects (with obvious engagement and enjoyment) and [his] wife "pushed the button". After the pictures were developed, he was able to remember some of the subjects and was very proud of his creative activity"[6] proving that art therapy is constructive in preserving identity of self and self-esteem in elders with AD and dementia.

A study spanning two years, using the widely known *Geriatric Depression Scale (GDS)* by hospitals and health researchers alike for more than thirty years, showed dramatic results in correlation to art rehabilitation. Its specific design is used to measure depression in older populations. The study had one group incorporate creative arts, and a control group that was solely social interaction, (i.e., without art supplies, imagery and music) after the course of two separate ten-week programs, elders who participated in the arts had a lower score on the *GDS* scale (2.33) a staggering numerical difference to those who only had social interaction, (average being 4.27)[7]. The case also found that memories and stories were triggered in individuals of the group using imagery, which draws us back to the argument that facilitating human connection through photography can reduce depression. We can infer that decreasing depression increases endorphins such as dopamine, which has been linked to memory preservation and reduced conditions dementia.

Despite suffering two strokes, my grandma still kept her avocation for quilting. She says in relation to her works, "I react intuitively, always waiting on spirit for inspiration and guidance" and has been featured in publications including *Reader's Digest* and *The Quilting Company* magazine. Her quilts have been shown at exhibits abroad and nationwide, including the *Quilt San Diego — Quilt Visions*, the Sedgwick Cultural Center in Pennsylvania, and *The International Quilt Festival* in Houston, Texas, presented by *The Quilters Newsletter*.

My Grandmother's two strokes may have taken her ability to harness her emotions verbally, they may have taken her ability to control her anger, her frustration – but in no way did they take from her the freedom of artistic expression and creativity.

PART II:
IN THE END, WE ALL WANT THE SAME THING.

Wringing my hands nervously, looking about the room at sleeping, sagging, over the calf compression sock, high-waisted stretchy pants wearing bodies, I opened my mouth and said,

"Hi everyone, before we start I'd just like to —"

At which point one of the staff members said I might need to speak up. I nodded, started over several decibels higher, and this time a few more faces looked up.

"Could everyone take an index card and write down one of their fondest memories."

The moments we cherish are often paired with a photo or relic, it's photographic proof that we shared in a particular experience. We hold onto photos to look back on our achievements, yet photos also have the capacity to create ambition, vanity and meanness in the owner, and jealousy in other individuals. Vices such as these might explain why people take "selfies" wearing haute couture or why millennials will stand for twelve hours outside a hotel waiting for the chance to take a photo of (or even better, with!) Kim Kardashian. It's our way of saying, "I was there, I have proof." As a result, we have shaped ourselves into a society of skeptics and cynics, no thanks to mobile devices and social media.

Of course, these vices always existed, but with cameras being more accessible in today's world, with platforms to have them seen, our competitiveness and pride have intensified enormously. Combine that with our emotional attachment to smartphones and you have a recipe for disappointment due to our life-long search of permanence when there is none. You don't see most seventy year olds fumbling with their camera phones at the moment they see Dick Van Dyke or Betty White emerge from a limo, first, the digital-age gap from their generation has limited their awareness of these devices and in turn creates a social obstacle. Second, (as a result from the first) the vices found in photography are less intense in elders than millennial.

Drawing towards my final point: subtract cell phone cameras from the equation and what you will find is a similar response to my index card questionnaire between college-age students and a group of elders from Brookdale Senior Living. While yes, millennials are in love with their smartphones, but they aren't any more narcissistic than their previous generations. To emphasize my point, I compared the responses of elders to those of college students. It is what I leave you in my closing argument.

All of these responses are based off experiences and they overlap similarly in virtues of moral character. The virtues embedded in diligence and courage of endeavoring an Iditarod Trail Sled Dog Race are the same as a college student's cross-country road trip to Montreal, or flying to Los Angeles for a twelve week internship. One girl wrote, "the birth of my twin nephews" and

similarly, a woman at Brookdale responded with, "the day of my son's birth." Another strong correlation to the prompt comes from a college student who wrote, "when I was able to see all my family, immediate as well as aunts, uncles and cousins for the first time since June to decorate my grandmother's Christmas tree and have a family dinner" compared to an elder who had written, "family reunion."
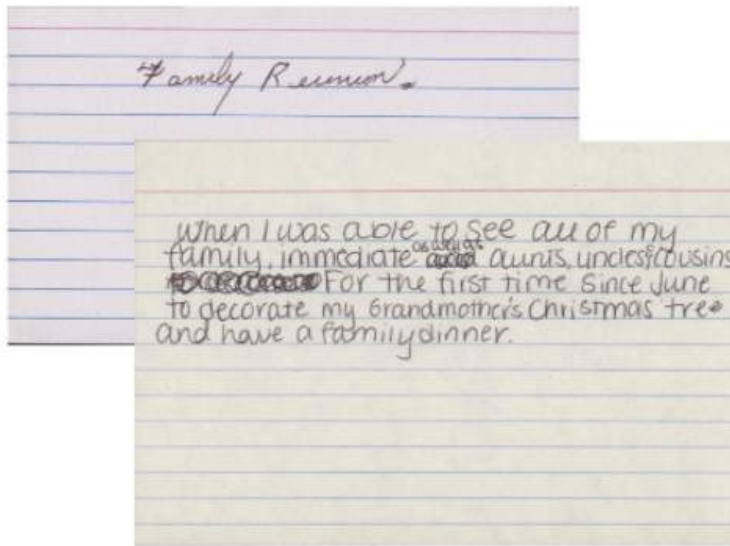
It can be said that elders and millennials alike share a particular set of common themes in memories of the passed. The part that most often gets misinterpreted by the media and ergo society, is that millennials only care about themselves. While there are certain people who fall into this category, the majority of humans, young and old, tend to demonstrate beliefs and virtues into overarching situations of life. The part we (the media, society) tend to exaggerate are the one's targeting millennials' vices, which can be more accessible now, as opposed to generations earlier, on our *de*-vices. If such things as camera phones, smartphones, and social media were out of *the picture*, you would find that what we all want in the end, is more or less the same.

The room slowly started to empty as nurses retrieved wheelchairs and assisted those supported with canes. At Brookdale, the residents were being summoned for their afternoon snack. A few shook my hand on their way out, others just held it, some waved, some gave me a wink and a nod. As I was leaving outside the main entrance, the blast of cold wind of a mid-November day draining whatever warmth I had left, was a young woman, perhaps mid-twenties, dropping off a patient.

"— and we're gonna have dinner with Mom and Dad tomorrow… *okay*? Alright, bye Grandma, love you!"

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REPRESENTATION IN THE MEDIA: THE GOOD, THE BAD, AND THE UGLY

BY HIWALANI KAPANUI

PART I: BACKGROUND AND RESEARCH

Introduction – Inspiration Behind the Project

My identity means the world to me, and knowing who I am and where I come from has a lot to do with what drove me to choose this topic. I am of Native Hawaiian, African American, and Asian descent, and growing up have often searched for images in the media, toys, or characters on TV that I felt I could personally identify with. The majority of time, however, that meant finding something that stereotypically represented me, represented me to an extreme, didn't represent me at all, or only represented part of me. Representation was something that I didn't know I had been seeking until I was eighteen.

In 2014, Disney started their casting for the lead role in the animated movie *Moana*. They were looking specifically for a young Polynesian girl between the ages of 14 and 25 to voice and sing as the lead character. This mainly piqued my interest because it was the first time I had ever seen or heard of Disney casting a character of color accurately. The only other time I could ever think of a Disney movie casting a role of color correctly is in the case of *Mulan*. Although I was skeptical of the *Moana* casting, I cannot deny that I didn't feel a sense of pride knowing that there would be a "Disney Princess" who I could identify with personally on some level.

Overall, *Moana* and its full Polynesian cast made the movie about Polynesian history and culture a complete success. I can personally say that, as someone of Polynesian descent who was very hesitant to give my full support to this movie, I found myself crying tears of joy and full of pride. After seeing *Moana*, I began to ask myself if representation is just about race or ethnicity. There have also been issues with representation as it applies to people who identify as transgender, who struggle with socio-economic issues, religious differences, and when dealing with mental illnesses, disabilities, eating disorders, and more. Representation is so important in the media because it influences the way we see, think, and form opinions on all of these things, as well as the people who deal with them, are affected by them, and lead these lives. In summary, the following essay is a creative nonfiction project which focuses on authenticity, honesty, and justice as it relates to representation in the media.

Representation in Media – What it is and Why it Matters

In its simplest form, media representation is defined as "how media, such as television, film and books, portray certain types of people or communities" (Tawil, 2016). The word "representation" itself has several definitions, but the one that applies to this particular topic would be that representation "functions through its ability to resemble something else casting representation as an object: 'an image, likeness, or reproduction…' (Vukcevich, 2002). Within media representation, the characters we pay attention to are characters we develop relationships with: we love them, laugh with them, cry with them, hate them, but we also grow with them overtime, and through it all they leave an impact on our lives.

That impact is part of why media representation matters, especially as it applies to a younger audience (Boboltz, 2017). When it comes to children and pre-teens who become subject to media representation, their minds are still developing, but they're also not at the age where they can scrutinize the things that they see and hear on their screens or what they don't see and hear (Boboltz, 2017). This is why it's important to have strong media representation. Strong and positive representations can help fight and break down stereotypes that can be detrimental to individuals and limiting to society" (Tawil, 2016). Representation is primarily important for minority or underrepresented communities in our society—those who wouldn't normally be prominent figures in the media. These groups include "women, people of color, LBGTQAI+ people, people with a range of body shapes and types, people of non-Christian religions, and differently-abled people" (Tawil, 2016).

For groups who are and feel underrepresented, having that one character or that one person who they feel they have connections with in one way or another can creating a lasting effect. And for those who don't identify in any personal way, just watching something with characters who belong to an underrepresented or minority group can serve as a "proxy," giving them insight on experiences they've never had to live through or will never have to live through (Brand, 2013). They assist in shaping their views on those specific communities, and in turn assist in shaping the way those people view themselves (Brand, 2013).

Lack of representation in media can result in something known as "symbolic annihilation:"
> *...the idea that if you don't see people like you in the media you consume, it means you must somehow be unimportant." (In a 1976 paper titled "Living with Television," researchers George Gerbner and Larry Gross coined the term with a chilling line: "Representation in the fictional world signifies social existence; absence means symbolic annihilation")* (Brand, 2013).

Symbolic annihilation also applies if the viewer is watching a character who looks just like them, but that character is behaving only in certain ways that don't reflect the breadth of the viewer's life experience. It's limiting that person's experience. For someone to see an "inauthentic" version of themselves, a very negative message is carried through that inauthenticity. "The message is: You're invisible. The message is: You don't count. And the message is: 'There's something wrong with me'...over and over and over, week after week, month after month, year after year, it sends a very clear message, not only to members of those groups, but to members of other groups, as well." (Brand, 2013). It's not fair and it's not right, and the reason that message can be so heavy is because of the reality that media creates meaning.

Media creates meaning across many axis: race, class, gender, sexuality, sexual orientation, and so on. Regarding the latter two, media plays an important role in the way we understand how sexuality plays in our identities, our history, our social institutions, and in our everyday lives. When it comes to media portrayal of sexuality and sexual orientation, it's important to consider the number of LGBT characters in the media, but also *how* they are represented in the media. The *how* is key, because when we see the same representations over and over, we start to internalize them and take them for granted. They become natural. We might accept these representations and think, "that's just the way things are," which can be extremely dangerous. Challenging that dangerous rhetoric and asking questions about media representations, the

people, and the industries behind those representations can help us think critically about the media.

PART II: CREATIVE MEDIA

Project Execution

I was originally planning on interviewing people and taking their pictures to create a "Humans of New York" type of blog. I felt that was going to be the most beneficial to the creative part of this project by getting stories from people who have experienced similar issues with representation in the media, or with people who have issues with how the media handles representation. The research element would then follow, which would serve to validate these experiences with scholarly literature. The final component deals with relating these experiences to the virtues of authenticity, honesty, and justice, but also, by finding the vices in each individual experience.

This plan did not go accordingly. As you read through my project findings, you'll see that it began with the expected results. I was able to find people from various age groups who provided examples that went along with my original intention of finding others who could identify racial and cultural representation in the media, both good and bad. "The Ugly" is where the project eventually evolved from representation to personal identification. I decided to include this evolution to highlight how representation means different things to the various people I interviewed for this project. I have also decided that I will no longer reveal their identities, and will use their initials instead.

Project Findings

I want to take the time to preface that while these interviews were conducted one on one with people in the UNH community, their words, opinions, and beliefs, do not reflect my own. They also do not reflect the overall character of that person. When it gets to "The Ugly," I'll be summarizing the conversation and not including what was said per request of and out of respect for those four individuals.

The Good *(Positive Examples of Racial & Cultural Representation)*
N.P.
She was born in Hawai'i in 1996 but moved to Massachusetts when she was one and has lived there her whole life. We met for the first time last fall when she joined Alpha Phi Omega, my co-ed community service fraternity. We both gushed over *Moana*, and when I asked her if she felt any connections or felt represented by the film at all, she told me that *Moana* was an insight into the place she was born and the culture she never got to know. She could remember what it was like watching the trailer for the movie for the first time, and how it made her feel overwhelmed with emotion.

"It was like coming home for the first time," she said, clearly emotional. "I just remember watching it and thinking to myself, 'that could've been me. That should've been me.' I saw myself in her and when I watched the movie, I could picture myself as her as a baby, leaving the island, leaving her home to go out and find whatever it is, and then when she returned home a little bit more mature, and a lot wiser, I thought 'that'll be me someday. Whenever I make the trek back to Hawai'i, that'll be me.

"*Moana* made me proud to be an islander." she said. "I never knew what that felt like. I mean, you get it don't you? That feeling of 'she's one of us,' I never had that before and I have that now with *Moana*. I mean granted I'm sure there's stuff that's wrong with it, but it was the start of a lot of things for me. And pride is one of those things."

T.J.
He's Dominican. I've only known him for about a year, but it's clear he is very proud to be from Puerto Plata, even though he's been in the United States for his entire life and hasn't been back to the Dominican Republic since he left. When I asked him if he's ever felt happiness from seeing his race, ethnicity, or culture being portrayed in the media, he immediately tells me about how much pride he felt when he went to see *Rogue One: A Star Wars Story* for the first time. He felt like casting Diego Luna as the main male lead, Cassian Andor, gave justice to his community.

      "Your community?" I asked. "You mean the hispanic community?"

      He laughs at me. "Yeah, they let him keep his accent and everything, and do you remember that post? The one from Tumblr, about that girl who took her dad to see the film (Loughrey, 2017)?"

      I nodded. "I do, he was happy because Diego kept his accent."

      "Exactly, that's how I felt. I was so shocked. I mean, in the other one, Finn, he's British in real life, you know? But they made him have an American accent. They didn't do that to Diego Luna. And then there was the pilot! He was Pakistani, and he was important too. That blew my mind. To see how they allowed this in one of the biggest movie franchises in the world? I walked out of that theater with my head held high."

P.H.
A professor that I interviewed felt a sense of pride when she saw *Princess and The Frog*, which featured the first African-American Disney princess from New Orleans. She was also pleased with the portrayal of Princess Tiana as a strong and hardworking alpha female, because that is what she knows black women to be.

"When you grow up in the South, black women like Tiana are everywhere. Hardworking, the boss – not bossy, the boss, there's a difference – independent, loyal, caring, and in control. My mother was like that. She was like Superwoman. To see Tiana be like that, a strong woman from the south as a princess in a Disney film, that was revolutionary. I had just graduated high school when that movie came out, and I remember thinking to myself, 'I hope this makes young black girls feel just as good as I do.' And the woman who voiced her, Anika Noni Rose, she was also in *Dreamgirls* right alongside Beyoncé, Jennifer Hudson, and Sharon Leal. Those are some strong black women. I know this is your project, but can I ask you, how old were you when you saw it?"

      "I think I was just about to go into the eighth grade. My teacher took a couple of us to see it during the summer after we helped her clean the classroom."

      "So you were in Hawai'i. Were you the only black girl in the theater?"

      "I don't remember." I honestly didn't. "But I do remember thinking that Tiana reminded me of my mom."

      My professor smiles—the same knowing smile she's given me all semester. "Exactly. Because that's what good representation is. Because that's what you and I both know black

women to be. Notice how Tiana didn't need a man, she didn't want that frog, but she grew to love him on her own. No one told her to, she made her own decisions and made up her own mind. I know Disney has a lot of problems, but I feel like they made some good choices with Tiana."

The Bad (*Negative Examples of Racial & Cultural Representation*)

N.A.
A female student that I interviewed is from Pakistan, and voiced her issues to me with casting Naomi Scott as Princess Jasmine in the new live action film for *Aladdin*.

"What's your main problem with casting Naomi as Princess Jasmine?"

She's quick to answer, and says "Isn't it obvious? They put this 'white passing' British-Indian woman in a role that should go to a Middle Eastern woman, but they picked Naomi instead because she's going to appeal to audiences and because she can sing. That's not authentic at all. Jasmine is supposed to be based off of Princess Badroulbadour from 'One Thousand and One Nights.' Do you know her story?"

I nod. "I know her as Princess Shahrazad, my father gave me 'Arabian Nights,' when I was twelve."

"Exactly, and she's nothing like Princess Jasmine was in the cartoon, and nothing like how she will be in the live action movie. It's supposed to be based off of Arab culture. The girl they casted isn't. Disney literally had a plethora of people to choose from, and once again, they chose wrong."

S.B.
She's another student I know who is also from Hawai'i and still lives there. She had serious problems with actor Zach McGowan, who was casted for a role in *Ni'ihau* where he would be portraying Ben Kanahele, a Native Hawaiian war hero:

> *"Kanahele rescued Shigenori Nishikaichi, an Imperial Japanese Navy Air Service pilot who participated in the bombing of Pearl Harbor, after he crashed his plane onto the Hawaii island of Ni'ihau. After Nishikaichi escaped and banded with three local Japanese to terrorize American locals, Kanahele and his wife ultimately killed him. Kanahele, who was shot by Nishikaichi, was later hailed by the U.S. government as a hero for helping prevent a takeover on the island" (Nyren, 2017).*

"They look nothing alike." She says to me, and pulls up a picture on her phone to show me proof (even though I already know.)

I can tell she feels satisfied when I agree with her.

"Does that even make sense?" She says, "that's just downright disrespectful. That's whitewashing. The fact that Zach's also a producer on the film is even worse. How are you ever going to allow a white actor to play a Native Hawaiian war hero? It's like no one in Hollywood learned anything from the shit-show that was *Aloha*."

I laugh at that. It was terrible. They tried to pass Emma Stone's character off as being part Hawaiian, featured Bumpy Kanahele (no relation to Ben, that I know of) who's the leader of the "Sovereign Nation of Hawai'i" and made a mockery of much of the island and its culture. It was, indeed, a shit-show.

"I hope they rethink the film altogether," she said. "I don't feel comfortable with it being made and I hope they understand what kind of responsibility they're taking on if they choose to continue to make the movie and not cast correctly. It's not a good choice, and I can already tell it's going to plague us the same way that *Lilo and Stitch* did, and the same way that *Moana* is currently doing."

A.R.

Here we see a shift from criticism the characters in film to the actual people who are part of the media. This person is also a UNH student and is Puerto Rican, just like Lin-Manuel Miranda. However, he feels as though Miranda is not an "authentic hispanic male," because he's a minority who plays into an elitist society.

"*Hamilton* is meant to be for the people, and about the people, but the so called people this man keeps talking about can't afford to see the story that's supposedly about them. He's a sellout."

"What about when he made *In the Heights?* that was a successful show."

"But that wasn't on the same level of success. *In the Heights* wasn't something that attracted white people to come and pay. '*Heights*' was his way of telling the story about what it's like to be Hispanic and grow up in a shitty Washington Heights barrio. No one gave a shit about that story because it's a story about the poor hispanics most people want out of this country. But a story about the white dudes who founded this country? Everyone wants to see that, even if one of them was an immigrant."

"How does all of this make Lin-Manuel Miranda a sellout, though?"

"Because he's forgotten all about the '*Heights,*' and what that meant. Because now he's making money, money he's giving back to Puerto Rico, sure, but he's also not giving away tickets so people can see the show. Those same people he's giving money to in Puerto Rico he wouldn't give a damn ticket to. He only cares when it's time to care. That's not real. That's not how it goes. You stick up for your people and you do whatever you can to represent them. He doesn't represent me, or Puerto Rico, or anyone. He just wants money."

The Ugly *(Beyond Racial & Cultural Representation)*

E.C.

This is another friend of mine who I've known since high school. She grew up watching Selena Gomez, and was happy to have a strong Latina woman as her role model. When she started dating Justin Bieber, however, her mind changed. She started to view Selena as submissive and weak as a result of her relationship, and felt that in turn, Selena was making Latina women as a

whole look weak and submissive. She felt as though Selena wasn't being an "authentic Latina woman," because in her mind, Latina women have always been strong alpha females.

D.B.
This friend of mine felt like he could relate to Kevin Hart because they are both black men who grew up in Philadelphia under similar circumstances. When times got tough for him, he often thought, "if Kevin can make it, then I can make it." Earlier this year, when Kevin Hart was caught in a cheating scandal, he lost this interviewee's respect. When I asked him why, he said that it was because he felt that Kevin is making black men look bad. When I asked him if he felt the same way when Kevin cheated on his first wife (with his current wife, then girlfriend), he said that he wasn't a fan of Kevin then, so it didn't impact him as much.

S.P.
This particular interviewee is my roommate. She started dating her first boyfriend ever at the end of 2015, and has been in this relationship for the past two years. She told me that she felt specific connections to Madison Beer and Jack Gilinsky in regards to their relationship dynamic, because she felt like their relationship was something she aspired her relationship to be. They took many cute couple photos and went on a lot of cute dates, and she found it to be something she hoped to emulate in her own relationship. This perspective changed earlier this year, when an audio file leaked of the couple arguing after they broke up, which featured Jack calling Madison a slut and a bitch. Once she realized how toxic their relationship really was, she didn't want any part of their relationship to be present in her own.

K.J.
The final interviewee felt strong connections to Beyoncé, and felt like Beyoncé was the "strong black woman" she always aspired to be. She dreamed that one day she'd grow up and have the marriage that Beyoncé and Jay-Z had—going strong, together for years, and no one but the two of them knew their own personal business. But when "Lemonade" came out, she changed her mind and took notes from what Beyoncé was saying. She developed an "I don't need a man" mentality, and stopped looking for a potential husband. However, when Beyoncé didn't divorce Jay Z like this interviewee had hoped, she stopped admiring Beyoncé and liking her altogether.

PART II: THE END

Conclusion
Looking at the collective result of my findings, I am overall pleased with the fact that my project developed its own unexpected evolution. I was satisfied with "The Good," and "The Bad," because ultimately it was something I had anticipated when I originally set out to collect the data. I was very apprehensive when I reached "The Ugly," because I wasn't anticipating this kind of interpretation of representation, and I didn't think that I would be able to continue with my project if it was going to continue to go in that direction. After thinking about it and discussing it with Professor Healey, however, I can honestly say that I am more than satisfied with the outcome.

I also think that it's important to remember that representation was noted for having several definitions, one of them being that representation is "the fact of standing for, or in place of, some

other thing or person," (Vukcevich, 2002). This definition certainly applies to the ways in which my interviewees under "The Ugly" category interpreted what I meant by representation. In that respect, it has enlightened me into a whole new possibility of what representation can mean for a lot of people.

When it comes to the authenticity aspect of this project, I think it's evident that everyone has a clear grip on how they viewed authenticity in their examples of representation. As it applies to representation and the kind of representation that leaves an impact on our lives, I can say that while *Moana* affected me on a multitude of axes, I can also name other movies and TV shows that have had a lasting effect on me by different facets of representation. *Harry Potter* and its legendary saga will always have a special place in my heart. My mom used to read the books to me, and when the first movie came out, my parents chaperoned when our school brought us to the midnight screening.

(November 15th, 2001 - Honolulu, HI)

It became a tradition that every year after that until my parents separated that we would go out to see *Harry Potter* on the day it came out. That series encompassed ten years of my life, and to this very day I can honestly say that I will never get tired of watching those films. I identified with multiple characters and their struggles on the show, though many of them did not represent me the same ways in which *Moana* did. *Harry Potter* will always be a huge part of who I am, and I can say now that I find representation within those films.

September 2017 (Left), July 2016 (Right) - Universal Orlando

Another show that has had a lasting impact on my life is the MTV series, *Teen Wolf*. While I agree that not all of the show is wonderful, the show aired around the same time that I had moved to Manchester, New Hampshire, from Hawai'i. I was going through a severe depression and was having a very hard time adjusting to high school. Lo and behold, so was Scott McCall, protagonist and hero of *Teen Wolf*. He's starting high school, trying to go through the motions and make it on the lacrosse team. Suddenly he's bitten by a werewolf and has to learn what it means to be one and to navigate through this new change.

We both were going through some really awful things at the same time, and as the show continued and Scott changed, my life in Manchester went on and I began to change. That show stuck with me these past seven years. *Teen Wolf* ended recently after only six seasons, right before my senior year of college began. Before the show ended in July of 2016, I went and got a spontaneous tattoo at a tattoo convention in Manchester. I decided to get something to commemorate how much *Teen Wolf* had impacted my life.

Individually, the tattoo consists of symbols belonging to two characters: Scott and his love interest, Allison Argent. The two circles represent the two rings around Scott McCall's arm, and eventually ended up representing his "pack" symbol. The arrow in the middle represents the bow and arrow which belonged to Allison, who died in season three. Collectively, the tattoo represents growth and perseverance through struggle, but it also represents my journey from then to now, and how my journey will always continue until I hit the target and get to where I want to go. I know it's not the most grand gesture or outstanding tattoo, but the show has meaning to me, and that's part of what media representation is and what this whole project is about: creating and giving meaning.

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EDM: SPIRITUALITY IN SOUND
BY ABIGAIL LEHNER

Dancing to the rhythm of beats, pumping your fists with the pounding of the bass, opening your eyes to see the crowd in front of you where smiles light up the crowd as every individual listens to the music. A unique blend of upbeat, rhythmic sounds in combination with shocking bass drops is a defining feature of electronic dance music. That, and its ability to bring together diverse groups of people for one similar purpose: to dance. Electronic Dance Music (EDM) is exactly what the phrase sounds like. The use of electronic, synthesized sounds are mixed into works of musical art that evokes a reaction that compels people to dance. While this genre of music may not be for everyone, those who enjoy it can easily find a community that celebrates its uniqueness. People have found a love for electronic music since the early rave scenes of the late '80s. Electronic music has further developed with the diverse expansion of technology and mixing systems, along with the easy accessibility to spread music with the use of the Internet. Now, there are worldwide festivals dedicated solely to EDM with the aim of bringing together music lovers from all different backgrounds and uniting them for the love and appreciation of dance. Bringing together groups of people for the similar appreciation of music creates an environment that welcomes and celebrates peace, love, unity, and respect.

In this research paper, I explore the fundamentals of EDM culture and further investigate what makes it such a unique community. The evolution of electronic music has seen times of underground movements and rejection from the mainstream, but now has transitioned being a popular and well-recognized genre of music. Beginning as raves, EDM is an evolved form of rave culture; therefore, I use the term rave/EDM interchangeably. While EDM may be more popular than ever before, there are still negative beliefs that this culture only exists because of selfish undertones and connotations of festival commoditization and drug use. These negative elements have perhaps taken away from the authenticity of appreciation of the music, yet are still relevant in how the community comes together. While many popular music events are largely advertised and expensive to participate in, there are still smaller communities that appreciate rave culture for it's fundamental message of peace, love, unity, and respect, otherwise known as PLUR. The main focus of this research highlights the importance of EDM and how this community can bring together people to create a loving, accepting environment where individuals can find transcendence in music, dance, and unity.

EDM Through the Ages and Beyond

EDM has evolved drastically throughout the years. Electronic music was developed with the introduction of computers and sound mixing software in the mid-80s. EDM was not even a genre of music during this time, but rather underground rave culture was the big thing. Starting as an underground scene in parts of Chicago and the UK, rave culture was on the rise with the introduction of a genre of music called "acid house". This music was generated from early DJ-ing equipment that could record, mix, and create rhythmic beats that created a new, unique style of music that fueled the dance scene for those who wanted to party. Underground parties soon gained popularity among these growing cities, and raves were the source of a new community that shared this appreciation for new, interesting music that brought together people who shared a love for dancing.

"Raves began as an underground movement, where a group of like-minded people would get together and dance (in an enhanced state of consciousness) to all types of electronic music. Raves created a magical environment where people could dance for hours. Rave was founded on groundbreaking electronica and innovative DJs, but the scene encompassed more than just that. Laser lights, fashion and open-minded attitudes helped to build and spread the scene. It was only natural that a movement so magical would grow to epic proportions" (Simms 1). While the music was the most vital element to the rave community, another defining factor that made rave culture so unique was the wild style of dress. In the 80's, big hair, neon clothing, and anything beyond normal were growing trends within the decade. Taking it to the next level, underground raves were a fashionista's paradise, where the wilder was better. Often styling neon colors and psychedelic designs, fashion was a growing trend among rave culture. It was not uncommon to see festive tutus, sparkly attire, and glow bracelets up to the elbows. The colorful craze of rave culture was one of the fashion trends that developed into one of the most important elements of rave culture, along with the ever-evolving progression of its music style. As technology developed, rave music was transitioning towards becoming defined as EDM, where deep bass drops and upbeat tempos created a lively environment that urged people to go wild. And people loved it.

As rave culture began to develop throughout the years, the fundamental principles became apparent among its participants, and the foundation of this scene was based upon acceptance and community. A popular trend that developed within rave culture is the trading of colorful, plastic beaded bracelets that are referred to as "kandi". These bracelets are often neon colored; sometimes glow in the dark, with various words or phrases spelled out in lettered beads. While these started off as a simple eye catching fashion trend in the growing years of EDM, the bracelets soon became a signature token to be exchanged amongst new friends within the rave culture. You can often see people with kandi looped around their wrists up to their elbows, sometimes tied around their legs, and even eccentric creations of masks, headbands, or entire outfits made entirely of beads. Often time, these insane amounts of bracelets are accumulated through trade, where ravers will do a signature handshake to give or trade kandi with one

another. This handshake has originated by perhaps one of the most important principles within rave culture, which is the celebration of virtues of peace, love, unity, and respect (PLUR). The handshake begins by making a peace sign (P), where two people will touch hands while holding up the symbol for peace. Then comes love (L), where the two participants cup their hands to make one half of a heart, and then combine hands to make it whole. Unity (U) is symbolized by simply holding one hand up against the other, so your fingers and palms are held against each other's. And the final step is respect (R), where the partners will intertwine fingers to hold each other's hand. From there, while they are holding hands, they will loop a bracelet from their arm to the other person's wrist,

therefore trading bracelets as a sign of PLUR. PLUR is a fundamental element that makes the EDM community.

Most everyone within this music scene is accepted and can sometimes be appreciated by either dancing with one another, trading kandi, or simply just admiring one's presence in being one part of a whole community. The EDM community has now widely expanded, especially with the variety in styles/sub-genres of EDM, numerous artists, producers, musicians, and the hundreds of festivals and events that are available for nearly anyone to join. There are worldwide, annual festivals that celebrate EDM, bringing together people from all over the world to one location in celebration of this genre of music. Many of these events are well known, such as Tomorrowland, Electric Daisy Carnival (EDC), Electric Zoo, ULTRA, and many more worldwide, reoccurring festivals. Along with this, many DJs will go on tour for smaller scale concerts, along with more local, reoccurring events in local areas. Wicked Halloween, Boston Boat Cruise Summer Series, and New Years Eve events are popular within the Boston/Massachusetts area. There are hundreds of venues and events, specifically aimed at the EDM lovers since its community has expanded so drastically throughout the years. Yet with the influx in popularity, it is debatable whether all of these participants who are now buying access into the community are truly authentic appreciators of EDM. Do these people purchase these expensive tickets to festivals because they are there for the music, the community, or simply just to be another face, hopeful to be noticed amongst the crowd?

Psychedelics and Purchasing: The Commodification of Festivals
Within EDM festivals, there are many components that make this scene so unique from other genres of music. While music is the ultimate driving factor of the community, there are less positive elements that can create negative perceptions of the culture. Looking into a crowd of ravers, you may see crazy attire, loving gestures, and out of control dance moves. These unique features of the EDM scene may seem completely acceptable to one who is familiar with the culture, but from an outsider's perspective, this behavior may seem odd. This brings into the question the authenticity amongst the EDM community, whether these gestures of appreciation are an expression of one's true selves or rather induced because of drugs or even a commodified idea of what EDM festival culture should be.

One may guess that the only rationale for these eccentric differences within the community would be because of the influence of drugs or corruption within the EDM scene. Many ravers use psychedelics such as molly, LSD, or mushrooms, especially since these party drugs are claimed to hype up or energize users throughout long days of dancing. Taking these drugs will take the user to another level of being, some claiming that it can help reach a state of euphoria or transcendence. When these substances influence the brain, it can change the behavior of the user. Some people may become totally immersed in the music and become hypnotized by certain visual or sound elements at a show. Others become extremely affectionate and loving, which can be seen as an important element of rave culture, especially when following the fundamentals of PLUR. Some observers criticize these elements, such as author Graham St. John, who claims that claiming those in the EDM culture were "mesmerized by the influence of drugs", where people were "dancing, getting lost in the rhythm and sound," but also becoming "loved up" and "on one". The author discusses how people lose sight of their selves and let go to become apart of this "seductive absence". Once ravers use drugs to heighten their experience and interactions,

they may not act as they would normally. Psychedelic drugs have the ability to alter one's perceptions and behavior, which is why it is argued that these people are no longer being their true selves. However, some users believe that the use of drugs simply enhances their expressions and are even more authentic than before, since they feel more enlighten and are not held back by social constraints. Therefore, it is easier to let themselves go and reach an even deeper level of connection with the music, the dancing, and the people.

People do not need to participate in drug-related activities in order to be an authentic member of the community, but rather they should focus on the virtues that encompass the meaning of being a lover of EDM. Though drugs are commonly used at EDM concerts and festivals, they are not an essential to the culture's core fundamentals. Author Lauren Duca speaks of EDM culture in her article, *The Truth About EDM Culture Beyond All Those Drug Use Statistics.* The festival community is a unique form of therapy where people come together to celebrate not only the music, but to create a unique environment that is inclusive of all types of people. The article also speaks to the popular trends of drug usage in the EDM community, but argues that drugs are not what create the foundation of the culture. Rather, what brings the culture together are the people who share similarities in music taste and a willingness to dance. People who want to participate in this community should have open perspectives and be accepting of others, which create a unique environment of unity and respect.

Within recent years, the prices of EDM festival tickets have escalated to outrageous prices. Festivals last anywhere from 3-4 days, typically over a weekend, where multiple musicians are scheduled to play on separate days. This is a clever plan made by the promoters, which persuades customers to purchase multi-day tickets in order to see all of their favorite with purchasing multi-day tickets, the price increases drastically. A single day ticket can range anywhere from $100-$100, while multi-day passes range more towards $400-$500. This is simply just a ticket pass, which allows general admission to the festival grounds. Of course, there are more exclusive deals, which often include extra amenities such as early admission, VIP seating, and even package deals that include access to camping, hotels, or other lodging services. It is worth considering how people are able to afford these tickets, and how these festivals still continue to get more and more participants with each coming year. Are there more music lovers becoming aware of particular genres, or rather are there just more wealthy people who are able to afford this luxury and therefore buy festival passes just because they can? Whether these people are authentic music lovers can't be determined, but surely, not all of them can truly understand EDM culture.

Many festivalgoers will indulge themselves in the music component of EDM, yet not all fully understand the virtues of the culture. Someone can purchase a ticket to a large-scale festival and not even heard of the artists, yet they believe that this environment is going to be fun and exciting because of what they believe to be true of the community. Anyone can purchase tickets to an EDM event, dress the part in wild attire, and dance to the music. This does not make them an authentic participant; rather, they are simply putting on a mask in order to fit in with the rest of the crowd. Because of this, it can be difficult to distinguish between those who are and are not authentic. Yet discriminating against those who are not familiar with EDM can be seen as counteracting the fundamentals of the culture. The EDM community strives on its virtues of being peaceful, loving, and respectful, where we all exist in unity with one another. Therefore,

rejecting someone based on his or her authenticity is a rejection of the culture in itself. Instead, most of the community will attempt to immerse newer participants to demonstrate the ethics and values that create the culture. This is done through previously addressed actions, such as the trading of kandi, loving and appreciative behaviors, and of course, perhaps the most important element, dancing together to the music.

Following Music to find Spirituality and Transcendence

Along with all the virtues and ethics of the EDM culture, the one reason this community exists in the first place is because of the music. The intricate beats and build-ups of EDM make it easy for listeners to get involved in the song and dance along. EDM in particular has audible build-ups and steady pulses that make it predictable when a beat drop will hit (a drop referring to a drastic change in rhythm, usually predicted by an acceleration of beats that build up to the drop).

Various artists and musicians have developed this particular style of music over the years. Some of the biggest names in EDM now would be Tiesto, Porter Robinson, Diplo, Skrillex, Deadmau5, Avicii, Zedd, Martin Garrix, Calvin Harris, Hardwell… just to name a few. There are countless of new and upcoming EDM artists who are making a huge impact on the music industry. In a way, these musicians serve as role models to those who follow the EDM community, since they are praised and in some way worshiped for the music they create. These musicians are providing their audience with a unique, evolving genre of music that evoke euphoric feelings of dance and celebration. Listeners have claimed to find transcendence and spirituality through EDM, especially when they are in a festival environment and feel as though they can mutually connect with others in the community. The way that music can make one feel is unexplainable, yet can make listeners feel as though they have tuned into another level of transcendence and spirituality.

Music has been incorporated into human's lives from early ages of existence, often celebrated in religious gatherings. People can find solace and serenity in music, especially when paired with lyrics that give it special meaning. The way that music speaks to us can be seen as a higher power of transcendence, where one can experience sounds through a deeper understanding of themselves and their environment. Music has been compared to religious practices, where one can find spiritual transcendence during their listening experiences. Religion and spirituality are two different subjects, but are still related to one another. In the article *Why is Music a Language of Spirituality,* author Iris M. Yob claims that spirituality is born of our religion, where she claims that spirituality is a kind of knowledge and what it is a cognitive realm in the "way of knowing". Realizing this pattern of thought can then allow oneself to go beyond religious practice and take time to know about the things that brings them feelings of spirituality. Though music is not a religion, it can create similar feelings that could be compared to prayer or hymns, where they become engaged in either listening or dancing to songs.

Within EDM, listeners can become vitally engaged in the music, especially within a festival setting, where we previously address that participants can "let themselves go" while they are dancing. This engagement in EDM demonstrates the "flow" that people find when they are in an environment that urges people to participate in dance. People will listen to music, following the beat and rhythm, and almost mindlessly dance along with the sounds. This act of thoughtless participation is not one of absence or ignorant behaviors, but rather it is the vital engagement of participants, where they are able to connect meaning and action together through dancing. There

is a mutual understanding among the crowd that dancing is an expression of meaning, where one can convey happiness, energy, and fulfillment through their actions. These emotions expressed through dance truly encompass the virtues practiced within the EDM community, where the message is to spread positive energy through dance, ultimately relating back to the fundamentals of PLUR.

Personal Engagement

One of the main reason I have chosen this topic to conduct research on is because of my own personal experiences within the EDM community. Going back to 2015, my first festival was in New York City at a popular EDM festival event called EDC. Popular artists such as Flux Pavilion, Calvin Harris, and Tiesto were playing, which were some of my favorite artists within the EDM genre. Upon arriving, I was astonished by how vast the festival grounds were, located in the parking lot of the MetLife stadium with 5 separate stages to travel back and forth to. Within minutes of my arrival, I was approached by a girl dresses as a hula dancer, who complimented my outfit, as I was dressed as a mermaid. She asked me if she could give me kandi, which with much ignorance, I assumed was simply a sweet, edible candy. Yet she held out her hand and instructed me how to properly trade kandi with a special handshake that represented PLUR. She gave me a blue, beaded bracelet with a Hawaiian flower and a dangling mermaid charm. I was flattered by her sweet gesture, but did not realized that this would be the first of many trades I would engage in throughout the day.

By the evening, both my wrists were completely covered with kandi. Countless people approached me while I was dancing to the music, telling me that I was awesome, full of life, and an inspiration. I believe that my popularity amongst the crowd was due to the fact that I am in a wheelchair, yet these acts of kindness demonstrate the appreciation for diversity amongst the EDM community. I was simply dancing and having a good time, not thinking that my presence there was anything worth acknowledging. But I realized soon enough that my disability made a positive impact, for I was demonstrating that regardless of any differences I may endure, I was at this festival to celebrate the music and share that appreciation with others around me. I was able to dance with so many energetic people, smiling the entire time, and spreading positivity to each person I met. I had meaningful and deep conversations with complete strangers, with no regard to their appearance or character. Rather, I was so focused on spreading positivity to every person I saw, since I had been treated with such respect and love by anyone else I had met. I quickly realized that the EDM community is where I belonged, and each person who participated along my side was there for the same purpose I was: to appreciation the music, to dance along, and celebrate people who can come together to share and spread love.

Conclusion

EDM is perhaps one of the most unique genres of music that brings together a community that wishes to practice peace, love, unity, and respect. These behaviors, along with the upbeat music and energetic dancing, are the core values held amongst the EDM community. There are less positive components of this culture, such as drug usage and the commodification of festivals. Yet, as previously stated, these elements are not the fundamental elements of what creates EDM culture. There is the question of whether all participants in festival crowds are authentic members of the community, yet the debate of authenticity is irrelevant in an environment that aims to unify and respect others. While being authentic is an important virtue, in a community

that simply aims to provide happiness, the main focus is to appreciate the culture and have respect for one another. Once this is accepted, people do not feel held back by judgment, and can therefore let go of their predispositions to instead find spiritual transcendence through their experiences of dancing, connecting with others, and appreciating the music. Finding a deeper connection through music is a spiritual experience, where the simplicity of sound can evoke such strong emotions. Being able to express these emotions through dance, and bonding with others who understand this language of music, truly brings people together in forming a community who can love. EDM creates this unique culture to aims to provide acceptance for all those who wish to find a deeper connection within sound, spirituality, and a community that loves and respects all.

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LOCAL REACTIONS, REVOLUTIONARY IMPLICATIONS: THE STAMP ACT REBELLION IN PORTSMOUTH, NEW HAMPSHIRE AS A PRECURSOR TO AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE

BY CHARLOTTE HARRIS

The imposition of the Stamp Act of 1765 is largely regarded as the foremost event that ignited widespread colonial resistance to British authority and paved the way for the assertion of intercolonial unity and rebellion. The implications of the Stamp Act were so significant that it can be argued that it set a precedent for the American Revolution as a whole. In fact, early biographies of the Revolution written in the late 18th century define it as the "first direct step to American independence" (Ferling, 2003). Although these assertions may seem unjustifiably bold and perhaps disproportionately significant, the reverberations of the Stamp Act on a local level can help to prove its urgency in the minds of colonial Americans and its wider implications to the American Revolution. As a result of the Stamp Act and its subsequent repeal, New Hampshire colonists asserted their antipathy for the act through ritualistic demonstrations, participated in acts of intercolonial unity, and contributed to a narrative of nationalist identity echoed by the colonial press. On a local level, the reactions to the act in Portsmouth are a microcosm from which to extrapolate greater trends and meaningful outcomes that emerged from the Stamp Act crisis and to better understand the road to independence.

The Stamp Act was particularly consequential for New Hampshire residents, its imposition coming at a time when ideological leanings were gradually shifting and distaste for imperial traditions of power was growing increasingly widespread. The socioeconomic and ideological context of the colony during the period of the imposition helps to explain the resistance to the act – colonists were losing faith in their longtime royal governor Benning Wentworth following reports of his corruption, and the negatively-received Sugar Act just a few years prior had set off a growth in the spread of Whig ideology (Piecuch, 1994). Still, the reaction in Portsmouth to the assignation of a Stamp Master for New Hampshire, George Meserve, may seem perhaps disproportionately severe: the dramatic rituals of rebellion took place all around Portsmouth in response to the Meserve's anticipated arrival and the act's passage continued even after the stamp master was pressured into resigning and the act was repealed. But the fervor surrounding these demonstrations, and their subsequent coverage in the early New Hampshire press, serves as a testament to the growing colonial resistance to British authority. The ideological leanings and intercolonial alliances that took root during the reaction to the Stamp Act were instrumental in setting the stage for future rebellion.

At the beginning of 1765, the general mood of New Hampshire colonists and their provincial assembly was one of "rigid indifference"; within ten months, however, New Hampshire's legislators and many colonists came to wholeheartedly endorse the cause of resistance. Parliament's attempted imposition of the Stamp Act helps explain this dramatic shift in mentality. Prior to 1765, provincial politics had been relatively calm, even uneventful. Royal

governor Benning Wentworth had the longest tenure of any colonial governor, maintaining his position since 1741 via a covert system of patronage. Unbeknownst to his constituents, many of whom subscribed to Whig ideologies that condemned the subversion of constitutional principles happening in the British Parliament, Wentworth publicly aligned himself with Whig principles while simultaneously practicing self-interested politics where he and his friends benefited financially from his governing policies. Wentworth knew that political opponents had used Whig ideology to undermine the governance of colonial politicians under the guise of preserving the liberties of the people. To proactively counteract this potential threat, Wentworth publicly adopted the Whig rhetoric while simultaneously practicing corrupt patronage tactics. He subdued opponents by giving them political appointments, awarded military positions to his friends, and stocked the Council and judiciary with relatives and friends. To maintain his popularity, he doled out land grants, overlooked smuggling, and refused to enforce Acts of Parliament that he knew would make him unpopular. Wentworth's popularity was jeopardized, however, when the English Board of Trade got word of Wentworth's corruption during 1763-64 proceedings on New Hampshire's border dispute with New York. The resulting investigation turned up evidence that Wentworth had ignored royal instructions, enacted provincial laws without notifying England, and benefited from manipulations to policy. Although Wentworth kept his position, his popularity diminished greatly in New Hampshire. Under great scrutiny from London, Wentworth had no choice but to enforce Parliamentary laws more strictly than in the past (Piecuch, 1994).

This did not go over well with New Hampshire residents when it came to the 1764 passage of the Sugar Act. The Act was problematic for merchants of Portsmouth, who depended on lucrative commerce from the West Indies that was subsequently banned under the Sugar Act. The first stirrings of resistance to parliamentary authority cropped up in New Hampshire. As an assertion of rebellion, Portsmouth residents promoted efforts not to consume Britain-manufactured goods. Although resistance to the Sugar Act was primarily economic, there were also shades of ideological arguments. The trade restrictions were characterized as violations of the British Constitution and an act of slavery. The colonists felt the economic repercussions of the Act and realized that the virtual representation assured to them in Parliament had neglected to consider their interests. As Arthur M. Schlesinger notes in "The Colonial Newspapers and the Stamp Act," these economic consequences were particularly harmful to colonists who were already experiencing financial hard times. The wartime prosperity of the French and Indian War was wearing off and British warships were more vigilant than ever in monitoring smuggling (1934).

The increasingly prominent whisperings in the spring of 1765 of an impending Stamp Act added insult to injury. When the colonists learned of the contents of the Stamp Act and its associated policies, the reaction defied a solely economical basis of resistance. To New Hampshire colonists that had long been adherents of Whig ideology, the act and its accompanying policies read like a direct threat to their liberties. The idea of taxation without direct representation was an abomination in the eyes of the Whigs. Also contained in the Act was a provision for certain violations of the act to be tried in vice-admiralty courts, thus depriving colonists of their constitutional right to trial by jury. Furthermore, the enforcement of the Act by fellow Americans enlisted by the British convinced the Whig colonists that their fear of rulers hiring corrupt men to cooperate in oppression had been realized (Piecuch, 1994). Although the frenzy was stirred among the most informed New Hampshire residents, widespread outrage was yet to be ignited. The inaction of the New Hampshire provincial assembly reflected this hesitant mood. In June

1765, Massachusetts House Speaker Samuel White wrote to NH House Speaker Henry Sherburne asking that he send a delegation to the intercolonial congress to discuss the Act that October. Although Sherburne was the leading opponent of the act in the province and was a powerful influencer among the legislature, he was unable to convince his fellow legislators to take action. Meschech Weare of Hampton Falls and Thomas W. Waldron of Dover were tasked with preparing an answer, but they never did (Piecuch, 1994). One event, however, changed everything.

Portsmouth residents received word of the impending arrival of George Meserve, a local merchant who had been assigned by the Crown to be Stamp Master, thus responsible for distributing the stamped paper and collecting all taxes on it. Meserve's ship arrived in Boston on September 9th, and he was immediately accosted by a Boston mob threatening to sink the ship and carrying a letter from prominent Portsmouth residents who warned him that if he did not resign he would "face the fury and the rage of the people" (Piecuch, 1994; 246). Forced to remain aboard for two days, Meserve finally wrote a letter promising to resign. Before word reached Portsmouth, angry residents proceeded to violence, setting off a series of protests and riots against Meserve and the Stamp Act that would recur throughout the next six months.

On September 11th, 1765, Portsmouth residents brought an effigy of Meserve to a mock trial in a ceremonial "Court of Admiralty." The crime brought against him was enriching himself by starving and impoverishing his mother and daughter (symbolic attributions of New Hampshire and its citizens). A "jury" of townspeople found him guilty and a panel of "judges" sentenced him to death by hanging. The effigy, labeled "Stamp Master," was hung alongside effigies of the devil and the Earl of Bute John Stuart, who was rumored to be the architect of a conspiratorial plot to enslave America. A copy of the Stamp Act affixed to Bute's effigy read, "Bute and the Devil, believe it fact/First bred, then hatched this cursed Act." A sign on the gallows post declared, "Here are actually and virtually represented the first founders and first intended executor of the execrable Stamp Act." The next evening, a crowd of several thousand carried the effigies to a hill outside town and burned them. Two days later, new effigies of Meserve and the devil appeared in Portsmouth, Dover, and the Isle of Shoals (Piecuch, 1994).

Luckily for Meserve, by the time he actually arrived in Portsmouth on September 18th the letter proclaiming his resignation had been circulated to residents, and thus he was greeted with a cheering crowd at Long Wharf in Portsmouth. (The crowd was probably further appeased by news from London that George Grenville, the man behind the Stamp Act, had been dismissed from the ministry.) Meserve turned his box of stamped paper to the governor and it was stored in Castle William and Mary in Portsmouth harbor. Meserve sensed, though, that his resignation had hardly solved the problem of rising levels of resistance in New Hampshire. In a September 12th letter to John Wentworth, the governor's nephew and agent to London, Meserve expressed his concern that "people of all denominations promote and encourage this damned rebellious spirit." The "principal promoters," according to Meserve, were Henry Sherburne and Jonathan Warner (Piecuch, 1994). Indeed, Sherburne and Jonathan Warner were in communication with Boston merchants and traders who urged them to follow in supporting the repeal of the Stamp Act (Rowe et. al, 1765).

Intercolonial communication had increased considerably in the fervor surrounding the Stamp Act. In contrast to the New Hampshire legislature's earlier isolationism in regards to colonial affairs, concerned citizens played an active role in expressing their disdain for the Stamp Act. The New Hampshire Sons of Liberty grew increasingly prominent and were in frequent communication with other resistance groups throughout the colonies, including the Sons of Liberty from Boston, Providence, and Norwich, Connecticut. Among their correspondences were a characterization of the Stamp Act as "that detestable contrivance to enslave us" and an "utmost assurance that we will continue our joint endeavors in the common cause." The Boston Sons of Liberty wrote to the New Hampshire Sons on February 3rd, 1766 informing them of a potential intercolonial alliance against the Stamp Act and other potentially forthcoming tyrannical acts. In response, Reverend Samuel Langdon promised New Hampshire's "hearty approbation" of the proposed alliance and described the Stamp Act as a "formidable Monster" (Piecuch, 1994; 260-261). Through the Stamp Act rebellion, New Hampshire was linked to other provinces, a first step towards colonial union.

Tensions in the colony were undoubtedly increasing in the days approaching November 1st, the date when the Stamp Act was to go into effect. A group of several hundred converged on October 31st, only to be pacified and dispersed by the assurance of councilmembers that the governor was not planning on enforcing the act. On the crucial date, November 1st, Portsmouth church bells tolled and ships drew their flags to half-mast. In mid-afternoon, a crowd gathered at the state house carrying a coffin labeled "Liberty, Age 145, Stampt." An impromptu parade carried the coffin throughout town to the beat of drums, bells, and guns firing. They arrived at a grave, where a mock eulogy about the death of liberty was given. Before the burial was complete, "Liberty" was revived and triumphantly carried off. A copy of the Stamp Act was thrown into the grave and burned instead. These ceremonial demonstrations of resistance were celebrated in dramatic retellings appearing in the local newspapers, the *New Hampshire Gazette* and the *Portsmouth Mercury*.

The instrumental role of the local Portsmouth newspapers in setting the tone of the resistance is highly evident. Their adversarial posture to the Stamp Act is not surprising, considering that printers and the press were one of the groups most affected by taxes imposed by the Stamp Act. Publishers would have to pay a stamp tax for every sheet printed and, in addition, a two shilling tax on every advertisement appearing in their publications. Other sources of printers' revenue including legal forms, commercial blanks, and other types of public documents would also be subject to duties. Even worse, the fines for printing or selling unstamped paper could be judged in an admiralty court where there was no trial by jury. In the May 17th, 1765 issue, the *New Hampshire Gazette* proclaimed that the Act "falls heavy upon the Printing Business, more especially News-Papers and Advertisements."

Perhaps if Parliament had considered the Stamp Act more, they might have realized that placing the burden of the tax on the backs of colonial society's most literate and articulate citizens was not the best idea. The printing community immediately resented the act and were not shy in displaying the animosity on the pages of their products. The Whig newspaper *Mercury*, which came into being as a result of Whig radicalism stoked by the imposition of the Stamp Act, blocked off a corner of the front page of its October 28th issue with a skull, crossbones and coffin. The accompanying text read, "Somewhere hereabouts will be the place for fixing the

STAMP. If the STAMP-ACT takes place, we must bury our LIBERTY. Unfortunate Americans thus to be made slaves." On October 31st, the *New Hampshire Gazette* carried a foreboding warning that a blow to liberty was about to be struck. The publisher, Daniel Fowle, warned readers that if stamp duties did indeed force the paper to suspend publication, it would be proof of an erosion of liberty through the elimination of the free press. John Adams also saw the "loading [of] the press, the colleges, and even an almanac and newspaper with restraints and duties" as part of a British design to strip away colonial liberties (Bailyn, 1967). On October 31st, 1765, the day before the Stamp Act was to take effect, the issues of the colonial press bore a "funereal aspect": the *New Hampshire Gazette* was depicted to be gasping, "I *must Die*, or submit to that which *is worse* than Death, *be Stamped*, and lose my Freedom" (Schleisinger, 1935).

The opposition to the Stamp Act grew only more widespread from November 1st on. On November 21st, the New Hampshire House unanimously voted their approval of the *Resolves* of the Stamp Act Congress and vowed to "heartily join in" the petitions to Parliament and the King. Governor Benning Wentworth never enforced the act, claiming that the people had seized complete control of provincial affairs, rendering his efforts to enforce it useless. The Sons of Liberty grew increasingly more active, instructing the city's Gentlemen of the Law to ignore the act and advising legislators to "concur in the Resolutions of the rest of our Brethren and fellow Sufferers in the Colonies who are notably struggling for their Liberties" (Piecuch, 1994; 253). Yet another ritualistic demonstration took place on January 3rd, when the Sons of Liberty wrapped an effigy of George Grenville in chains and hung it before the State House. An account of the event in the January 10th edition of the *New Hampshire Gazette*, describes the crowd subjecting Grenville, referred to as "the true Emblem of that servile state," to "every insult that an injured People could invent." On January 9th, the Sons of Liberty organized another demonstration, this time leading a group of around 400 people through town under a flag bearing the motto "Liberty, Property, and No Stamps." The document confirming George Meserve's commission as Stamp Master had recently arrived from England, and the Sons insisted Meserve hand over the document and swear again that he would not enforce the Act. The commission was affixed to the point of a sword and paraded through town. The crowd arrived at the swing bridge and promptly renamed it "Liberty Bridge," affixing their flag before dispersing.

Citizens of Portsmouth were unaware that the British government had repealed the Act on March 18th and continued with their anti-Stamp Act demonstrations. Finally, in early April, rumors of the Act's repeal arrived in New Hampshire. An April 17th letter from the Boston Sons of Liberty confirmed it. As was to be expected, the reaction in Portsmouth was celebratory. Bells and drums sounded, and residents applauded King George and William Pitt. There was an impromptu celebration on May 17th and the Sons of Liberty designated May 21st as a celebratory day of fasting and prayer. On May 22nd, a day of "universal jubilee," cannons on Liberty Bridge, Church Hill, and Fort William and Mary fired periodically. The Sons of Liberty provided dinner to the town and set off fireworks.

The Portsmouth residents' demonstrations and practices of rites and rituals provide an important context for rhetorical examination. In his article "Rites of Rebellion, Rites of Assent: Celebrations, Print Culture, and the Origins of American Nationalism," David Waldstreicher contends that the protests surrounding the Stamp Act was "the first and most important example

of celebration and mourning as loyal protest" (1995; 43). He asserts that "politics and group formation were consciously and effectively practiced in the richly symbolic activities of [the] festivals and parades" that took place during the reactions to the Stamp Act (37). Waldstreicher refers to the rhetorical performances of rites and celebration as "street theater," a term that encapsulates the dramatic quality of the various anti-Stamp Act demonstrations in Portsmouth. From theatrical stagings of mock trials or funerals to dramatic readings of eulogies to exciting displays of spectacle such as burning and flag-waving to the invoking of "audience" participation through raucous applause, the ritualistic celebrations in Portsmouth exemplified virtually all qualities of a dramaturgical performance (43).

The various rites of celebration in the Revolutionary era helped to form a cohesive body of "Americans" and create fertile ground for the initial roots of nationalism. This connection helps explain how a badly-received act of parliament, widespread protest demonstrations, and their reproduction in the press could have led to the initial whisperings of independence. Waldstreicher writes, "The relationships among ideology and practice, celebration and print, help explain why an abstract nationalism could earn the assent of revolutionaries without guaranteeing a national state or much more than a vague commitment to popular sovereignty. Whatever social grounding and local reality American nationalism actually possessed lay not in any truly lasting political or ideological consensus among its followers, but in its practices: in the gathering of people at celebratory events; in the toasts and declarations given meaning by assent; in the reproduction of rhetoric and ritual in print" (61).

This "reciprocal dynamic of celebrations and print," according to Waldstreicher, gave way to a feeling of extralocal community that would eventually serve as the basis for revolution. Waldstreicher postulates that American nationalism emerged not only from these celebrations, but also their reproduction in the press. The relationship between the local street theater and the nation came into being through the mediation of print: if the rites and rituals of "street theater" helped to mobilize diverse factions of society under a unifying cause, thus forming a new body of "Americans," the press helped define the qualities of that group. One characterization repeatedly offered by the press was one of determined defenders of liberty. An account of the January 3rd burning of an effigy of George Grenville, the *New Hampshire Gazette* boldly declared, "When the Liberties of any People are once attacked they will never fail to make an obstinate Stand. We are daily expressing our Abhorrence of the STAMP-ACT, and yet in effect is daily countenanced and abetted." Arthur M. Schlesinger also sees the work of the press as key in maintaining the passionate antipathy to the Stamp Act among colonists: "Though the Sons of Liberty and similar groups acted as the visible agents in these mob demonstrations," he writes, "it was the ceaseless propaganda of the press which kept the public mind at fever pitch and, in large degree, galvanized the populace to action" (72).

The press was so persistent in supporting the Whig sentiments of the time that historians of the mid-twentieth century largely classified it as propaganda. Arthur M. Schlesinger asserts that the adoption of the Stamp Act initiated "the first widespread employment of newspaper propaganda" (63). Ralph Adams Brown, in his 1939 article "New Hampshire Editors Win the War: A Study in Revolutionary Press Propaganda" argues that his study of newspapers published in New Hampshire between 1775 and 1784 reveals "attempted indoctrination by the Whigs" (37). Adams Brown identifies the four most frequent uses of propaganda as anti-Loyalist accounts,

references to British cruelty, accusations of British and Tories spreading false anti-colonial stories, and exaggerations of the successes of the colonial army in an attempt to boost morale. He also characterizes the press of the state as "one hundred percent Whig" (39). Schlesinger seems to agree, stating, "At no later stage of the controversy with England did the colonial newspapers display so united a front. Differences among them were a matter of degree not of purpose" (39). Such an apparent homogeneity in attitudes portrayed in the press could only have aided in the creation of "assent of a unified populace" that Waldstreicher argues was the sole requirement of the revolutionary cause (61). The Stamp Act played the pivotal role of universal enemy: it was a straightforward opponent to the Whig ideology for colonists to rally against.

The colonial press was instrumental in the creation and reinforcement of a revolutionary narrative. Their part in the drama of the Stamp Act rebellion was the early confirmation of the importance of the press; as Shlesinger writes, it gave the printers "an exhilarated sense of importance to their community" (39). As news of the Stamp Act's repeal was breaking, the *New Hampshire Gazette* itself declared, "The press hath never done greater service since its first invention." This was a new and potent political and social force to be wielded. The role of the press in the Stamp Act crisis proved that newspapers were not just mere disseminators of information, but rather creators and shapers of opinion and, therefore, social and political reality. Another important body of society was also awakening to their sense of power during the Stamp Act rebellion: the people themselves. In reality, it's unlikely that the rebellions among the colonies directly impacted Parliament's decision to repeal the Stamp Act. As Piecuch points out, various actors in London, who believed that the Stamp Act was either economically detrimental or legitimately unconstitutional, were the actual forces that put an end to the Stamp Act. Still, the important outcome of the Stamp Act repeal was that colonists *felt* like they had had an impact. The threats to their liberties that the Stamp Act posed transformed the way Americans thought about the system of governance. For one, the concept of virtual representation, long criticized by the Whigs, was proven to be a fallacy. Secondly, colonists began to perceive that their ability to influence American political reality was growing while the authority of a faraway imperial power to make and enforce laws was diminishing. In his 1784 biography, *The History of New-Hampshire*, Jeremy Belknap, a Congregational minister from Dover, wrote that "political inquiries were encouraged and the eyes of the people were opened" during years of the Stamp Act (227). In *A Leap in the Dark*, John Ferling surmises that the Stamp Act rebellion had "caused numerous Americans, as never before, to contemplate their rights and liberties, the degree of autonomy they possessed within their empire, and the economic realities of their dependent status" (53).

This sense of political empowerment among colonists would prove to have monumental effects. In his work *Colonial New Hampshire*, Jere R. Daniell suggests that the political climate of inquiry fostered by the Stamp Act rebellion "gradually crystallized into a set of beliefs and fears so dangerous in their implications that thoughtful men began to suspect a revolution in the making" (57). The shift was so significant that it was perceptible even as it was happening. Boston governor Francis Bernard, a loyalist, and General Thomas Gage, commander of British army in America, both surmised on independent occasions that the colonists had undergone a transformative shift during the rebellion to the Stamp Act, a trend that pointed towards the potential of independence. Still, shades of revolution only existed within the most radical factions of society. Ferling asserts that the Stamp Act crisis had "come on too abruptly, and

ended too quickly, for a broad revolutionary outlook to take place" (54). But the precedent that it set as a British infringement of Americans' constitutional and natural rights would be a potent reason for rebellion in years to come. Furthermore, the most politically-attuned of the colonists would come to see the setting of the precedent as a "danger signal" indicating the existence of a more general threat (Baylin, 2013). This rumble of conspiracy would later grow to a deafening roar, convincing colonists that they had no other choice but revolution.

The reactions to the Stamp Act in Portsmouth, New Hampshire included dramatic rituals of rebellion, emergences of intra- and intercolonial unity, and the inauguration of a press adamantly loyal to the cause of resistance. Through these processes, a nationalist narrative manifested itself and a people came to feel justified and empowered in their resistance to imperial authority. These same phenomena happened on a larger scale in more politically significant colonies in the years leading up to the revolution; however, it's equally important to note these nascent inklings of revolution that took place in smaller communities throughout the colonies. The fact that movements of resistance occurred not just in Boston or Philadelphia, but in a small seaport town in New Hampshire, too, helps to understand the potent influence of the revolutionary cause on the collective American psyche.

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"PLAYING" TO GOD: AN ANALYSIS OF VIDEO GAMES THROUGH THE LENS OF RELIGION
BY JASON PAUL

The Cultural Marriage of Religion with Video Gaming

Ever since *Computer Space* was released as the first commercially sold interactive video game in the early 1970s, video games have blossomed into an unmistakably essential piece of American consumerist culture. In addition to serving as a heavy-hitter in the United States economy, the subculture that developed as a result of the sweeping growth in video gaming popularity has been equally impactful. The notion of spirituality displayed by the video game player can be connected to the implications of the spirituality shared by patrons of traditional religions. The relationship between video game interactivity and religion is a complex, multifaceted one. Certain conceptual elements of religions — both ancient and contemporary — appear in video games in distinctively various ways. As with any marriage of religion with a form of entertainment medium, its use in video games has been controversial. The viewpoints of this exchange are polarizing; some religious groups actively use games to promote conversion to or from specific religions, while other games are legally banned for religiously derivative reasons. Organized religions are often viewed as sociological cultural systems, containing unique geographical locations and tangible artifacts which correspond to its belief structures. The use of religion in video games, however, proves that achieving a spiritual experience doesn't require traditionally religious frameworks.

A Journey Towards Spiritual Triumph

Many game developers have successfully used religious and spiritual motifs in order to deepen the player's immersion into the game. In his article titled, "Master of Play," Nick Paumgarten explains that game designer Shigeru Miyamoto—creator of the Mario and Legend of Zelda franchises—initially drew inspiration from his memorable childhood experience of discovering a Buddhist temple while exploring the forest near the rural village of Sonobe, Japan (Paumbarten, 2010). Role-playing adventure games often involve world saving quests, in which the protagonist takes on the role of a hero questing towards achieving some sort of religiously related prophecy.

The notion of subjective interpretation given off by the experience of playing video games is exemplified well in *Journey*, a critically acclaimed 2012 indie-adventure video game. Among the developers is Jenova Chen, who illustrates the game's connections with comparative mythology and the popularized "hero's journey" narrative structure in an interview with Jon Leofrom GameSpot Asia. "I feel that Journey is a very spiritual game. People from around the world ask me if the game has a religious connection," Chen continues, "Many religions share an affinity with Journey—this is because many religions partly share a common structure" (Leo, 2012). Specific player items are a bit more implicit compared to the obvious quest-based storyline. For example, the game's protagonist carries a scarf, which the gaming community has deduced as representing the player's willpower and ability to overcome. As the game progresses, the robed character has the opportunity to collect floating tags which embodies the prayers and faith of others in the player as they crusade towards the mountain — *Journey*'s well-established "higher place" which is comparative to heaven. Lastly, there is an obvious juxtaposition between *Journey's* white cloaked characters and mechanical serpent characters comparable to the religiously prominent relationship between angels and demons.

The Gaming Bible

Arguably more culturally impactful than the physical games themselves are the ubiquitously thriving online communities, whose pervasiveness has transcended the titles in which they support. Physical copies of video games have regularly contained certified game booklets within the game's case, detailing

basic controls and sometimes narrative context. As the inevitable shift into digital copies of video games continues, players within the community are now looking to digitally based sources of literature to complement their gaming experience. The unique and intricate nature of the complex universes created by video game franchises has caused users to organize these notions in a series of webpages which follows the format of a collectively built Wikipedia database. These website domains are structured in a way that allows consumers to participate within the universe of the franchise of their choice, even without playing the game itself. There is an explicitly drawn connection between the production-consumption methods of these types of digitized resources and those of religious written artifacts.

Video game modifications—known as "mods"—have existed for almost as long as video games themselves. While certified developers ensure the privacy and security of their game's coding through legal methods such as copyright protection, the community of players find ways to create and share supplementary coding which modifies the game to their discretion. The Elder Scrolls V: Skyrim was a highly anticipated 2011 release by developer Bethesda, selling over seven million copies within its first week of retail availability. As an already established role-playing fantasy game series, The Elder Scrolls would see an even wider expansion of community feedback and support with the delivery of its fifth title. Skyrim's first-person, open-world setting was the perfect foundation for its devoted fan base to pick apart in seemingly every possible way. The in-game mods that were created, initially within the PC gaming sub-community, further exaggerated the already prominently religious aspects of the 2011 title's narrative. Specifically, a mod titled, "Religion: Prayer & Meditation" exemplifies the lengths at which some players went to adjust their gaming experience in order to expand its levels of immersion. As described in a posting on "NexusMods.com," a collaboratively built website where players have posted, shared, and downloaded over 50,000 mods for Skyrim alone, this mod allows players to play as a priest, crusader, or demon worshipper — an option that players with the original, unmodified game do not have. While playing as one of these religious individuals, the players can pray towards and act in the name of their preferred "Divine" or "Daedra," the two lords belonging to their respective opposing spiritual ideologies which drive the conflict within the game's storyline. The author of the post, under the alias "IronDusk33," writes, "[the] Divines and Daedra will now look at your actions, and depending on whether youplease or annoy them, they may bestow blessings or curses on you." The author continues, "For those who are not fond of gods they may choose meditation as an alternative" (IronDusk33, 2015).

J.R. Peteet's definition of religion, published in a 1994 article titled, "Approaching Spiritual Problems in Psychotherapy: A Conceptual Framework," adheres strongly to the behavioral patterns expressed by players who choose to modify games in order to fulfill spiritual desires. In his passage from *Journal of Psychotherapy Practice and Research*, Peteet describes religion as embodying "[commitments] to beliefs and practices characteristic of particular traditions" (1994, p. 237). Not only are the actual creators of the aforementioned in-game mod using it with vicariously spiritual intentions, but the developing community that surrounds the expansive library of mods is simulative of a church-like setting.

24/7 Mass: A Diverse, Anonymous Congregation — Anytime, Anywhere!
As video games have been around for only so long, coming across a 50-year-old individual who identifies as a "gamer" is still uncommon—although they do exist. The interactivity of this entertainment medium has allowed its reach to successfully grasp a global, heterogeneous audience. Gamers are becoming younger, older, more gender inclusive, and most notably ethnically multifarious; this is a result of the internationally successful fostering of the gaming religion (Hernandez, 2013). A major factor which has stimulated the culture is the temperament of convenience and constant availability. In other words, players control their religious schedule by achieving spiritual satisfaction whenever they see fit. This sense of instant gratification allows an individual, in the comfort of their own home, to immediately satisfy transcendent urges after booting up their console and waiting for the loading screens to pass, a feature that is quickly disappearing for this very reason. The rise of mobile gaming through the developments of submarkets, most notably that of Apple's creation of the App Store for its iOS devices in

2008, has added yet another layer to the opportunistic attitude created by the gaming subculture. Users can now play a game from their favorite franchise on the device of their choice, at the location of their choice, and at the time of their choice.

In the 1980s, first person-perspective gaming was revolutionary upon its release and realization among the gaming community. As technology advances, the nostalgic feeling of spiritual transcendence intensifies within the mediums at which they are consumed. The introduction of virtual reality (VR) gaming occurred in 2012 with the release of Facebook Inc.'s Oculus Rift, a wearable headset capable of connecting VR technology into existing video games. This blend not only widened the possibilities for game developers, but further blurred the lines between reality and transcendent experiences while gaming. Simulative experiences which contribute to this idea of religious accomplishment are pushed even further through in-game interactions with external entities. Multiplayer gaming has not only become the most popular and widely played genre of video game, but has also proven to have yielded the most religiously reminiscent behavior. For example, League of Legends — a 2009 massively multiplayer online role-playing game — is regarded as currently the most popular game on the planet, netting 32.5 million players with a recently reported concurrent player count of over five million. Games with this level of cultural magnitude have provided an effective feeling of welcoming and belonging among all followers. John Naughton, author of "Why We Need a 21st-Century Martin Luther to Challenge the Church of Tech," articulates the link between the individual and the communal religion of technology very well. "It makes us feel modern, connected, empowered, sophisticated and informed," (Naughton, 2017). This feeling of acceptance and integration is what drives the player's innate desire to partake in multiplayer gaming settings.

Additionally, the billion-dollar shooter franchise Call of Duty has provided a blueprint for a multiplayer gaming experience, with copy sales reaching a quarter-billion across nearly fifteen years of title releases. The franchise's 2012 release, Black Ops II, displayed a slowly rotating Earth lit up with orange dots which represent active players in real time. Small features like these add to the subconscious, subliminal effect of religious affiliation and integration of the individual player into a wider, more diverse audience (Perreault, 2013). In Zoe Kleinman's 2015 BBC article titled, "Faith, Hope, and Call of Duty: 21st Century Spirituality," the statements of Scottish game designer Malath Abbas speak volumes to the psychological activity of faithful gamers. Abbas, who regularly practices the Baha'i faith, explains that the very act of losing oneself in a virtual universe not only has an important spiritual quality, but also enables a mindfulness which is central to his religion. "If something engages you, you tend to be really pulled into the experience and I find it allows for an interesting space within my mind to meditate and be mindful," he explains regarding the controversiality of Call of Duty and similar games. "I would call that spirituality," (Kleinman, 2015). The engagement between the player and their game is a principal cause of the experience's "replayability," which is comparable to the behaviors of Christians who show up to their religious congregation every Sunday.

SKIP AD: The New Priests

There has been a visible codependence established by the gaming subculture between a player's experience playing a video game and that same player's interaction with a greater community which shares common interests and promotes similar value and belief systems. In continuing the analogy of the behaviors of this newly developed, internet-based gaming community as reminiscent of the behaviors of religiously traditional followers, it is necessary to draw the comparison between popularized gaming personalities with religious leaders. Skilled video game players began creating, editing, and posting video content based on recordings of their gaming performance. Initially beginning as strategy and achievement guides, which immediately proved to be a more approachable replacement to existing print and digital game guides, the demand for heightened creativity professionalism within the budding content creator base began to skyrocket.

By the late 2000's, internet gaming personalities began to thrive, captivating a larger audience more effectively than the original strategic content. Within a few short years, a diverse group of thousands of individuals had uniquely cultivated an audience tailored to their personalities; gamers were being entertained by who was uploading the content as opposed to what the content actually was. These personas which drive the promotion for the gaming subculture act as the "preachers" of the franchises in which they promote. *The Divine Dramatist: George Whitfield and the Rise of Modern Evangelicism* attributes the rise of 18th century preacher George Whitfield to his skill in "exploiting the new media and the emerging marketplace mentality" (Stout, 1991, p. 23). George Whitfield's unprecedented establishment of delivering information to a mass of consumers was a milestone in the development of modern media. The ramifications of the rise of internet gaming personalities is precisely connected to what Stout illustrated as the effects of Whitfield's cultural pioneering. Naturally, the creators' accumulation of viewership simultaneously stimulates the growth of the businesses providing content and the communities consuming it. Today, players are constantly undergoing a form of spiritual transcendence through the highly accessible medium of internet personalities whom offer a humanized experience of gaming content. The highly particular communities that have formed within the subscription-based followings of each personality further reinforce the religiously analogous relationship between content creator and content consumer.

YouTube, a video hosting service acquired by Google in 2006, served as the primary platform for video game commentaries uploaded by a growing number of personalities. The introduction of video monetization through advertising would draw implicit connections among the entire industry. As users click on the latest video upload from their preferred gaming personality, they are directed towards a brief, demographically driven advertisement prior to watching. For example, this very technology shows the consumer a preview trailer detailing the next incoming title release from their favorite franchise, an experience that can only be achieved through the purchase of the game and its online service. Even when gamers weren't playing video games, simply supporting the games companies' presence on internet platforms like YouTube would subconsciously foster their desire to maintain devotion among the franchise and the content creators who promote it. The cognitive and intellectual processes regarding technology apply directly to the business model Google has implemented among its billion-dollar video sharing platform—including the advertising methods used on the gaming community.

Game Over

Video games and the subculture that has developed from them have seen a budding, and often subliminal, association with spirituality and religion. The increasing level of religious implementation within this consumeristic medium of entertainment has created societal discourse at a level which requires analysis of how religion is portrayed in the games separately from the religious behaviors deriving from the consumption of these games — both player-to-computer and player-to-player.

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PROTEST POLICING AND THE PRIVATIZATION OF SURVEILLANCE

BY JENNA WARD

Armed with water hoses and rubber bullets, police forces raided occupy camps at the Standing Rock Indian Reservation where nonviolent protestors of the $3.8 billion, 1,172-mile Dakota Access Pipeline (DAPL) had resided for months. The protestors were there to block the confirmed construction of an oil pipeline that would threaten environmental safety and invade the burial grounds of the Sioux tribe. The proposed pipeline would cut through the Missouri River which is the main source of drinking water for the Standing Rock Sioux tribe. Additionally, the Missouri River serves tens of millions in cities downstream, meaning that if there were a leakage it would pose a serious risk.

Just about a year earlier, on a frigid night in November 2016, over 300 protestors were hurt, including 21-year-old Sophia Wilansky, whose arm was so severely injured from an explosion it nearly needed amputation. It is still inconclusive if it was an officer's concussion grenade or a protestor's homemade propane-tank bomb that caused the explosion (Licea, 2017, November 18), but Wilansky's brutal injury ignited a firestorm of suspicions. All the while, emails leaked and made accessible through *The Intercept,* an online adversarial journalism publication dedicated to holding those in power accountable (Brown, Parrish, & Speri, 2017, May 27; June 3), show correspondence between law enforcement agencies that occurred at the time of the raid. The leaked correspondence revealed law enforcement officers monitoring and attempting to control the narrative around the incident. This watershed moment was reported by *The Intercept* is the jumpstart of a lengthy, six-part report detailing the timeline of injustice against the DAPL protestors. More specifically, the unethical surveillance of the social protest through the use of hired private security firm, TigerSwan.

This paper will serve to explore the background of militarized protest policing and the privatization of surveillance, using TigerSwan as a key example. The surveillance tactics used by TigerSwan to gather information about the protesters at Standing Rock reveal the legal ambiguity present when the government has access to information that would otherwise not be attainable without the assistance of a militarized private firm. From there, this paper will also address the makeup of the "Industrial Surveillance Complex," a term coined by *The Intercept*.

Before diving into the details of social protest surveillance via TigerSwan, I will first introduce theories that provide greater insight into surveillance and intelligence-led policing. Under this umbrella, I will also explore topics such as strategic incapacitation (Gillham, Edwards, & Noakes, 2013), pre-emptive actions, and threat assessments (Wood, 2014). Some of these concepts will touch upon fundamental surveillance theories such as the "broken windows" approach in accordance with measurable crime data (Wilson & Kelling, 1982), identification and classification (Goody, 1977), and disciplinary societies vs. societies of control (Deleuze, 1992; Foucault, 1977). From there I will move on to the relationship between mobile protest media and mobile surveillance media and how this raises issues for activists. After the theoretical framework is established, I will examine how the history and concepts presented connect to the

unethical surveillance of the Dakota Access Pipeline protests due to the problematic nature of TigerSwan's privatized intelligence-gathering tactics.

The overall purpose of my research is to highlight the ways in which surveillance of social protest reinforces the idea of silencing activism with a purpose to maintain order and control of the population. Surveillance and protest policing also continue to thrive by targeting and oppressing minority/indigenous activists, which is especially applicable in the case of the DAPL protests at Standing Rock. It is also important to explore mobile media's presence in activism, and how it grants mobility for the activist while simultaneously creating a larger and more accessible window for intelligence-led policing. With these ideas in mind, it is crucial to question why law enforcement would want to find a loophole for surveillance of the DAPL protests. We can ask, does the U.S. government value the money invested in oil companies over the wellbeing of their citizens, specifically indigenous people who have been historically oppressed by their government? Even if this question remains unanswered, skepticism and critique of the state's unethical practices are vital to unearthing the current state of modern-day protest surveillance.

PART I: LITERATURE REVIEW

In this review, I will draw upon scholarly work that relates to the unethical practices of modern-day protest surveillance. I will begin with methods that were initiated in the 1990's, and then became intensified after the 1999 Seattle World Trade Organization protests, the terrorist attacks of 9/11, and the growth of digital media. Once these surveillance theories are explained, I will be able to connect them to the issue at hand, which is the surveillance of the Dakota Access Pipeline protests.

Intelligence-led Policing

In order to captivate the essence of modern-day surveillance, it is necessary to first go over the prominence and history of intelligence-led policing and why it is relevant to my research. As defined in Lesley J. Woods' book, *Crisis and Control: The Militarization of Protest Policing*, intelligence-led policing consists of methods that shift the act of policing to one of "reacting" to crime and disorder to one that "pre-empts" it. This is accomplished through an emphasis on systemic intelligence gathering and analysis and strategic use of resources to track and diffuse potential public disorder. Intelligence-led policing strives to be proactive, preventative, scientific and analytical in order to effectively identify, rank and intervene with protestors (Wood, 2014).

Intelligence-led policing first gained recognition in the United Kingdom when police audits in the 1990's exemplified a need for a sophisticated use of surveillance and intelligence to intervene against repeat offenders in property crime. The sophisticated and strategic form of surveillance and intelligence was then applied to protestors, drawing upon the racketeering legislation against organized crime, The RICO Act (Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organization), framed political activists as participants of organized crime in the late 1980's. This was frequently applied to Black nationalists, indigenous activists, environmentalists and animal rights activists who were charged with racketeering if the group had more than one protest action that broke a law against a commercial enterprise. Therefore, the judicial system attempted to link social movements and activists with organized crime mobs and gang affiliations (Wood, 2014).

Relating back to the popularity of intelligence-led policing, it is not uncommon for a crime prevention method to be taken and manipulated to criminalize nonviolent activists.

Previously, protest policing was relatively unsophisticated. Law enforcement acted in a reactive manner rather than proactive manner when it came to protests. This became known as "escalated force" (Gillham & Marx 2000). Although this was the case in the 1960's and 1970's during student-led protests and civil rights activism, reactive policing took place during the Seattle WTO protests of 1999, where police responded to the crowds with tear gas, pepper spray, and rubber bullets, and arrested 157 people who were later monetarily compensated for their unjustified arrests (Gillham & Marx, 2000). Regarded as failed protocol in retrospect, police have reformed their tactics towards intelligence-led policing since the Seattle protests (Wood, 2014). The next sections will outline branches of surveillance that root from intelligence-led policing.

Strategic Incapacitation

Stemming from intelligence-led policing comes the approach strategic incapacitation (Gillham & Marx, 2000) which has become the modern day hybrid between intelligence gathering and analysis of intelligence-led policing to better pre-empt protest through the social control of protestors. Used to control and limit the success of protestors challenging the status quo, strategic incapacitation encourages militarized police action and pre-emptive policing tactics that root from a blend of the logics of military control and intelligence (Wood, 2014).

The tactics of strategic incapacitation are broken up into three major elements: pre-emptive arrests, infiltration, and media spin. All elements of this approach are meant to limit protest activity through methods of fear, deception, and social control. The approach also aims to garner information with the purpose to treat protest activity as criminal activity. Pre-emptive arrest seeks to cut down public protest before it becomes disruptive. By doing this, law enforcement has the ability to arrest individuals who they believe are the ringleaders of the protest to cast a damper on the event before it has even started. Many times these arrests occur in convergence spaces before a protest, or a rallying/marching crowd in anticipation of their future activity (Gillham & Marx, 2000; Wood, 2014). Arresting without probable cause or baseless assumptions is just one pillar of the problematic nature strategic incapacitation imposes on protestors.

Infiltration is utilized to gain intelligence about any potential threat posed by protestors. Similar to the example described before about charging protest activity as racketeering in accordance to organized crime, law enforcement continues this tactic by charging social movement organizations with conspiracy. By doing this, social movement organizations can gather intelligence within the same legal limits that would be done for suspects involved in organized crime (Wood, 2014). Once again, activists are receiving the same treatment as organized crime leaders.

A media spin that works in the approach of strategic incapacitation will happen before the protest begins, orchestrated by police-run public relations campaigns. By dismantling the protest message in the media, law enforcement attempts to discourage protestors while also building morale between police forces and the general public (Wood, 2014). All three of these tactic mentioned will appear again while analyzing the Dakota Access Pipeline protests.

Threat assessments are another component of policing that enforces the strategy of strategic incapacitation, which potentially leads to militarized police action, pre-emptive policing and the arrest of many protestors (Wood, 2014). Recognizing threat assessment in police activity is relevant because of its relation to military control, intelligence, and professional policing organizations. As it overlaps with militant activity, threat assessment acts to group protest activity into a larger category with terrorism, war, and violent crime, especially in the wake of a post-9/11 America (Wood, 2014). This can be noted as problematic because placing protest activity on the same level of threat as war or terrorist activity creates a distorted rhetoric and course of action towards protestors. The misuse of threat assessment will also contribute to the analysis of DAPL further in the paper.

Command and Control/Broken Windows Approach

The model of strategic incapacitation took a new form with the NYPD in 1998 against Black Nationalists, naming it "command and control" (Vitale, 2005). Command and control is essentially an extension of the "broken windows" approach (Wilson & Kelling, 1982), which favors rapid responses to small offenses with hopes of preventing larger ones. The broken windows approach in policing aims to keep crime out of sight and to uphold standards for the community in an effort to maintain a decent public image. With command and control, protest policing involved military and intelligence-led strategies that quickly dissolved protestor activity, treating it as criminal (Wood, 2014).

A function of command and control was regulating every part of protest activity. This included the NYPD requirement of potential protestors to apply in advance for a permit to protest. This extended from participating in a march or rally to using amplified sound. By requiring such an extensive process to exercise the right to protest, law enforcement maintained power by adding a stressful responsibility on the protestor while police gathered the information. The permits granted police the opportunity to identify and classify protestors, which is certainly not a new form of surveillance, but it is still effective, as list serves as a great technology of surveillance (Goody, 1977).

To grant law enforcement even more power, permits are often refused or adjusted, making it easier for protestors to get arrested. Police also have the ability to withdraw a permit at any time for any reason whatsoever (Wood, 2014). Therefore, command and control as an extension of broken windows regulates every element of protest activity, prompting any potential disorder to be swiftly managed through arrest and pre-emptive control.

Societies of Control

Michel Foucault's *Discipline and Punish* (1977) describes the disciplinary societies that were prominent in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The disciplinary society attempted to mold the behavior of individuals to maintain movement from one enclosure to the next (from family, to school, to the factory, to prison). These ideals were kept in tact by the Panopticon method of surveillance, which allowed a one-way view of authority onto the people.

 However, Deleuze (1992) challenges the relevancy of disciplinary societies in modern-day surveillance when he notes a transition to societies of control. Unlike disciplinary societies,

societies of control require the heads of major closed environments (school, corporations, and military) to work together under one universal system. Essentially the control society places a higher value on corporations and capitalism over the individual. While disciplinary societies worked to improve each individual person, or provided "productive soul training," by use of the Panopticon, the present-day idea of society of control works to move the masses in one cohesive direction that can mold to the constant flow the economy in order to uphold the best interests of corporations. An understanding of the cohesive, multi-unit control society will be useful in the application of privatized surveillance via TigerSwan.

Mobile Media & Surveillance in Protests

It is important to recognize the theories previously presented and apply them to the current environment of mobile surveillance. Leistert, Ahren, and Hansen-Schirra (2013) have noted the pivotal relationship between mobile protest media and mobile surveillance media. On one hand, mobile media is a groundbreaking medium for the mobilization of social movements.
With the ability to post short videos, easily distributed audio recordings, and text posts, mobile media has been prominent in recent protests. Not only is it accessible but it is also empowering. On the other hand, we are faced with the question on who mobile media is actually empowering. As a political technology, "mobile media allows many new kinds of surveillances, along with old ones, at an incredibly cheap rate" (p. 5). Thinking back to intelligence-led policing, the rise of mobile media technology created greater accessibility and opportunity for pre-emptive tactics and information collection. The mobile devices protestors carry on their bodies harbor the camouflaged surveillance media that essentially acts as a voluntary digital location tracker (Leisert, 2013).

Live feeds during activist movements have also become an essential component of mobile media surveillance. From the protestor standpoint, live feeds on social media stem from frustration with the dominant system of representation. The desire to produce live feeds is rooted in the mistrust towards corporate news media, which can be interpreted as partisan or complicit with those in power. If complicit with those in power, the image of protestors tends to be portrayed as uneducated and violent. Live streams provide a platform for protestors to display an intimate and legitimate account of what happens at protest camps. Not only do online viewers have access to the everyday life of an activist, but they also experience transparency that corporate news organizations may not provide. Live feeds grant protestors the opportunity to expose repressive actions by police forces and unlawful eviction of protest camps in real time (Gerbaudo, 2017).

While live streaming allows protestors to provide a public and transparent space for a movement, live streaming also provides a platform that essentially consents to police-led surveillance. Live feeds posted on Facebook and Twitter become a form of self-imposed surveillance, which can be easily used by police to gather intelligence about the movement and prosecute identifiable participants (Gerbaudo, 2017). This therefore creates heightened fears for activists who both flourish from the use mobile device, but face increased danger from it as well. Protest surveillance via mobile media will play a key role in observing the environment of the DAPL protests.

PART II: APPLICATION AND ANALYSIS

Now that the theoretical framework has been established, we can transition into applying the scholarly concepts to the current issue of concern. The surveillance of the Dakota Access Line protestors at Standing Rock took place during most of 2016, but didn't fully captivate suspicious eyes until the armed police ambush that took place in November. The injury of Sophia Wilanky, which almost cost her arm, led to backlash from both the protestors and the public. In a six-part story series, *The Intercept* chronicled the timeline of the protest, and reported on leaked emails and documents from TigerSwan that exposed not only the misdeeds of law enforcement, but also the third-party militant counterterrorism tactics and destructive surveillance against the protestors (Brown, Parrish, & Speri, 2017, May 27; June 3). To fully comprehend the extent of the unjust and unethical forms of surveillance that took place, it is necessary to first give background of the private security firm that the protestors were up against.

TigerSwan: Privatized Surveillance

TigerSwan is a private security firm hired by the company that oversaw the construction of the pipeline, Energy Transfer Partners. Although the firm operated as a private company, they were still able to coordinate and share their surveillance intelligence with local, state, and federal law enforcement. Through this coordinated partnership, TigerSwan regularly sent situation reports and PowerPoint presentations to law enforcement agencies to detail the findings of their surveillance, which were eventually leaked to *The Intercept* in 2017. Not only did the firm keep track of protestors through aerial technology, social media monitoring, and direct infiltration, but they also attempted to alter public opinion through counter-information campaigns. The contrast between these surveillance tactics is that the helicopters, on-site security agents, and spotlights were visible, but the hidden intelligence gathering (social media, infiltration, cell tracking, propaganda) was hidden in the dark from protestors (Brown et al., 2017).

To understand the severity of the issue at hand, it is essential to understand the power TigerSwan possessed while operating as a private company. According to legal experts from the American Civil Liberties Union and the National Lawyers Guild, TigerSwan's actions would be considered illegal if conducted by law enforcement (Juhasz, 2017, June 1). Here is where I would like to apply the theory discussed about societies of control in accordance to the relationship between law enforcement and TigerSwan. As mentioned earlier, societies of control work to move the masses in one cohesive direction that can mold to the constant flow the economy in order to uphold the best interests of corporations (Deleuze, 1992). In this case, the corporation whose interests are upheld is Energy Transfer Partners, the corporation responsible for the construction of the pipeline. The government, law enforcement, and private security firm TigerSwan work together as one cohesive unit to protect the needs of a powerful oil company. Although the construction of the oil pipeline does not suit the best interests of the population, the cohesive unit works to protect the corporation that provides economic benefits to the elite. Therefore, to effectively protect the interests of Energy Transfer Partners, the cohesive unit under the control society utilizes unethical surveillance tactics to silence the efforts of the Dakota Access Pipeline protestors.

Moving forward, keep in mind that TigerSwan's close collaboration with authorities raises great suspicion, as American values should depict this relationship as unprecedented and unconstitutional. What happens when the "private police" share information with public law enforcement, but are not covered by the same laws?

Surveillance-Industrial Complex
The relationship between TigerSwan and law enforcement is what *The Intercept* describes as the "Surveillance-Industrial Complex," which is when security agencies and the corporate sector merge together with a purpose to collaborate mass information gathering, tracking, and surveillance. The Surveillance-Industrial Complex is powered by fusion centers that have been financially backed by the government since President George W. Bush signed the 9/11 Commission Act in 2007. The seventy-seven fusion centers in the United States are essentially information-sharing centers where law enforcement and private partners improve the ability to safeguard the homeland and prevent terrorist activity (U.S. Department of Justice). However, within the Surveillance-Industrial Complex, private-sector entities have the ability to grow without specific legislation authorizing it, leaving little to no transparency or oversight. This means that TigerSwan and private companies alike have no obligations to protect constitutional rights such as free speech, association, or privacy. Therefore, this grants law enforcement a loophole to carry out duties in unethical ways, creating serious legal ambiguity (Brown et al., 2017).

TigerSwan & Branches of Intelligence-led Policing
Earlier in the literature review I highlighted and described key concepts such as intelligence-led policing and strategic incapacitation. Drawing upon the surveillance tactics of TigerSwan in the DAPL protest at Standing Rock, I will present how the scholarly theories relate to the analysis of the case study of TigerSwan and their contribution to the Surveillance Industrial Complex. As stated previously, intelligence-led policing consists of methods that shift the act of policing to one of "reacting" to crime and disorder to one that "pre-empts" it by placing an emphasis on systemic intelligence gathering and analysis and strategic use of resources to track and diffuse potential public disorder. Throughout the DAPL protests, TigerSwan heavily relied on surveillance tactics of intelligence-led policing and strategic incapacitation.

To reiterate, intelligence-led policing strives to be proactive, preventative, scientific and analytical in order to effectively identify, rank and intervene with protestors. Leaked documents reported by *The Intercept* and *Grist*, revealed TigerSwan attempted to not only divide activists, but also manipulate and discredit the pipeline opponents with smear campaigns that described the anti-pipeline camps as "rife with drug use and sexual deviance" (Brown, Parrish, & Speri, 2017, June 3). TigerSwan also collected and analyzed evidence that law enforcement used to wrongly incriminate the Standing Rock activists. One example of this tactic in action was when TigerSwan interpreted innocent social gatherings as potentially dangerous, such as the casino concert featuring Jackson Browne and Bonnie Rait. In fear of "the potential to gather numerous outside influencers," TigerSwan pushed for the event to be pre-emptively counter measured (Brown, Parrish, & Speri, 2017, June 3).

TigerSwan also utilized intelligence-led policing with a detailed "Persons of Interest" list and other databases alike that included photo and license plate numbers. Maintaining a list of suspicious participants at the protest camps granted TigerSwan the upper hand, because list making is a form of surveillance that serves to categorize and vilify (Goody, 1997). Clayton Thomas-Miller was one of many "persons of interest" that ended up in the TigerSwan database. As a member of the Canadian Mathias Colomb Cree Nation and a campaigner with 350.org, a

nonprofit organization that appeared on many surveillance reports, TigerSwan took note of his whereabouts around the anti-pipeline campsites. This is an example of the multiple times TigerSwan's intelligence was incorrect because it had been revealed that Clayton Thomas-Miller only visited the camps to donate clothes to the protestors (Juhasz, 2017, June 1).

In order to precisely attain information from intelligence-led policing, TigerSwan utilized the methods of strategic incapacitation and threat assessment. We know that strategic incapacitation is the modern-day hybrid between intelligence gathering and analysis of intelligence-led policing to better pre-empt protest through the social control of protestors (Wood, 2014). Threat assessment enforces strategic incapacitation, which is seen when TigerSwan treated protest activity like criminal activity. TigerSwan exemplified this strategy with their language used about the DAPL protestors. In many of their surveillance reports, the security company described the peaceful demonstrators with military and tactical terms that are typically used in a war zone. Not only that, but they also compared participants of the DAPL protests to Jihadist fighters (Brown, Parrish, & Speri, 2017, May 27).

A focused effort on people of color was also a tactic employed by TigerSwan to criminalize protestors, as it is easier to incriminate a minority than a white person (Wood, 2014). Security reports frequently noted arrests and watching eyes on Native American groups such as the Red Warrior Society and the American Indian Movement, along with members of Black Lives Matter and Palestinian activists who were labeled as "Islamists" (Juhasz, 2017 June 1).

Another pillar of strategic incapacitation is creating a public relations counter-campaign. By dismantling the protest message in the media, law enforcement attempts to discourage protestors while also building morale between police forces and the general public. TigerSwan took a swing at this method quite a few times. Earlier I introduced the paper with the injury of Sophia Wilansky, which ignited an outraged social media storm. During the raid where Wilansky's arm was severely hurt, a leaked email thread revealed correspondence between FBI and law enforcement agents at fusion centers in the area monitoring and controlling the narrative of the violent incident. Federal agents and TigerSwan also looked to social media feeds to execute the promotion of their propaganda. With this combine effort, law enforcement pushed the narrative that a protestor's homemade explosive device injured Sophia Wilansky's arm (Brown, Parrish, & Speri, 2017, June 3).

Along with pre-emptive actions, criminalization of protestors, and media spins, infiltration is also an important part of strategic incapacitation. Leaked documents referenced intelligence-gathering teams to infiltrate the protest camps and activist groups. The members of these teams used false names and identities in order to gain trust of the protestors. Once the necessary information was obtained, the team would report back to TigerSwan. Although this is a commonly used tactic in large-scale protests, it was still difficult for the participants to identify who was authentic, or who was just merely infiltrating for information.

TigerSwan's Use of Mobile Media Surveillance

Mobile media has the ability to serve as a medium for mobilization of protest while also as a preying ground for surveillance. The hashtag #NoDAPL went viral on social media platforms in summer 2016 and brought increased awareness to the movement. As mobilization generated

online to garner support both near and far for the DAPL protest, TigerSwan kept an eye on social media activity, even activity that was supposedly set to private. In a TigerSwan surveillance report from October 10, 2016, there is reference to a social media cell that harnessed a URL coding technique utilized to discover hidden profiles and groups associated with the protestors. This allowed TigerSwan to access private information that would self-incriminate the participants at a later date (Juhasz, 2017, June 1).

In addition to the social media cell, protestors also started to notice suspicious behavior from their cell phones. Some of these abnormal occurrences included oddly fast battery drainage, Internet applications freezing, and complete cell phone crashing. Protestors also began to grow wary of surveillance activity when some were notified of login attempts on their Google accounts that originated from IP addresses from North Dakota's Information and Technology Department. Social media posts were frequently tampered with as well, with the disappearance of Facebook posts and Messenger threads (Lacambra, 2016, December 15).

Live stream videos on Facebook played an important role throughout the Dakota Access Pipeline protests. The videos recorded violent clashes between police and protestors, many of which attracted upwards of 4 million views on Facebook alone (Sottile, 2016, November 5). Actress Shailene Woodley was arrested in October 2016 while participating in the protest, while also conducting a live stream from her cell phone, which was handed off to her mother once police initiated the arrest. Online viewers watched as the police took the actress away in real-time, unsure why she was specifically selected for arrest (Miller, 2016, October 19). Some suspect police wanted to exploit her star-status for counter-campaign purposes; however, to law enforcement's dismay her arrest only drew more attention to the movement. As live stream videos became more prominent among protestors, TigerSwan and law enforcement grew wary. Soon enough, Facebook Live videos had difficulty uploading, or would disappear altogether after uploaded. Many suspected this could be due to cell-site stimulators, otherwise known as CSS's or stingrays (Lacambra, 2016, December 15). Live feeds place a significant power in the hands of protestors, one that serves as a vehicle for transparency and community. This is the kind of power that makes the government, law enforcement, and private firms like TigerSwan increasingly afraid of what the people can accomplish with just one cell phone.

Impact and Aftermath of TigerSwan & the Dakota Access Pipeline Protest
On January 24, 2017, President Donald Trump reinstated the pipeline construction plans that had been stalled by the Obama administration just a few months prior. The protest camps were evicted a month later. As the camps cleared and activists dispersed to major cities to hold rallies and marches, TigerSwan continued surveillance efforts on the DAPL protestors in order to exemplify their continuous value to Energy Transfer Partners. TigerSwan recycled the surveillance tactics used at the resistance camps and applied them to areas where DAPL protestors gathered (Brown, Parrish, & Speri, 2017, June 21).

Similar to the methods used in the fall, TigerSwan's surveillance tactics exemplified the theories of intelligence-led policing, strategic incapacitation, threat assessment, list making, and mobile media intelligence. While protestors made their way to Chicago, TigerSwan took notice, as February 2017 documents describe various efforts to infiltrate the activist groups. Intentions of observed and photographic documentation of a Chicago protest were also noted in a February

report. Although no plans of sabotage ever came about, TigerSwan never ceased their paranoia about activist-led counterattack, with speculations of flammable liquids and homemade weapons. Racism and derogatory language also continued to run rampant in surveillance efforts, with terms such as "snow poopers" and "sewage producers" used against the activists in an attempt to paint them as a threat. The TigerSwan documents also mocked Native American names and docked groups like Veterans for Peace as "anti-American/Pro-communist." The "Persons of Interest" list also continued outside the protest camps, as TigerSwan zeroed in on those who seemed to be "the most radical." Social media monitoring kept tabs on high-profile activists, and even when the activists grew suspicious of their mobile media usage, TigerSwan took note of that as well (Brown, Parrish, & Speri, 2017, June 21).

PART III: CONCLUSION

Protest policing has continued to grow more militarized and strategic with the help of not only privatized surveillance, with the help tactics that prove to be not only technologically-advanced, but also invasive, unethical, and sometimes inaccurate. The militarization of protest policing has grown since the advent of intelligence-led policing, strategic incapacitation, command and control, and the utilization of mobile media. These efforts combined work towards the development of the Surveillance Industrial Complex that I anticipate will also expand as police becomes increasingly militarized.

By using TigerSwan as my case study, I was able to highlight the ways in which surveillance of social protest supports the idea that government suppression of activism operates to maintain order and control over the population. More specifically, order and control over minorities and indigenous people, who are especially vulnerable to unethical police tactics. As surveillance and protest policing continues to grow more militarized and privatized, the use of a private security firm to gather intelligence creates legal ambiguity that favors the government and police forces. The key takeaway from my research is the realization that the government, law enforcement, and TigerSwan worked together as a cohesive unit in a controlled society. This cohesive unit worked relentlessly to protect the interests of a Big Oil corporation, Energy Transfer Partners. As long as elitist corporations continue to line the pockets of politicians and those on top, privatized surveillance of the people who resist will too continue to on.

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THE IMPORTANCE OF OVERALL STRUCTURE IN CONDUCTING A MEDICAL ENCOUNTER
BY LINDSEY HALL

The medical interaction between doctor and patient provides an interesting case study from which to examine and analyze conversational structure. In the study of conversation analysis, work has been conducted to analyze medical interactions, specifically the overall structure of conversation between doctors and their patients (Heritage and Maynard, 2006, Ten Have 1991, Frankel, 1984, Robinson 2003, Robinson, 2006, Heritage and Robinson, 2006, Ariss, 2009, Webb, Lehn and Heath, 2013, Peräkylä, 2006.) Conversation analysis elements like sequence organization, overall structure and turn taking are also evident in these examples of medical interaction (Clift, 2016; Sacks et al., 1974; Schegloff, 2007; Sidnell, 2009). This paper will illustrate the fundamental devices of conversation analysis in a medical setting. By examining transcripts of a doctor-patient encounter, this paper will demonstrate the elements of sequence and overall organization found in a medical conversation. Furthermore, the paper will provide evidence of how these devices create the structure and reinforce the format of doctor-patient interactions and how alteration from this structure can deconstruct the relationship.

Overall Structure and Sequence Organization in Conversations

There are numerous studies conducted on the overall structure of talk within the conversation analysis field. These studies have analyzed individual sections of interaction, known as small structural units, to see the way talk is organized (Clift, 2016; Sacks et al., 1974). A key element to conversation analysis and interaction is sequence organization, particularly through the use of adjacency pairs (Schegloff, 2007; Clift, 2016). Sequences are how actions are accomplished through turns in talk (Clift, 2016). They are done in adjacency pairs, that consist of a first and second pair part (Clift, 2016). In Frankel (1984), Sacks (1970) identified that adjacency pairs include temporal constraints, sequential constraints and overall structural constraints. The adjacency pairs allow for construction of sequences of different lengths, complexity and meaning (Frankel, 1984). First pair parts dictate what follows and is done for the second pair part in conversation (Schegloff, 2007). Through this, turns taken by speakers have a mutual relevance and orderliness that makes a sequence of turns, creating co-construction of conversation (Schegloff, 2007).

Conversation analysis studies also look at the construction of identity through the structural components. When a speaker offers a first assessment as a first pair part, they make a claim to have rights of what is being discussed (Clift, 2016). These elements of conversation analytics allow for further understanding of roles that take place and actions pursued between participants in conversations, including doctor-patient interactions. With the structural elements in conversation, Sidnell (2009) examined the openings of conversations and their structure. He identifies that openings are rather short and begin with a greeting sequence and identification, followed by a "how are you" reciprocal inquiry. This is studied based off non-medical interaction, but is useful in examining doctor-patient openings. The format follows a summons-answer, identification-recognition and a "how are you" inquiry, but in the format of addressing

health issues (Sidnell, 2009). Sidnell (2009) addresses the overall structural organization of conversation which positions particular kinds of interactional work.

Overall Structure and Sequence Organization in the Context of Medical Interactions

In addition to research on the basic structural units solely focused on regular interactions, conversation analysis studies have also extended these investigations to the context of a medical interaction. Heritage and Maynard (2006) bridge the conversation analysis studies with doctor-patient interactions. Their study investigates the interaction of doctor-patient in a primary care setting. These interactions are found to be highly structured and contain certain steps within the interaction to produce a specific outcome for the visit (Heritage and Maynard, 2006). The typical overall organization of a doctor-patient interaction begins with an opening, followed by a complaint, examination, diagnosis, treatment and a closing (Heritage and Maynard, 2006). Their work also points to the presence of sequence organization in achieving interactional identities and defining roles that are instrumental to the interaction (Heritage and Maynard, 2006). With the idea of roles and identities, they also establish that the opening of an interaction is instrumental to creating a relationship among doctors and patients. This analysis of the opening sequence of doctor-patient interactions is what inspired this paper's investigation on the overall organization of the medical encounter and how alterations from the typical structure can change the overall interaction taking place. Ten Have (1991) analyzes the asymmetry taking place in the doctor-patient interaction which gives a further understanding of the roles each participant is enacting and how this is part of the structure in the interaction.

Along with doctor-patient interactions, Frankel (1984) specifically analyzes individual turns that contribute to the overall sequence through microinteractional analysis. This work provides the normal structure that is evident in multiple cases of doctor-patient interaction. In the study, Frankel discusses the roles of the doctor and patient and what these roles provide to the interaction. In most cases, physicians' utterances take the form of questions and patients' utterances are answers (Frankel, 1984). This positions the physicians in a place of authority and the patients in a subordinate role. Another element in sequence organization are response tokens, which are provided by doctors to initiate the patient to continue speaking about the problem or discussion at hand (Frankel, 1984). Through microanalysis it is evident that health status and communication is done through productions of individuals through the social interaction (Frankel, 1984). This study provides an investigation of the normal structure within a doctor-patient interaction through sequence organization and the implications it provides. With this, we are given a foundation of the interaction, which allows for examination of what would occur if this structure was altered.

Interactional structure in medical visits and the patient involvement has been addressed by Robinson (2003). There are varying roles that patients play which display their interaction (Robinson, 2003). As Ten Have (1991) notes, patient participation varies in different phases of interaction, such as openings of conversations. When a problem is presented in the first part of the doctor-patient interaction, it allows for the normal interaction structure of medical encounters. This reaffirms the structure presented by Heritage and Maynard (2006). Ariss (2009) also analyzed interactions in doctor-patient setting. Ariss (2009) investigated asymmetrical knowledge claims and patient participation, finding that patients are inferior to doctors in most settings which maintains the moral order in interactions. Ariss (2009) also states that claims of

entitlement to knowledge are oriented by other participants, where research shows asymmetry in doctor-patient interactions is collaboratively achieved. However, Ariss (2009) notes that medical communication is becoming more patient centered, allowing shared decision making and understanding.

Patient knowledge and interaction has also been studied by Peräkylä (2006), who examines diagnoses between doctors and patients. This study focuses on the ways to present diagnosis in terms of coordination with evidence to present the doctor's authority and knowledge. The study also addresses the patient's role in the diagnosis phase. When patients respond to the diagnosis by the doctor in extended responses they display their knowledgeability (Peräkylä, 2006). These extended responses incorporate patient's claim to knowledge on the diagnosis (Peräkylä, 2006). Stating explicit agreement or providing their own diagnosis while within the doctor's medical domain of authority can show the patient's agency as a knowledgeable patient (Peräkylä, 2006). This study begins to address how patients can exhibit knowledge in the doctor-patient interaction, rather than being more passive.

The Missing Research: the Structure of Doctor-patient Encounters

Scholars in conversation analysis have extensively researched the elements of conversations such as sequence organization (adjacency pairs, turn taking) and the overall structure this creates (Clift, 2016, Sacks, Schegloff, Jefferson, 1974, Schegloff, 2007, Sidnell, 2009). Previous studies have also focused on the medical field in overall structure of doctor-patient encounters (Heritage and Maynard, 2006), structural units, (Robinson, 2003, Ten Have, 1991, Frankel, 1984), openings,(Webb, Lehn, Heath, 2013, Heath, 1981) and patients' agency of knowledge (Peräkylä, 2006, Ariss, 2009). After further investigation of literature, there were no findings of research on the relationship between the typical structure of openings in doctor-patient encounters and the result of a different structural pattern. It seems there has been no research conducted on the alteration of the normal overall organization and the implications this has with doctors and patients.

By researching this area in doctor-patient interactions, we can identify deviant cases, which is a procedure in conversation analysis for checking the validity and generality of proposed phenomena of conversational interaction. (Edwards, 2004). By investigating openings and the alteration of normal organization, we can identify how this plays a role in patients' claim to authority and knowledge. This paper will study how patients use the structural units in sequence organization to change the agenda and authority role in the conversation. This investigation of deviant cases will provide another element to consider for the patient's exhibition of knowledge and further illustrate that the doctor-patient interactions are highly structured (Heritage and Maynard, 2006).

Data and Methods

For this paper, I am utilizing conversation analysis and the Jeffersonian model of transcription. Each transcription has been completed through the Jeffersonian model in order to provide easily readable transcripts while also representing pronunciation and orthographic notations. I have examined four medical interactions for this paper, each focused on the openings of doctor-patient interactions. Using conversation analysis, I will analyze the transcripts to show evidence of the

structure in these medical interactions. The first transcript provided is between a doctor and patient in an emergency visit for tooth pain. The second medical encounter is between doctor and patient in a hospital setting. The third transcription is between a patient and surgeon for a surgery consultation. Lastly, the fourth and fifth transcripts are between a patient, her husband and a doctor regarding her upcoming surgery. Each transcription is from provided recordings from a health communication class and represents organization in medical interactions.

Analysis

To begin, we will examine the normal structures found in medical interactions between doctors and patients. Heritage and Maynard (2007) state that doctor-patient interactions contain an overall highly structured organization. This structure begins with an opening, where the doctor and patient establish an interactional relationship, followed by a complaint, examination, diagnosis, treatment and closing (Heritage and Maynard, 2007). Frankel (1984) notes in most cases, physicians' utterances take the form of questions and patients' utterances are answers. Sequence organization in these interactions achieve interactional identities and roles that can be established or manipulated (Heritage and Maynard, 2007).

As Clift (2016) discusses, sequences are how actions are accomplished through turn taking in an interaction, which is essential to the structure of conversations. First pair parts may be constructed to prefer a specific form in response and second pair parts display a preference in the action they perform (Clift, 2016). These utterance pairs can be utilized for greetings, questions and more. In a doctor-patient setting, the combined findings show typically the doctor initiates conversation by an utterance, whereas the patient completes the utterances, with doctor's producing the questions (Frankel, 1984). Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1974) note that turn taking is fundamental to the organization of these interactions. Lastly, the highly-structured doctor-patient interactions typically follow the format of patients' tasks including answering questions and accepting physicians' decisions, while doctors listen to complaints and investigate cases through questioning (Ten Have, 1991).

To demonstrate this ordinary structure, we will examine Transcript 1 and 2. Transcript 1 is the doctor patient interaction in an emergency visit for a tooth pain.

Transcript 1 Emergency Tooth (01:18-01:30)

```
01.  DOC:     Mr. Anderson?
02.  PAT:     yeah.
03.  DOC:     he[y I'm doctor] Mandel?
04.  PAT:        [How ya doin?]
05.  DOC:     nice to meet you sir↑.=
06.  PAT:     =hey you don't mind if I have this do you?
07.  DOC:     >not at all.<
08.  PAT:     okay.
09.  DOC:     O:kay >what's< going on TodA↑y?
10.  PAT:     I have major tooth pain man.=
11.  DOC:     =>o↑kay.<
```

In line 01, the doctor enters the room initiating a first pair part to address the question of who the patient is. In line 02, the patient completes the second pair part, confirming that he is Mr. Anderson. In line 03, the doctor utilizes another first pair part to initiate a greeting to the patient (Clift, 2016), where the patient responds with a second pair part in line 04 and a sequence

closing third by the doctor in line 05, ending the adjacency pair. This is part of the opening of the interaction which Heritage and Maynard (2007) identify; the doctor and patient are beginning to establish an interactional relationship. In line 09, the doctor initiates another first pair part in the form of a question to the patient regarding the reason for the visit. In line 10, the patient addresses his question with the second pair part.

Transcript 2 is another interaction between doctor-patient in a hospital room setting.
Transcript 2 Hospital Consultation (13:27- 13:41)

```
01.  DOC:     h:i.
02.  PAT:     °hi°
03.  DOC:     >how are you?<
04.  PAT:     °alright.°
05.           (3.0)
06.  DOC:     ((putting gloves on))
07.           So we understand that you (.) got this heart disea:se (.)
08.           during your pregnancy or after your pregnancy?
09.  PAT:     yeah afte:r.=
10.  DOC:     =↓afterwards.
```

In line 01, the doctor enters the room initiating a first pair part to begin an introduction (Heritage and Maynard, 2007). In line 02, the patient completes the second pair part, completing the introduction by responding with "hi". In line 03, the doctor initiates another first pair part to ask the patient about their current state. The patient then responds with a second pair part in line 04 responding to his question and ends the adjacency pair. After a brief pause in line 05, the doctor continues his line of questioning in lines 07-08, which follows the normal interaction where physicians' utterances take the form of questions and patients' utterances are answers (Frankel, 1984). In the above two transcripts, we see the normal structure of doctor-patient interaction that Frankel (1984) and Heritage and Maynard (2007) address. The problem being addressed in the first part of the doctor-patient interaction, allows for the normal interaction structure of medical activities (Robinson, 2003).

While this illustrates the normal organization of doctor-patient medical interactions, deviant cases have been identified that counter this. Deviant cases, as discussed by Edwards (2004), provides evidence of the atypical interaction. Similar to Setling's (1998) case on TCU's and deviant cases, the construction of talk will be further supported by representing its contrast. In Transcript 3, the surgery consultation between the doctor and patient does not follow the typical interaction sequence.

Transcript 3 Surgery Consultation (00:00- 00:22)

```
01.  DOC:     sorry for the wai:t, (.) the:re.=
02.  PAT:     =°no wurries,°
03.           (1.7)
04.  DOC:     °alright,° nice't meet ya.
05.           ((handshake))
06.           (.4)
07.  PAT:     I'm- >confused why I went through an emm ar eye if er an xray's
08.           gona find it. Whadda you know that they [don't.
09.  DOC:                                              [ahhehe]
10.           well achsually jus gives us more information. It gives us
11.           specific vie:ws, to look at the->your head neck junction.=>glad
12.           we did it too.<
13.           (1.0)
```

```
14.  DOC:      ummm.
15.            (1.0) ((doctor sitting))
16.  DOC:      we s'ya have fibrous dysplasia? S'that=
17.  PAT:      =yep.
18.  DOC:      Ohkay.
```

In lines 01-06, the introduction of the interaction begins. In line 01, the doctor initiates a first pair part and apologies for his tardiness, followed by the second pair part from the patient in line 02. In line 04, the doctor initiates another first pair part, furthering the introduction of the interaction. In a typical interaction, we would see this first pair part recognized as a greeting, followed by a second pair part completed by the other speaker to respond to the greeting initiated. However, in line 07, after a pause in line 06, the patient ignores the first pair part greeting initiated by the doctor in line 05 and creates his own first pair part. By the patient's resistance, the structure of the opening and the overall interaction changes and the patient is "gazumping" the interaction and claiming authority in the conversation.

Clift (2016) states that a speaker who offers a first assessment implicitly makes a claim to primary rights to evaluate what is being assessed. This concept gives the doctor authority in regular interactions. However, in Transcript 3, the patient initiates their own first pair part taking rights to knowledge and authority. With the utterance by the patient in line 07, the rest of the overall organization of the conversation is breached. In line 09, the doctor begins his response with overlapped laughter of the patient and furthers his response in lines 10 through 12. Here we see the unordinary feature of the conversation, with the doctor answering the patient's first pair part, which is atypical to the normal interaction (Frankel, 1984). These features, the patient ignoring the greeting first pair part by the doctor and starting his own first pair part, are important because the patient creates a new structure and attitude for the following interaction to occur. We also see that this does not follow normal opening interaction structure by elements such as laughter, pauses and overlap. In line 09, the doctor overlaps the talk of the patient with laughter, which can be a reaction to the unusual occurrence taking place. Laughter can be a form of competition over relative rights (Clift, 2012). As the doctor continues speaking through lines 10-12, there is a pause in line 13 before continued talk in line 14 again by the doctor. Here we see an alteration in the structure of the normal interaction, where the doctor pauses for talk a turn by the patient, which does not occur. This creates the doctor to speak in line 14, further explaining himself on the diagnosis. These elements speak to the unusual interaction structure taking place.

Another deviant case of doctor-patient interactions is evident in Transcripts 4 and 5 with the husband, wife and doctor pre-surgery. One should note the wife (patient) does not have an active role in the conversation, rather the husband is taking the role of patient by having a conversation with the doctor about the future surgery.

```
Transcript 4 Surgery Discussion (00:07- 00:48)
01.  hus:     so my question to my wi:fe was exa↑ctly
02.           (.2)
03.  hus:     what are you cutting in there?
04.  wif:     hhh ↑I told him not to ask you [when ( )
05.  hus:                                    [I says I'll just pull out my
06.           knife and make a quick >[slice]< then we can le:ave but
07.  wif:                             [hhh]
08.           (.2)
```

```
09.   hus:      She [don't] like that.
10.   doc:          [So] there's there's a transition between the mus:cle. (.)
11.             and th:e ah tendon called °napa neuroses°.
12.   hus:      Oka↑y?
13.   doc:      ynd we actually transect a↑cross.
14.   hus:      Oh. you go in that direction?
15.   doc:      yeah.
16.   hus:      a:::::oh okay.
17.   doc:      So we go in with a scope a:cross and the scope? has a (.) there
18.             the cannula >has a little slit< on the bottom of it so it
19.             protects it so it won't hurt any of the other tissue around it
20.             and we go with a °hook° blade cut.
21.   hus:      a:Hhh.
```

Transcript 5 Surgery Discussion Cont. (01:09-01:27)

```
01.   doc:      and you know how when when you cut that that fascia there's a
02.             muscle=
03.   hus:      =yes.=
04.   doc:      =right underneath it.
05.   hus:      yes.
06.   doc:      you get that red °pinkish° and it looks just like that.
07.   hus:      a:hhh.
08.   doc:      °release it° and I'll have some pictures for you afterwards=
09.   hus:      =right ↓on.
10.   doc:      that I'll give you.
11:   hus:      that's [good].
12.   doc:      while we're in there.=
13:   wif:      =yeah.
14.             (.)
15.   hus:      well I was curious about that.
```

In Transcript 4, line 01, we see the husband does not follow the typical organization of the doctor-patient encounter by initiating the conversation through self-selection to speak. By initiating the first pair part of an adjacency pair as a question regarding the procedure, the husband is taking control of the conversation and assuming the role as knowing by taking the role of the doctor (Clift, 2016). In line 04, the laughter initiated by the wife her statement I told him not to ask you, shows deviance from the typical structure of conversation and recognizes that the husband is changing the structure. In line 05, the husband continues to explain his expertise in a joking manner backed by the laughter by the wife in line 07.

In line 10, the doctor provides a second pair part to the question regarding the procedure. This is atypical to the normal interaction which Frankel (1984) discusses. In line 12, the husband provides a response token to initiate the doctor to continue his commentary. This is different than normal interaction due to doctors providing the response tokens in most cases to initiate further telling by the patient (Frankel, 1984). In line 14, the husband again states a question in expansion of the doctor's response in line 10, which allows him to resume his authoritative role by controlling the question sequence. In line 17, the doctor continues, beginning with so, initiating a longer response to the question, which in most cases is utilized by patients to tell their reasoning for the visit (Heritage and Maynard, 2007).

Furthering the alteration of overall organization in a doctor-patient interaction can be seen in Transcript 5. In line 01, the doctor is continuing a story and seeking confirmation by the husband, which is given in line 03 with a response token of "yes". This pattern continues through lines 04 to 09 with the doctor explaining and the husband confirming with response tokens. Through these two transcripts, we see that the roles of doctor and patient do not follow ordinary interactions due to the change in speaking roles. As Ariss (2009) explains, usually patients are inferior to doctors, maintaining moral order, which follows the asymmetry of medical interactions, however this can be altered, as seen in the above transcripts.

Discussion

Throughout this analysis, we have seen that doctor-patient interactions are highly structured and follow a specific organization (Heritage and Maynard, 2007). The focus has been to demonstrate this structure through conversation analysis of Jeffersonian transcripts from medical interactions. Previously, overall structure has been studied by many to identify the relationship between doctors and patients (Heritage and Maynard, 2006, Ten Have 1991, Frankel, 1984, Robinson 2003, Robinson, 2006, Heritage and Robinson, 2006, Ariss, 2009, Webb, Lehn and Heath, 2013, Peräkylä, 2006, Clift, 2012). Structural units and elements within these conversations have been thoroughly investigated (Clift, 2016, Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson, 1974, Schegloff, 2007, Sidnell, 2009). The present finding utilizes the previous investigations done in conversation analysis. It provides an understanding of the structure involved in doctor-patient interactions and the following organization it proceeds. By examining relevant cases of medical interactions, there is evidence that interactions within the medical field are not ordinary conversations because they follow such a strict format. By examining the evident structure from openings of doctor-patient interactions to the overall organization that occurs, we can see the roles doctors and patients play in pursuing the goals of the meeting. This organization and structure of interactions provides the foundation for medical agendas to be met.

Conclusion

The four medical interaction cases examined provide evidence that supports the overall organization and structure between doctor-patient in openings of conversations and their interactions. With the use of two deviant cases displayed in Transcripts 3, 4 and 5, however, we see a breach in the organization of the medical encounter. By initiation of first pair parts from the patients, there is authority shown over the doctor, where this role is typically the responsibility of the doctor (Clift, 2016). Throughout the deviant case transcripts, the doctor supplies responses to questions, which is typically the patients' role (Frankel, 1984) and response tokens. These cases are deviant with the evidence of laughter which demonstrates a struggle in the conversation (Clift 2012). Through these deviant cases, we see that patients used the structure, such as adjacency pairs, to accomplish a goal of establishing their role as authoritative. The comparative analysis of overall structure and organization in doctor-patient interactions provides insight on the normal sequence that occurs. Meanwhile, the deviant cases provided evidence for comparative use to further illustrate the normal interaction between doctor-patient that occur. Therefore, it is evident that there is a normal structure of doctor-patient interaction that occurs containing specific features, but when a feature is changed, the meaning or roles of the speakers change. Overall, it is important to understand that the talk that occurs between doctor and patients is highly structured and allows for the interaction to pursue the necessary goals of appointments or encounters.

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A TROPIC UNDERSTANDING OF STREET ART AS A PERSUADER FOR SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ADVOCACY

BY LINDSAY KOSEL

What began in the streets of New York in the 1970s has migrated across the world. Street art is often characterized by rhetoric of "resistance to corporate values and an implicit desire to subvert existing power structures" (Saunders, 2011). Graffiti and street art has been prevalent in the past few decades taking stances toward social and political adversity. Famously, Banksy has taken the streets creating clear "narratives of global ethics, of an unfair world that needs reform, by juxtaposing familiar icons of western capitalism with icons of western imperialism (Brasset, 2009, p.232). Similar to cartoons (Moss, 2007), though, there lacks discussion about how persuasive arguments within street art work. An essential tenet of street art is the reclamation of public space "for the people," a goal with clear roots in the social and political activism (Saunders, 2011). With the ability to be an activist medium, street art is a visual display that presents a message that is often simultaneously revealing and concealing information, in this way it can work rhetorically. Additionally, it is evident that street art that is politically or socially charged often isn't neutral often taking sides or making a stance against the "other". When assigning meaning, Moss (2007) explains, "Persuaders often rely on binary choices" like judgments of good and evil and she continues to say, "persuasion therefor becomes the ability to persuade an individual in a positive or negative direction" (241). Is it possible, then, for a message to be rhetorically neutral? Street art that uses neutrality can be powerful in creating a dialogue that offers a new perspective on perspectives.

This analysis will focus on how one street artist took the challenge of creating a display on the West Bank Wall that divides Palestine and Israel. This display is rhetorically interesting in the purposeful choices of location, content, context, and the medium used that evidently elicits a retrospective response from viewers. The placement and location provide a canvas, and the people that inhabit these places provide the context. The use of the wall is meaningful in the context of the situation and location that allows the photographs to elicit thought and reflection. Placing images in politically tense locations makes a provocative statement. The placement and arrangement of the portraits shows the creators' ambition to create public art that would not be ignored.

Studying street art as a rhetorical display allows introspection on the components of persuasion. There is no question that there is a connection between street art and persuasive rhetoric, but how do the persuasive arguments work within this medium? In this light, this paper will focus on the rhetorical function of how street artists utilize images as means for political and social change. This analysis will specifically place importance on the question of, how do street artists use images as an instrument for social or political advocacy?

"What's the difference between an Israel and Palestinian?" This is the question posed by anonymous French street artist JR. To tackle this question, he ventured with his friend Marco to start a campaign called "Face2Face", a deviation from a bigger project, "28 Millimeter". While

the simple answers to the question include, "Israeli are Jewish. Palestinians are Arab", JR counters these answers by suggesting that these two groups of people are more alike than either group thought.

In 2005, the concept was born. Listening to the noise of the Middle East conflict, JR and Marco ventured there, and asked themselves "are they [the Palestinians and Israelis] so different"? They began talking to people, and found that they were quite different than how they were framed in media. Did they, the Israeli's and Palestinians see that too? Even though they are neighbors, Palestinians and Israelis typically only see each other through the lens of the media.

The Face2Face campaign consists of taking portraits of Palestinians and Israelis doing the same job, posting them face to face, in huge formats, in unavoidable places, on both Israeli and Palestinian sides (JR-art). When the project finally came together in 2007, images of taxi drivers, lawyers, cooks, actors, etc. erected in 8 cities on both sides of the politically charged wall, thus becoming one of "the biggest illegal exhibitions ever" (Ted, 2011). At some point, someone had asked what was going on. Why were photos of Palestinians being pasted in Israel? JR explained that it was just part of the project, and proceeded to ask her, "So can you tell who is who?" She had no clue. The use of up-close portraiture calls for trust between the creator and participants. JR explains that using a 28mm lens means getting within 10 inches of the subjects face to the point you can feel them breathing (TED, 2011). The closeness allows for "up close and personal" perspective. The participants' humanity become the focus, while the wall and distinctiveness between the two groups of people becomes blurred. With no use of text, the display relies heavily on the audience's introspection. This proves to be a challenge for the creator, in that in order for the display to be impactful in the way it is intended the creator must use location, context, and content carefully and decisively.

The goal of their exhibition was to show that all those inhabitants of the two places are not so different; when you look at the portraits it becomes difficult to differentiate between a Palestinian and an Israeli. "It's obvious, but they don't see that. We must put them face-to-face. They will realize", says JR. Putting these people face to face performs as a metaphorical confrontation with the reality that they are more alike than they think. His work highlights "simple juxtapositions that everyday people produce, while at the same time counteracting the reductive messages propagated by mainstream advertising and media" (Lewisohn 123). JR's objective was to not only post up images in places and spaces where they are likely not accepted nor expected, but also to encourage people to observe and wonder what is going on. He wanted these communities to contemplate and question the artwork's message. In this endeavor, location and context played a crucial role. The use of the politically charged space, the statement became a protest against the very wall that the artists appropriated as a canvas. My hypothesis is that the use and placement of portraits in street art can have power in political activism, but that it won't elucidate a change in the world. It is not going to cease the conflict that arguably made the wall necessary, but rather art can be a catalyst for changing perspectives and ignite dialogue.

An integral principle of street art is that it is temporary. Consequently, it is inevitable to be taken down either naturally or by force. It has been about a decade since this display was created, and during this time some of the images have since been ripped down. The use of social media, blogs, and websites of the artist keep the display alive for people around the world to see. For

this analysis, the visual display with by examined through the photographs supplied by the artist on his official website. The conservation of street art through media is important for art activism when intended for the world. The only way that any one else is able to see this work is because the photographs and the context in which they are a part were captured and displayed on the web. It is likely that most people will see this display for the first time through the frame of their computer screen. This is drastically different from the framing of the Separation Wall, the canvas used for the display for the inhabitants in the surrounding areas to experience. At the time of the display, the intended audiences were those that lived in the surrounding areas, Palestinians and Israelis, and presumably tourists. The very nature of street art invites the public to see and experience the display. This art is not meant to inside closed walls, it's meant to be shared with everyone.

Kenneth Burke (1941) provides a framework that elucidates how this visual display operates rhetorically. The four master tropes provide answers to how the display elicits reflection from viewers and will contribute to the understanding of how street art acts rhetorically to impose a change of perspective. The context of the location and the people that inhabit the location is vital to the purpose of the message that is being conveyed. The tropes allow for individuals to examine possibilities for audience response (Moss, 241). Tropes are essentially instruments of thought implying that they are inescapable, operating consciously or unconsciously. Tropes are embedded in our daily language and serve as means to make judgments as "to how things are and how they may be". There's a particular way that the creator wants the audience to view the art. It is implied, then, that the tropes are inherent to persuasion. Moss (2007), explains that "the without master tropes, the potential to persuade audiences decreases In this way, tropes help to guide an audience perception an action (Moss, 241). Additionally, Burke (1941) suggests that the four tropes overlap each other in that when identifying a trope in a display, it becomes harder to ignore or dismiss the others (423). It poses a decision to either focus on one trope and discuss how is doesn't account for certain feature or elements of a display, or to integrate the tropes in a way to understand how they can work together to form a message (Moss, 2007). As a rhetorical study, this is a paper that will focus on a tropic understanding of how street artists elicit thought through their created images.

The four master tropes consist of metaphor, metonymy, synecdoche, and irony (Burke, 411). These serve as organizing principles that aid in grasping the concept of specific persuasive arguments within a street art display, like that of cartoons (Moss, 2007). Burke (1941) describes metaphor as a rhetorical device that takes the form of perspective, and is "a device for seeing something in terms of some thing else" (421). It is a way of seeing one thing in the perspective of another separate thing. Often metaphors are seen as analogies in that they are "saying or suggesting that something is like or similar to something else" (Berger, 2008). Berger further states that metaphors are inescapable, they our pervasive in everyday life (62). Metonymy fulfills the function of reduction, in that a word or image that symbolizes an idea becomes a stand in for that idea (Burke, 424). Berger (2008) explains simply that metonymy is the technical term for associations (62). Synecdoche, as described by Burke (1941), is "part for the whole, whole for the part, container for the contained, sign for the thing signified…cause for effect, effect for cause, genus for species, species for genus, etc. All such conversions imply an integral relationship, a relationship of convertibility, between the two terms" (426-427). Synecdoche

formulates an argument as a relationship between the part and a whole (Moss, 242). It is a part that represents the essence.

The use of synecdoche is observed in Farrell's essay "The Horrible Spectacle" (*Rhetorics of Display*, 2006). He explains that synecdoche is "a visual trope that represents a wider landscape of social reality" (86). Synecdoche relationships are necessary to represent experiences that are indescribable. Here, he explains that the starving mother and child are representative of the famine, but that written text and imagery alone cannot reveal the full portion of suffering (70-71). Farrell argues that written description paired with visual images work together efficiently as the description adds interpretation that cannot be visually depicted (76). The use of synecdoche in street art may pose and opposition to this view. While the use of no text poses a challenge for the creator to convey their message, it allows room for purposeful reflection.

With the tool of synecdoche, a large concept or idea can be effectively communicated through a single image (Moss, 243). Metonymy and synecdoche are similar in the respect that they both assert a message through a single frame. Burke states that the primary difference between the metonymy and synecdoche is that "representation (synecdoche) stresses a *relationship* or *connectedness* between two sides of an equation, a connectedness that, like a road, extends in either direction … but reduction follows along this road in only one direction" (429). Synecdoche then suggests that the part and the whole are interchangeable, but then metonymy only manifests a one-way substitution. Metonymy is the idea that the two things being talked about are not a part of a whole or a whole of a part, but rather they share an association with each other. Metonymy is a representation, like synecdoche, but it always involves a reduction. Synecdoche on the other hand allows for a part to represent the whole and the whole to represent the part.

Lastly, irony functions in terms of a double meaning, a perspective on perspectives. Burke indicates that irony could be substituted for the term, *dialectic* (421). The dialectic calls for two opposing perspectives conjoined to provide a bigger picture. Burke explains,

> Irony arises when one tries, by the interaction of terms upon one another, to produce a development, which uses all the terms. Hence, from the standpoint of this total form (this "perspective of perspectives"), none of the participating "sub-perspectives" can be treated as either precisely right or precisely wrong (432).

One must be able to experience the drama of the two contributing elements to experience the whole. White (1973), furthers this discussion by stating that "irony deploys a *language of negativity* that discloses a mode of thought which is radically self-critical with respect not only to a given characterization of the world of experience but also to the very effort to capture adequately the truth of things in language" (35). This idea of negativity can be observed in the critical nature of street art.

Further, it becomes apparent that when identifying the tropes in a visual display, the identifier can "either remain satisfied with what appears to be a final analytical act or proceed to 'integrate' these elements…"(White, 1973). Present in JR's display, is the shift from synecdoche to irony. If irony were to be disregarded, the persuasive element of the whole would be lost. Conversely, if synecdoche is avoided in analysis, the street art loses much of its rhetorical utility. While the tropes are intertwined and flow into each other, it is help to distinguish which tropes makes this

display impactful. What is it that makes it work as a social or political message? I argue that whether JR is aware of it or not, his use of synecdoche and irony are helpful in understanding how images provokes thought and reflection as means for social and political advocacy.

Synecdoche can be observed in the visual images themselves. With the intent of the artists not to be mocking the people in the photos for their occupation or responsibility of any conflict, he poses them in a silly, sometimes grotesque, ways to have them represent the essence of humanity. It is clear that the artist wanted to depict "sameness" between Israel's and Palestinians. JR reports in his TEDtalk (2011) that he specifically asked those that volunteered to be a part of the project to "make a face of commitment, not a smile" because a smile "doesn't really tell about who you are and what you feel". What shocked him was that they all accepted to be pasted next to the one other on both sides of the wall. In putting the photos next to each other, he creates a dialogue between two opposing sides. This suggests, that while he wants the strangers to see themselves in each other, his intention is not to take away their self-identity.

When making them look silly, rather than it being a mockery of these people, it suggests that all humans have the ability to exude emotions. Simultaneously, this suggests that it is the humanness that allows for the universality of displaying and understanding faces as playful. No matter where you are from or what you believe in, underneath it all everyone possess a "humanness" quality. The medium of photography doesn't allow for purely imaginative caricatures, but rather shows them to exist. These people actively chose to make these faces. In opposition to Farrell, Hill (*Defining Visual Rhetoric)* suggests that a photograph carries "more epistemic force than a verbal depiction" because the photograph is evidence that the people in the photographs exist (29). Placing the photos besides each other, of two people typically of the same profession seems to eliminate the tension. Synecdoche is used in a way where when the photos are seen even just within the frame of a computer screen, the point comes across that these silly portraits placed besides each other display the essence of humanity, the part being the silly photos and the whole being humanness.

It is important to acknowledge that the portraits alone are just one aspect of this project. The portrait by itself is not complete. "It is the contact with everyday public space, a contact with a specific site that provides the context for the work to exist and gives it meaning" (Fredman, p.19). The contextual information that puts it all together is the location of this display, that being at the very site of conflict. The Separation Wall between the two territories is symbolically a conflict zone and politically charged. It is when seeing the portraits next to each other on this wall that irony imbues thought, it displays a perspective of perspectives. In this case, the irony is situational, highly dependent on the context. The irony is not so much depicted in the photographs themselves, but rather in the situation in which the images are placed.

There are three perspectives to consider when talking about the West Bank barrier. For its Israeli proponents, it is the "security" or "anti-terrorist" fence. For its Israeli opponents and for Palestinians, it is the "apartheid," "segregation," "separation," "colonization," "demographic" or "annexation" wall (Leuenberger, 2011). Many Palestinian graffiti artists tend to draw attention to the daily struggles of Palestinians living in the shadow of the Wall. "For them the ugliness and enormity of the wall speaks for itself" (Leuenberger, 2011). On the other hand, international graffiti artists, use the wall to "show solidarity, to raise awareness about human suffering and to

bridge cultures" (Leuenberger, 2011). Because they are more removed from the struggles that the West Bank Wall imposes, Western artists express a more cerebral interest in the Wall as a metaphor and symbol of disconnection and oppressive politics. JR is amongst these international artists, in that his project is a means to show the similar "humanness" between Israelis and Palestinians while also depicting them in a light that debunks portrayals in media. JR is putting the control with the subjects for themselves to determine how they want to be shown to the world. Given the context of how the wall is symbolized for both groups of people and the placement of silly faces on the wall, it can be argued that these two elements in juxtaposition create situational irony. The silliness of the portraits summarizes the essence humanity, where the nature to express humor is part of what it means to be human. It's important to note, then, that while the images alone provoke thought, the necessity for this display is evoked in the ironic placement.

Aiming to convey the sameness of the "Other" has been one of the main objectives of Face2Face in order to create a connection among the subjects photographed. As such, the portraits convey an essence of humanness that cross any country of origin and is established by emotions. In their discussion of street art in public space, Christenson and Thor (2017) discuss that street art and graffiti, as communication and aesthetics, occupy a key role in the geography of urban social relations. "A 'theory of context' such as geopolitics further helps to frame urban communication and questions of cosmopolitan openness during given periods which might be marked by political cooperation and economic boom, or, conversely, by national or transborder tensions" (590). This theory of context applies to JR's display on the tension-ridden border of Palestine and Israel.

One set of portraits on the wall is that of "The Holy Triptych", which evoke biblical representations in art, and adds a message of religiosity. Without the caption, it's clear through their dress that they are signifying their religious identity as "a Jew," "a Muslim" and "a Christian". JR explains on his website that this is an area that is important to all three religions. They bring forth a message of silliness across religion underplaying the expectation that orthodox people are serious. The juxtaposition of silliness and seriousness is ironic in itself, but the bigger message doesn't lie within the image alone. The importance of the photo is not that it makes fun of these religious leaders, but that the image alone displays synecdoche in that distorted silly faces exuberate the essence of humanity. This idea comes across through the framing of simple image search on the Internet. Placing the portraits in politically charged places, perhaps works most effectively in bringing out the content of a political clove between two groups.

"The Holy Triptych" (Figure 1) is perhaps the most iconic of JR's Face2Face project, but it's just one example amongst a multitude of paired photos the exude themes of humanness and sameness that are pasted on the wall. JR specifically asked them to not just smile, because it doesn't show who they are, how they feel. Using different facial expressions to portray the self allows the performers to not lose their identity while at the same time being able to relate to the "Other". The faces that are made all differ from each other, but the common absurdity in the facial expressions allow for unity. Within conflict there can be humor, and as all belong to the bigger essence of humanity, these two things can be experienced.

Figure 1: 28 Millimeters, Face2Face displayed on Jr-art.net
Holy Triptych, 2006

Figure 2: 28 Millimeters, Face2Face
Separation Wall, Palestinian Side In Bethlehem, March 2007

When the portraits are seen with the context of the Separation Wall (Figure 2), the images become more impactful. Appropriating the Wall as a canvas resonates with a simple message that there should be no wall separating the people portrayed. Using the Wall as a canvas to convey this message raises a paradox. The Separation Wall is used as an object for the benefit of the display, while the photographs that appropriate it as an object of art protest against the very existence and political purposes of that Wall. To some inhabitants, the physical wall might be necessary, but the metaphorical wall that fuels the interpersonal conflict is one that hopefully can be broken down. Blown-up to massive formats, the portraits nearly cover the entire Wall in height. Against the grey concrete wall, the portraits stand out, framed by the barbed wire above their heads. In this particular place, the portraits gained meaning as activist art.

Not having a stance towards either side of the conflict allows the situational irony to come across as a neutral perspective that proves to be beneficial for the campaign. Linda Hutcheon (1992) explains the notion of irony functions as a distancing mechanism, and continues to suggest that "indifference on the part of the ironist and with irritation at being so treated on the part of the target. But distancing reserve can also be interpreted as a sign of a new perspective from which things can be shown and seen differently" (223). A positive way of reading the distancing function of irony would be to see it as "a refusal of the tyranny of explicit judgments at a time when such judgments might not be appropriate or desirable"(223). If we consider these ideas about irony, it makes sense as to why it was perhaps necessary for JR to stay neutral in such a tension filled location. By utilizing situational irony, JR is able to obtain a neutral stance to broaden the view of perspective while simultaneously refusing to elicit judgments in a place that would have been inappropriate with what his intentions were. In other words, he introduces change "by alienating art from the political and the social, necessarily clinging to its very autonomy in order to produce highly involved community-oriented installations" (Ferdman, 13).

This ironic perspective on perspectives concludes "no one perspective is precisely right or precisely wrong. Rather, through a process of dialectical mortification, all the competing perspectives are absorbed into the body of a larger development" (Kenneth Burk in The Classroom, 444). By all of the perspectives being absorbed into the body of a larger development, the result is a neutral perspective. This neutrality in a place that is a center for conflict provokes thought, in that the very idea of conflict implies that there are competing perspectives occurring. Sometimes where there is conflict there's no need to make a stance. While this display arguably down plays the conflict, it asserts a hopeful perspective. Being pasted on a site of tension and conflict leaves the neutrality of the display is unexpected. In a neutralized context, the public is able to stop in front of the portraits, contemplate, and talk together about what it is all about. When a strong stance is taken, there is not much room left to reflect.

It is important to note that while JR is neutral in his taking sides, the situation irony creates a dialogue. In other words, it is the performance of these mediated images that defines the work. Brasset (2009) offers the idea that, "The indeterminacy of moral situations is more than an intellectual curiosity, it can open our discourse to the human suffering, that we are all connected to, and, in a sense, partake in. It is on this basis that irony can retain the (difficult) dual role of being both a critical yet deeply hopeful and imaginative contribution to the politics of global ethics" (23-24). JR's use of irony and synecdoche also allows for a re-framing on a local level

(becomes global once spread across the web), seeing each other as possessing qualities of humanity. Thor and Christenson expand on this idea stating, "As networked art forms and expressivity, graffiti and street art, generate certain senses of locality, and their ephemerality and changing nature temporalize the city as a transient space of global mediations" (592)

Face2Face was a global art project with local ramifications, responding to local problems, mounted by local people. In this way, the work belongs to those who created it and to those who saw it (Ferdman, 22). While not explicit, the irony in this display forces the audience to be self-reflective in how they view and think of others in times of conflict and tension. By recognizing the tropes in JR's work, viewers can reflect on their perspectives of others in way that can hopefully be transformative for society in the future.

This analysis was purposeful in answering the question of how do street artist use images as instruments for political and social advocacy. Through the breakdown of the tropes and identifying them in the display created by JR, it is reasonable to suggest that tropes, in this case synecdoche and irony, are used unconsciously or consciously as a means to evoke reflection. With the use of tropes, street artists use images to elicit a change of perspectives. The indication of tropes in street art indicates that they are utilized to help street art displays function rhetorically. The observation of irony in this display highlights an importance of incorporating context of social and political issues into these kinds of displays. The nature of street art often suggests a perspective on social or political issues that calls for perspective. With this in mind, it is probable then that other street artwork alike also uses a combination of synecdoche and irony as their important means of persuasion.

Evocative and alluring as these portraits may be, they do not relate to any narratives of victimhood nor do they refer to any tension. It is only once they are seen amongst the canvas of the wall do they evoke a dialogue of the conflict occurring between Palestinians and Israelis. While this could be a critical view of the artwork, this perhaps is a central point to how this piece works rhetorically. The display shifts the focus from trauma, dislocation and victimhood to that of comedic relief in our "humanness". It is JR's work in places of conflict that has led to a direct experience of locations and situations, and has enabled the viewer to "cut through the mediated preconceptions generated by the media" (Lewisohn, 123). His street art exemplifies the ways in which the art form can be used to "expose media stereotypes while at the same time using the media attention the work provides to spread [an] alternative message" (123). The identification of tropes within a street art display indicates that they are in use, sometimes without thought, within the creation and exhibition of visual imagery and not just in verbal and written text. The initial lack of description of these photos allowed passer-bys to contemplate the meaning as a means to initiate reflection of one's self.

Can art change the world? Not likely. JR eloquently states that "Art is not supposed to change the world, but it can change perception. It can change the way we see the world…the fact that art cannot change things means that it's neutral for exchanges and discussions" (TED, 2011). There is no doubt that it can be powerful in provoking reflection as a means to suggest a new way to look at each other. This reflection is important when trying to elucidate a change in perspective. As JR himself notes: "To change the way you see things is already to change things themselves (Ferdman, 25).

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CONVERSATION ANALYSIS: AN INTERACTION BETWEEN ELLEN DEGENERES & AMY SCHUMER
BY JENNIFER ROYKA

PART I: INTRODUCTION AND LITERATURE REVIEW

Interpersonal studies examines how the body coordinates with talk and contributes to human face to face interaction. In this paper, topics such as body language, alignment, and laughter will be analyzed to prove how they work together and guide a storytelling sequence. Storytelling is not only used as the way a "[narrator evaluates] events she is recounting" but also as a way to give recipients an opportunity to "shape the evolving telling event by offering their own evaluation" (Goodwin, 1997, 78). The use of storytelling is helpful to any interaction as a way to enhance talk and guide conversation. Body language is used to "[reproduce] the notion that non-verbal expressions tend to be more spontaneous or difficult to control than speech", as well as a way to "[bypass] appearance to get to an underlying sense of accuracy or authenticity" (Andrejevic, 2010, 17-18). Under the realm of body language are topics such as torque, gesture, built space and how participants unconsciously incorporate them in interaction. Alignment is a technique used by recipients to stories conveying to a teller that "he or she supports the structural asymmetry of the storytelling", that the activity is in progress and "the teller has the floor until [the] story [is complete]" showing "respect to this activity in progress" (Stivers, 2008, 34). All of these concepts listed above are important to normal, everyday interactions as well as interactions conveying stories.

PART II: DATA AND METHOD

The type of interaction that I used to analyze body language, alignment, and laughter during a story was one where you can clearly observe the participants performing these interactional concepts. I recalled an extremely lively interview on the Ellen DeGeneres show with comedian and actress Amy Schumer as the guest. Amy is telling an ongoing story during the interview using sub-stories as a way to help her recipients understand the situation. The participants are Amy as the storyteller, and Ellen as well as the studio audience as the recipients, although Ellen is the more active recipient given the layout and conditions of the situation.

PART III: ANALYSIS

Body language during a storytelling sequence is present by observing both the teller and the recipient, but is emphasized more by the teller; Amy, during this interaction. The first use of body language that is evident in this interview is body torque explained by Emanuel Schegloff as the "divergent orientations of the body sectors above and below the neck and waist" (Schegloff, 1998, 536). Furthermore, one can observe body torque as a type of posture that is understood "to shape the talk that occurs with it, as well as an adaptation to that talk, or a mirror of its structure" (Schegloff, 1998, 537). During this interview, Amy and Ellen share a similar "home position", referred to as a "'straight

ahead' position" by Schegloff, toward the center of the stage at a wooden table. Straying away from this home position, Amy projects change and instability when telling her story to Ellen and the audience in the following excerpts.

Excerpt 1 (00:22-00:29)
```
11              (.)
12   AM:        i:: cry (.)((audience starts laughing)) i jus sit in
13              my room >bawling< no i uh=well ((audience stops
```


During this first excerpt, one can see how Amy and Ellen have their bodies toward the center of the room, but can see both of them projecting change in the most upper sector of their bodies, their heads. In line 12 Amy does this as a way to confirm she is directing her talk toward Ellen, and in the same line Ellen does this as a way to confirm to Amy that she is listening to her talk. Ellen maintains this torque of her head throughout the interview as she is consistently listening to Amy tell her story. In excerpt 2 Amy is talking to Ellen about the Lakers game she went to after the last time she was on The Ellen Show.

Excerpt 2 (1:19-1:26)
```
36   AM:        i wen- i thot it wuld be free booze (.) ((audience
37              faintly laughs)) um. itz naht iz naht i guess yew hav
38              ta like be on tha team ta get free booze so (.) ((faint
```


Ellen maintains the head torque explained in the first excerpt during the second as well. However, comparing the two images, it can be seen that Amy moves her torque from Ellen toward the studio audience in line 37 to direct her talk toward the audience as a way to include them in the telling of the story. This helps Amy's act of telling the story by managing her two recipients, a concept that Schegloff explains as a "common bias for body torque [that involves] more than one activity or course-of-action" (Schegloff, 1998, 544). Another example of managing more than one activity can be seen in the next excerpt when the show projects an image on the big screen behind Amy, of her and actress Dianna Agron when they were sat next to each other at the Lakers game.

Excerpt 3 (1:37-1:45)
```
42              know how hot she iz (.) yea. ther- oh there we go
43              theres tha picture thanks fer((audience laughs)) isn'
```

```
44           that grea:t (.) she iz tha mos gorjus gi:rl (.) evur:
```


At the end of line 42 through the middle of line 44, Amy torques her head and chest toward the screen behind her in order to call attention to the picture, which can be seen in the image on the left. The image on the right shows Amy resolving the torque of her head by re-aligning it with her lower body, back to her home position (Schegloff, 1998, 543). In both photos it can be seen that Ellen's head is slightly torqued to a mini-screen at the front of the stage to view the photo rather than turning around to see it. These uses of body torque show who and what each participant is focusing on during the storytelling sequence. Another type of body language that helps Amy, as the storyteller, bring her story to life is her use of gesture. Gestures are "symbols that exhibit meanings" "that [are] freely designated" and "created by the speaker at the moment of speaking" (McNeill, 105). In excerpt 4 Amy is telling Ellen about a time that she got courtside seats to a Lakers game after being on The Ellen Show.

Excerpt 4 (00:29-00:35)
```
14           laughing)) las- lasttime i was here right from the
15           show i: i- got co- courtside tickets to a laker game=
16   EL:     =>thats fun<
```


At the end of line 14 and beginning of line 15 when Amy says 'right from the show', she points at her lap, and at the end of line 15 she flips her hand toward Ellen when she says 'laker game'. Both of these examples are uses of iconic gestures as they "reveal aspects of [Amy's] inner mental processes" and use "neutral space" as "[Amy's] desire to find a shared topic of conversation" (McNeill, 109 & 114). Amy's use of the iconic gesture in lines 14-15 when she points at her lap is not referring to her lap itself but referring to the show. She is using the space in front of her to depict an event using her gesture as something that depicts something else, visible in the photo on the left. The use of the iconic gesture at the end of line 15 is used by Amy as she knew that Ellen had sat courtside at a Lakers game creating a shared topic; she uses her whole hand to point toward Ellen almost saying 'just like you once had' (sat courtside). Amy confirms that she knew this information in the following excerpt, later in the interview, and uses it as a basis to help Ellen recall her time sitting courtside and remember what it was like so Amy could continue her story.

Excerpt 4 (1:16-1:18)
```
34   AM:      yewv sat courtside at [a game rite
35   EL:                            [i hav yea
```

The next kind of gesture that Amy uses during this interaction is deictic gestures when she, as "the speaker occasionally [points] at [Dianna]" (Bavelas, 2009, 481) to indicate to the recipients that is who Amy is talking about. Excerpt 5 is just one example of Amy using a deictic gesture to point out and call attention to the picture of her and Dianna on the big screen in line 42.

Excerpt 5 (1:35-1:37)
```
42           know how hot she iz (.) yea. ther- oh there we go
```


Amy does this again in excerpt 6 in line 51 in the picture on the left when she says 'she's there' and also in lines 51 and 52 in the picture on the right when she says 'is she not like an angel'. By using these deictic gestures Amy points out a referent to the recipients to help them realize who she is talking about. This puts a face to the name so that Amy's story makes more sense, as Amy starts to talk about Dianna's looks making the picture a helpful referent.

Excerpt 6 (1:58-2:01)
```
51           laughing)) yanno so shes there iz she naht like an
52           angel so- an- tha whole nite shez like (.) shez like
```


The last use of gestures observable in this interaction are the pantomime gestures performed by Amy to act out the words she is saying. These can be observed in excerpts 7 and 8.

Excerpt 7 (00:14-00:20)
```
06           theyr jus like (.) theyr like why iz that octopus on
07           sunse::t is that? its not=its not fer [me out here
```

Excerpt 8 (00:24-00:29)

```
12   AM:      i:: cry (.)((audience starts laughing)) i jus sit in
13            my room >bawling< no i uh=well ((audience stops
```

In excerpt 7 Amy had just gotten through telling the audience how her 'arms register as legs in LA' and acts out the action of walking with her arms as if they are really legs in lines 6 and 7. Excerpt 8 shows Amy performing the act of the word 'bawling' in line 13 as if she is really crying. These uses of pantomimes help Amy animate her storytelling experience and evoke a reaction out of her recipients, inviting them to laugh at her gestures. Once Amy realizes that her pantomimes get a rise out of her recipients, one can see how she starts to use these gestures more throughout the interview as a way to invite the recipients to laugh at what she is saying. The last use of body language that is a vital part of this interaction is the participant's 'built space' in which they "perform spatial maneuvers to secure their visual and auditory access to one another, to keep each other informed about their mutual involvement, and to regain the attention of those temporarily distracted" (LeBaron, 1997, 2). This 'built space' is built by the setting of the interview itself, where the participants are facing the same home position during the interview. The setting helps each participant focus their gaze and body orientation on the referent that is relatively most important at the time of talk, guided by the participants face and body. In this type of setting the guest and storyteller, Amy, and the main recipient, Ellen, are angled inward toward the center of the room creating a participation framework that involves the studio audience to be involved in their interaction. The room is set up in such a way that provides each participant to know who and what each other is focused on; it is an extremely laid back setting that resonates with what The Ellen DeGeneres Show stands for and that is for the guest to be comfortable and interact with the audience and Ellen. During this interaction the referent is Amy as she is talking for most of the time, Ellen when she is asking Amy a question or responding to something Amy says, and the screen behind the two visible participants. The setup of an interview setting has given Amy and Ellen an equal opportunity to open up the floor for interaction and the audience for laughter, which leads to the next point of analysis, laughter.

Laughter during any everyday conversation is usually unplanned and natural while talking to familiars, and is, most times, censored when talking to strangers with the unknowingness of what is or is not okay to laugh in response to. The act of laughter during a televised interview is a particularly interesting concept as some of these television shows provide cue cards on when the studio audience should laugh. However, talk shows like Ellen's invites laughter by the audience, virtually, whenever they please. In a reading about a British talk show similar to Ellen's, the Mrs. Merton Show, the host

invites celebrity guests on the show to talk about their personal lives and opinions on what is going on in the world. In this reading, laughter is explained as "a persuasive feature of the discourse" (Coulthard, 2017, 122) while the host and the guest are exchanging in talk and stories. It is also talked about how the "audience laughs routinely during the interviews, as does Mrs. Merton and her guests" and how "the laughter of the studio audience plays an important role in the production of the comic effect" (Coulthard, 2017, 122). It is fair to say that laughter is an essential part of televised interviews as a way for the audience to non-directly participate in the interaction and almost guide the talk of the interview. An example of this can be seen in excerpt 9 when Amy talks about her agent giving her Lakers tickets because he thought she was mad at him for sexually harassing her.

Excerpt 9
```
17   AM:     yea. cuz my. my uu-business agent thought i wuz mad at
18           him for sexually harassing me (.) hhh. um::
19   EL:     >well.<
20   AM:     but no im therty three so im jus starting to really
21           appreciate that yew know w[hat i mea:n
22   EL:     ((audience faintly laughs)[i see i see uh huh .hhh
```

In lines 17 and 18 Amy tries to use this situation as a segway into a laughing sequence, but none of her recipients respond in that way, so in lines 20-21 she moves into why she 'appreciates' sexual harassment. This gets a bit of laughter out of the audience, which makes Amy go further into the story, seen in the next excerpt, when she eventually gets a bigger uproar from them. Amy explains her view on sexual harassment when a person is twenty and walks past a construction site before and on line 26 but then goes into what it is like for her, in her thirties.

Excerpt 10
```
26           an be kinda like ^oooh like don loo- but then in yer
27           therties yew know yew im jus like wha about this
28   EL:     yeah hh. ((audience starts laughing))
29   AM:     how bou' its like my skirts over my head im like ahh:
30           theyr like were eating (.)b:uh(.) it changes it really
```


She gets up and acts out what it is like to walk past a construction site in her thirties, and that causes the audience, and Ellen, to laugh. In line 27, in the image on the left, Amy points at her butt like she is calling attention to it while she is walking past a group of men. In line 29 she acts like she is pulling her skirt over her head, and you can see Ellen is directly laughing at this. Amy produces laughter from the audience as a way to stray away from the sexual harassment remark she made in lines 17 and 18, which evoked no laughter, and replaces it with a light hearted joke from lines 26 to 30. The fact that Amy's

recipients laughed at this series of events in excerpt 10 gave her the ability to continue her story in line 31. It is beneficial to Amy, especially during interviews, that she is known as being a comedian because it gives her recipients the go ahead to laugh at what she is saying at any point of her talk. It is also important to note that during this interaction, and the ones discussed in the reading, laughter is never discouraged for any reason by the guest or host making the laughter a priority as well as the interview talk. Laughter is an essential mechanism for televised interviews as a way to get the audience involved in the interaction as well as a way to keep the discourse lighthearted and comic.

The last aspect of this interview that helps Amy's storytelling process is alignment explained previously as a recipient "[supporting] the structural asymmetry of the storytelling", recognizing that the activity is in progress and that "the teller has the floor until [the] story [is complete]" showing "respect to this activity in progress" (Stivers, 2008, 34). Alignment can be shown in a couple different forms of continuers, the first being nodding and the second being vocal, such as 'mhm' or 'yeah'. During a storytelling sequence, it is important for recipients to express his or her alignment with the story as encouragement for the teller to move on; however, it is equally as important for recipients to express misalignment as a way for tellers to clarify or elaborate on what caused the misalignment. While Amy is telling her story about the Lakers game, there are many times that Ellen expresses alignment with what she is saying. A few examples are listed in the excerpts below as vocal continuers.

```
Excerpt 11
21              appreciate that yew know w[hat i mea:n
22   EL:        ((audience faintly laughs)[i see i see uh huh .hhh


Excerpt 12
27              therties yew know yew im jus like wha about this
28   EL:        yeah hh. ((audience starts laughing))


Excerpt 13
32              courtside seats ((laughing stops))[which
33   EL:                                          u[h huhhh
34   AM:        yewv sat courtside at [a game rite
35   EL:                              [i hav yea
```

In excerpt 11 at the end of line 21 Amy says 'you know what I mean' and Ellen responds in line 22 with 'I see, uh huh', which allows Amy to continue her storytelling because Ellen vocally expressed that she understood with what Amy was saying. In excerpt 12 Amy just gets through with telling the story about walking past a construction site and when she is done acting it out in line 27, Ellen aligns with her telling by responding with 'yeah' while she is laughing. Then, in excerpt 13 when Amy talks about sitting courtside in line 32, Ellen responds with 'uh huh' in line 33 as a way of her saying 'go on with the story'. Ellen also aligns with Amy sitting courtside in line 35 when Ellen says 'I have yeah' in response to Amy asking her if she had. All of these forms of alignment helped Amy continue her story, or even start a new one, which makes the act of aligning helpful

as the teller and as the recipient. I noticed one example of misalignment in the following excerpt when Amy originally brings up the sexual harassment talk.

Excerpt 14
```
17   AM:     yea. cuz my. my uu-business agent thought i wuz mad at
18           him for sexually harassing me (.) hhh. um::
19   EL:     >well.<
20   AM:     but no im therty three so im jus starting to really
21           appreciate that yew know w[hat i mea:n
22   EL:     ((audience faintly laughs)[i see i see uh huh .hhh
```


It can be seen that Amy brings up the sexual harassment talk in lines 17 and 18 and Ellen responds to that with a slightly sarcastic 'well' in line 19, accompanied by a look of confusion or disgust, in the image above. Following Ellen's misalignment in line 19 Amy goes to clarify herself in lines 20 and 21, which then allows Ellen to realign with Amy in line 22 as a confirmation that Amy can continue with her story. Alignment and misalignment in storytelling are used as a response to the story being an efficient way for the participants to be involved without complete interruption.

PART IV: CONCLUSION

As a whole, body language has shown to be an extremely important part of interaction and furthermore in this interview with Amy and Ellen, body torque, gestures, and built space along with laughter and alignment. It was interesting to see how differently interviews are structured compared to the interactions that we studied in the course this semester, but also how they are the same, although deal with being televised. Body torque, gesture, built space, laughter, and alignment have shaped Amy Schumer's storytelling act during her interview with Ellen DeGeneres.

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UNDERSTANDING THE "OTHER" PERSPECTIVE
BY SRIYAA SHAH

Standpoint theory (SPT) is a theory that originated in the field of womens studies, but can be applied to a mass number of marginalized perspectives (i.e. the "lesser" perspective). In simple terms, it is the view of the world from a social location towards a particular issue (Wood, 2005). I have utilized SPT as a tool to break down a discussion that I had with a classmate, John Doe, around the movement of "Black Lives Matter," primarily focusing on police brutality. John's father is a police chief in Johnson City, Tennessee, making him an informative source on this subject. His perspective on this topic was that the movement is dramatized and successful because it is against a government-operated branch. My viewpoint was on the other end of the spectrum, and for the purpose of this essay I will focus on the African American community as the minority and as the marginalized perspective. There are three claims made in this paper. First, social groups influence our experiences and understanding of the world (Droogma, 2007). Second, social groups influence our knowledge. Third, marginalized perspectives are objective (Sri, 2006).

Social groups influence our understanding

Standpoint theory assumes that people's experiences and opinions are molded by the social groups that they are involved in. Miller (2005) defines social groups as two or more persons with common objectives or characteristics who are voluntarily or involuntarily placed together. When an individual belongs to one particular group and engages in the activities of that group, this shapes their identity and consciousness, eventually affecting the knowledge given to them and gathered by them (Sharma, 147). Droogma (2007) portrayed in her study that social groups influence one's experiences; Muslim women who wear Hijab (a religious veil) reported that Muslim men respected them more and men in general did not touch them. This was their way to gain dignity and form an understanding that the veil was a symbol of protection. The veil also communicates one's membership and commitment to their religious group; she noted that clothing plays an important role and acts as resistance against social restrictions. Droogma further suggested that people can belong to more than one social group and possess several standpoints at once, creating their unique perspective.

John is a white male from the upper middle class who lives in a wealthy and safe neighborhood. He attends the University of New Hampshire, which is a predominantly white institution, similar to his home neighborhood. He belongs to multiple social groups, but it is important to note that all his identities belong to privilege groups. He spent his entire childhood in Tennessee, where he claims that there is not much interracial mingling with others from their demographic groups. Everyone in his family is a conservative Republican and feel that the "Black Lives Matter" movement is dramatic. His friends and family, as well as most of his acquaintances, come from a similar social background, giving him very little exposure to the opinions of the African American

community. He rarely talks about racism because he thinks it is a problem of the past and refers to himself as "color blind".

When I tried to talk to John, it was extremely difficult to help him understand my perspective as most of my statements threatened his foundational knowledge and even his social position. His standpoint was different than mine and this was due to the social inequalities in the community. I suggested that he could avoid being "color blind" and acknowledge that people look different than him, yet embrace the fact that they are valuable members of the community.

Social groups influence our knowledge

One of the key claims of SPT is that there is difference in the lives of those who belong to heterogeneous dominant social groups and those who live on the peripherals of the society (Miller, 2005). Hill (2000) discussed the stereotypical images and reputations of African American women, such as them working as domestic servants. The "mammy" stereotype (a widely held idea about a particular community) objectifies black women as "faithful and obedient." They feel like they are expected to be dedicated to taking care of their family and are not qualified to work. If they belong to lower socio-economic class, being a homemaker is their only option. This serves as a controlling image that reinforces stereotypes and hinders their family from sharing intellectual data with them, whether it be business, science, or politics. When these women were interviewed, they reported that their main source of news was other "mammies," and most of them did not watch the news or do heavy reading.

To reiterate, John's father is a police chief in Johnson City, Tennessee. From a young age, his father taught him that being a policeman was a brave job; it meant reporting to duty every day knowing that there are potential risks regarding your life. He then shared stories of how some officers unfortunately die in the line of duty, but their deaths are not glorified in the same manner as the black men who lose their lives on the other side of the gun. He truly fears for his father's life every day. This fear initially developed when he was younger and his father was admitted to the hospital after being injured in a fight that broke out on the streets. He believes that most black men are not civilized in lower socio-economic neighborhoods (which he referred to as "ghettos"), so sometimes police officers have to talk to them with more direct or slightly harsher tones in order to get them to behave in a way a normal citizen would. He suggested this creates a safer environment for all.

I understood John's fear for his father's life, although I did not quite agree to his approach of generalizing his experience to the entire population. He was not very keen on understanding the reasons behind African Americans primarily residing in the "ghettos" and how this was a result of years of oppression, which created an inability to rise above the poverty line. Due to discarding information that does not align with his beliefs and only accepting knowledge that favors his viewpoint, he has made himself more radical with time. My perspective on the issue of "Black Lives Matter" is the marginalized perspective, so talking to John as a female of color was interesting because I had a very objective approach to my arguments.

Marginalized perspectives are objective

Wood (2015) claimed that people who hold marginalized perspectives are more likely create objective views of the society. A marginalized perspective is the socially disadvantaged and downgraded perspective and the needs and desires of groups holding this perspective are ignored or not met. Furthermore, Harding (1992) argued marginalized groups or perspectives have additional information compared to privileged groups, which aids them in navigating the world from their underprivileged stance. In Sri's (2012) study on abortion of pregnant women from southern India, he found that women had a lack of control over their bodies. Most husbands and in-laws of pregnant women would demand for the pregnancy to continue in order to gain an heir, despite the possible complications for the pregnant women. Many women would look for alternative ways, which would often be more harmful for the mother, to abort the child. The lower class pregnant women who he interviewed said that they felt mistreated and hurried into making decisions at the clinic in compared to middle or upper class women. Finally, no matter which class these women belonged to, they reported that they did not have a choice to abort the baby by their independent decision. If she chooses to abort her child, the women would look for a doctor who do not recognize her or her family, probably two or three towns away.

In my discussions with John, he proudly claimed that he placed his beliefs in the "All Lives Matter" movement, and that everyone should be treated equally and with respect. He believes that the "Black Lives Matter" movement is a selfish approach and everyone's life on Earth is equally precious. Language played a crucial role in his statement. The use of word "All" made him feel like an equal in society. His statement pointed out how people from dominant social groups did not like the idea of attention and control moving away from their group. He did not quite agree to my counterargument. I defended the "Black Lives Matter" movement by saying that it's important because they are a race that is in danger. If tomorrow everyone was mistreated in the same way African Americans are, the idea of "All" would be a good movement; fulfilling the needs of social matters of urgency. Coming from a privileged background, he did not have to have to think objectively about the issue.

Additionally, in my response to his statements, I spoke to him about his identities and how he primarily belonged to privileged groups. He did not have a need to observe the realities of the inferior groups. I told him that he did not have to worry about being shot every time a police officer stopped him on a road, which is a common fear within the younger African American male community. As a minority, even in distressing situation, you have to think about how the dominating group will perceive you. You don't have the choice to completely be free with your actions or words.

Conclusion

After our conversation, I found that it was not just him, but I myself had gone into the conversation with a slight bias towards my own opinion. My information was based more on the media reports and scholarly articles, while John's knowledge was mainly obtained through experience or secondhand knowledge. On one hand, I felt that he was ambushing

every statement I made and was not ready to take my perspective; he was rigid and kept talking over me impatiently. On the other hand, I understood his perspective, but it was very hard for me to agree with his beliefs. For me, the conversation was heavily reflective and I honestly tried to negotiate the meaning of the situations taking place surrounding police brutality and come to a common ground.

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THE ETHICS OF DOCUMENTARY PHOTOGRAPHY IN A DIGITAL AGE: IF AN IMAGE CAN SAY A THOUSAND WORDS, HOW DO PHOTOJOURNALISTS CHOOSE AND MAKE THE RIGHT ONE?

BY LAURA OLIVIER

Picture a young boy, scraggly hair, dark eyes glimmering with hope and fear, blood covering his shirt and dripping down his face. Imagine a boy so unsure of what was to come next, looking left and right anxiously for some semblance of normality, comfort and safety. This boy was propped up and photographed moments after a catastrophic bombing happened in Aleppo. The photo circulated the US media and was used as a weapon of manipulation. That young boy now has to live with that image in his mind forever. He will grow up with that image, constantly being referenced and remembered as "The Child from Aleppo". Whether you're an amateur photographer, or a professional photojournalist, we are all confronted with the choice to succumb to the vices of exploitation, negligence, or we can balance ourselves to remain truthful, and authentic in our representations.

With the ever-increasing presence of digital media in our lives, photography continues to change alongside media, specifically in the form of documentary photography and photojournalism. Photographers and image-makers are constantly confronted with decisions throughout their work that try to answer the question: where do we draw the line? How do you make an authentic, non-exploitative image that doesn't put the artist's integrity at risk? These are all questions that I will aim to answer throughout this piece.

By self-reflecting, performing extensive research on the medium of photography, and drawing from media journals, I will seek to explore the ways in which photographers are faced with moral and ethical dilemmas throughout their work. I will reference the role new media plays in the ways in which images are constructed, manipulated, and transformed to alter how viewers experience the world around them.

This exploration into the ethics of documentary and photojournalistic photography contains a multimedia and localized component. I sought out different subject matters on the University of New Hampshire campus and aimed to depict the various issues that arise on the UNH campus and Town of Durham that one could see through a documentary style perspective. I modeled my images after award winning documentary photographer Q. Sakamaki who documented social and political issues and how they were affecting the people in that area and vice versa. I aimed to use a similar approach to this photographer, but on my own localized UNH campus that I know so well. Throughout this piece I will discuss the personal, ethical challenged I was faced with behind the camera.

The Evolution of Photojournalism

When photojournalism was first discovered as a valuable craft for covering and depicting events to the public, people would shoot in 35mm film. One of the first magazines that utilized the creation of photo reporting was a fairly familiar publication, *Life*. During the World War II era, *Life* was one of the most influential photojournalism magazines in the world. This publication gained its success by utilizing the drama of war and violence that could be captured by the small, fast (for the time) 35 mm cameras (Gernsheim Rosenblum, et al. 2017). Photo reporting during this time was a whole different ball game. I don't know if you've ever shot with a 35mm film camera, since pretty much everyone around the corner has access to an even faster camera with some trillion megapixels that seem important but are really irrelevant to the everyday iPhone carrier, but film requires more precision than just clicking a small white button on a screen. With film, you can't get "finger happy" and just click away shot after shot. Running out of space on a 64GB SD card is much harder than running out of frames on a film camera, instead you were limited to a roll of film with roughly thirty-five frames. The creator had 35 frames to tell a story of a crisis or event; 35 frames to depict a war scene in an authentic way (Gernsheim Rosenblum, et al. 2017). Photojournalism was a less commonplace discipline that wasn't available to everyone, which made the images all the more valuable and authentic.

The increased usage and presence of social media and digital photography has opened the door for photojournalism and documentary photographers to create images that will be viewed by the masses. The evolved digital media today has given image creators millions of extra eyes in conflict and crisis zones. As new media tools and social networks have become more widely accessible and utilized, the powerful images of the world's crisis are delivered to the computer screens, smartphones, and TV's of people around the world (Keller, 2011). But how does a photojournalist find the right image that will say a thousand good words without manipulating or exploiting?

Social networks and new media have made it easy for both amateur and professional photojournalists to construct, or falsify images to coincide with news events. There is more opportunity for the everyday individual to take part in how people perceive events. Nowadays, it is even commonplace for the public to seek out images on social networks that tell the story of an event so we don't have to read it. The camera phone has essentially turned any casual observer into potential photojournalists. One individuals observing eyes in Libya, Syria, Iran etc. can become a "temporary appendage of a larger news collecting organization" (Keller, 2011). This makes it incredibly hard for the public to shuffle through what is authentically made, and what is an image posted on Twitter to gain followers, and frame our way of thinking about a crisis.

So if everyone can be a photojournalist now, how do we ensure the craft and art of ethical photojournalism or documentary photography endures and evolves in a realistic way? The answer lies in the storytelling power that photojournalism has. Nathalie Applewhite, managing director of the Pulitzer Center addresses an answer to this question by saying, "New media is very significant in immediacy, not totally in long term. It doesn't matter if there are a thousand cameras; it's the storytelling that's important. A photojournalist with an artistic vision that transcends superficial coverage.

It's a different media space" (Keller, 2011). In other words, you can use an image taken by a random civilian with a news story, but years after the crisis you're going to remember the photo that told a story. The photo that could stand alone and transcend time is the one that fulfills the ethical responsibilities of photojournalism and documentary photography.

In order to answer the question of how a photojournalist or documentary photographer remains ethical in their photo making while accurately representing a crisis without exploitation, we must first investigate the power an image has on our moral and ethical judgments. We all know that saying, "A picture is worth a thousand words" or "take a picture it will last longer," but why do we relinquish power over to the still image? It is because of the reactions that an image imposes on us as humans. We are triggered by visuals to think about a certain instance or experience differently than if we were to hear about it. A recent study conducted by research professors found that "visual imagery works by causing people to visualize something above and beyond what is presented, or to see it in their 'mind's eye'" (Meader, Knight, Coleman 2015: p. 237). Verbal processing causes people to focus on an outcome rather than what is presented visually. So how can we use this to answer the question of what makes a photojournalistic visual exploitative or not? I would argue that the answer resides within the image creator's intent, the context in which the photo was taken, and the subject matter that is photographed.

Let's examine the "Child from Aleppo" example again to further understand the concept of exploitative imagery versus non-exploitative imagery. The earlier anecdote about the photo of the young boy describes a distinct photograph taken of a young Syrian who was covered in blood and ash after a bombing amidst the Syrian Civil War. This photo was widely distributed amongst various news sources and many deemed it to be exploitative of the young boy. If we use what we know about the cognitive processing of the brain when looking at an image, we know that when someone saw that photo of the young boy it immediately sparked a reaction and an emotionally charged chemical response. Therefore, the creator of the image fell to the exploitative end of the spectrum instead of keeping his balance. He used a young subject matter, with horrific visual elements intentionally in order to extract a distinct emotional response from the viewer. This can of course sometimes be a good thing, but when the subject is so young and has to grow up with an image so graphic and intense, it becomes less about telling the story of a Syrian Civil War and more about persuading someone to think about a Civil War in a certain way. The photo intentionally uses a young boy subject in order to evoke an emotional response that makes one think about the Syrian Civil War in a distinct perspective. It becomes manipulative and presents a manipulated view into the outcomes of the war. Instead of associating the reasons behind the Civil War, we think of the effects on a young boy. There is no evidence the boy gave consent to this photo, and he will grow up with this photo attached to this historical catastrophe. I am against the Assad regime and the levels of destruction taking place in Syria, but regardless of one's opinion on the war, the image enacts the vice of exploitation instead of truthful representation.

Sakamaki and the Art of his Socio-Photo-Documentary

A documentary photographer that I find inspiring and accomplishes photojournalistic storytelling in an authentic and non-exploitative way through his documentary imagery is Q. Sakamaki. Sakamaki was born and grew up in Japan and has since been documenting international crises around the world through a storytelling and narrative lens. The 1988 Tompkins Square Park riot and the following social, political movement in New York in the mid-1990s sparked Sakamaki's photo documentary. He then began covering more international events, particularly deadly conflicts around the globe. Sakamaki has won several international achievements and awards, including the World Press Photo award and Overseas Press Club prizes. He has published more than five books covering several conflicts and since has been using various media like film, DSLR cameras, and even his iPhone on Instagram to produce images (Mckeon, 2015).

I chose Sakamaki as an exemplar of an authentic documentary photographer that represents integrity, courage, and transcendence through his philosophy and process. Sakamaki states that the core part of his photo philosophy is, "to convey some sense or something that is invisible yet exists behind or beyond the image itself" (McKeon, 2011). He has been further exploring his photography combining it with fine art and his own identity. Sakamaki is a shepherd for documenting the world around us in crisis without exploiting his subject.

A major way in which Q. Sakamaki enacts the virtue of integrity through his documentary photographs is by his ability to create an accord with his subjects. Sakamaki has successfully managed to break down a barrier or wall that separates him from his subjects when photographing. In an interview, Sakamaki states that "the camera takes off a barrier" he continues, "At some point, ordinary people who don't take photos, they have a barrier. But if you have a camera you can get through the barrier" (McKeon, 2015). Sakamaki shows that he has made it possible to break the barrier that separates a photographer from their subjects.

Authenticity is another vital virtue that Sakamaki emulates throughout his work. The process of taking a photograph is important to the development of a body of work, or an accurate depiction of the world, environment, or people around them. However, Sakamaki doesn't care about the process of taking a photograph so much as he cares about capturing something that is true to what he witnessed. He explains in his own words, "This is why I don't like to be called a photojournalist, because there are limits to the process. You're called biased if you have a sense of politics. On the other hand, for job, for means of this society, I have to associate with the term, but also at the same time I try to break it" (Longreads, McKeon). In other words, Sakamaki aims his work after finding a true representation of what he has witnessed. He seeks to take photographs that represent some level of "truth" to a situation, a place, or a crisis. In addition, he doesn't like being labeled a photojournalist because of the connotation that follows, and instead believes that "if we're looking for real journalism we have to break it. The audience for so-called photojournalism is shrinking the industry is shrinking. We are working for a small, small, tiny worlds, with too much restriction. We should break it to expand, for

more freedom. Otherwise were killing ourselves". These statements made by Sakamaki are representative of his authenticity as a documentary photographer.

I believe that he also represents the virtues of transcendence and courage within his documentary work. Transcendence encompasses an appreciation of beauty, gratitude, hope, humor, and spirituality. Transcendence means withstanding time and space and creating something that endures and sustains. Sakamaki's ability to capture a moment in time while incorporating elements of his own identity symbolizes the transcendence of his work. His perspective on this future of documentary photography emphasizes the beauty he sees in the world and the hope he holds for the future of his work. The images in Appendix B represent the virtue of transcendence. He has captured an important moment in time like the Earthquake in Haiti, or the war in Iraq and has created moments of a larger story that will endure against time.

Sakamaki is a documentary photographer that is illustrative of courage through his ability to confront difficult subject matter. The images found in Appendix B depict monumental crises that have taken place in our world. He seeks to depict the tough, the hardships, and the turmoil that crises bring. But he does this in a courageous way. He is not fearful of disaster and pain; he rather depicts the world as we see it without manipulation. Take for example the image of the soldiers and the man in Iraq. He captures a critical moment in our history that tells the story of the war. The image isn't contrived; it is a decisive moment that creates a narrative. It takes courage to stand amidst a war zone like that and create images that reflect how he witnessed the crisis. He's positioned in the destruction itself, which only emphasizes his courage as a documentary photographer.

I aimed to emulate the virtues of Q. Sakamaki by documenting the various individuals and sceneries that make up the UNH campus. As I was shooting and thinking about the possible subjects of my photographs, I kept in mind the virtues that Sakamaki emulated such as courage, transcendence, authenticity, and integrity. These virtues became the crutch of my project as I aimed to find my own avenue for documentary photography. The goal of my project was to use the idea that Sakamaki talks about: documenting something as they see it and witness it without manipulation. I found that to be a challenge, but it was a rewarding, learning experience.

A Picture Can Say a Thousand Words— So Here Are Some of Mine
The first time I picked up a camera was when I was fourteen. I grabbed my fathers old Nikon DSLR and the weight of it made my arms shaky. I looked to the nearest object of interest: a fake flower sitting on the small wooden table in the upstairs hallway. I snapped an underexposed shot that if you really squinted appeared to be focused. Since then, I have been dabbling in photography classes, learning the art of film photography, digital photography, bookmaking and more. I've typically been interested in portraiture and still life, and some occasional street photography here and there, but the move into authentic documentary photography during this project was a new area of exploration for me. I was forced to go outside of my comfort zone, which in turn, forced me to really be authentic in my own photography style and seek shelter and confidence in what I knew of the craft to emulate Sakamaki's work. Choosing a realm of photography that I was so

interested to delve into, yet was less experienced in made me lean on my role models process. I aimed to depict my subjects in a truthful way as I witnessed them, just like Sakamaki did.

However, that was easier said than done. When confronted with the decision to ask a subject to do a particular thing, stand a particular way, look in a particular direction I found myself wondering if I was being inauthentic, untruthful to what I was witnessing. But after collecting my images, and taking the images, showing my subjects the photos after, I realized that they were in fact authentic. Being able to make a relationship with the subject I was photographing was a rewarding experience and changed the way I felt about the photograph. Building minute relationships with the subjects is an integral part of the process, and helps to maintain authenticity as a photographer. I felt more connected to them in a way, and felt that my image was doing them justice, providing them with a sense of identity or self-confidence, which I felt honored to take part in.

When I shot the images of those who weren't necessarily looking (see Appendix A), like the man leaning against the storefront, I was confronted with the notion of exploitation yet again. Was I exploiting this man and his appearance to portray a certain perspective of that moment in time? Or was I merely documenting what I saw on that day, walking down that street, in that distinct decisive moment was I just showing the viewer what I witnessed? I determined after that I was being truthful to myself and what I was experiencing in the moment, and what that individual experienced. The person may not have seen the image being taken, but my intent as the photographer and what I did with that photo further emphasizes the truthful and authentic nature of my process.

My images represent a solid understanding of what it means to take a non-exploitative documentary style photograph, although I think Sakamaki's work better exemplifies what the future holds for documentary photography and photojournalism. At the end of the Longreads article with Sakamaki and McKeon, he gave a brief testimony about his work and where he sees the future of his field and photojournalism going. His words read,

> "So-called photo-documentary-journalism – in the last seven years, the photo industry has shrunk. We are competing against each other within a template of style. People feel satisfied, it's easy to accomplish but that's killing ourselves. Simple is good, but sometimes simple becomes oversimplified. Not good. Comfortable. I try to break out of that. That is my aim for my life because that takes a long time. And personally I try to teach something like that too." (McKeon, 2015)

He comments on photography as having too many categories, "fine art, photojournalism, fashion, documentary, food etc. We should combine more, and bring more ordinary photographers into it too, to create something together." Sakamaki's final words here display the whole purpose behind my project. I wanted to understand if there was a way we could, as image-makers, collaborate and come together to make authentic images that aren't exploitative. I propose we step back from the quick snapshot and uploading it to Twitter, and instead rely on the fine arts of photography to reposition photojournalism back to what it was when it began; an art that was used to authentically, and truthfully

inform the public. The ability to do this lies within artists' integrity and courage, who don't coward from the difficult events to shoot, but rather photograph in a way that is true to what is witnessed. After sharing my images with my friends and colleagues, they emphasized that my photos were not exploitative and depicted different areas around Durham and the UNH Campus highlighting different aspects of area. I've learned that it can be a difficult task to make authentic photos that have a balance between exploitation and negligence, but with the right intent and mindfulness we can create images that transcend the media's exploitative nature.

The following images were taken by me with a digital camera, exploring various towns in New Hampshire to gain insight into the responsibilities of documentary photographers.

Durham, NH; Durham, NH; Portsmouth, NH; Portsmouth; NH, Durham, NH; UNH Campus; UNH Campus

Appendix B

The following photographs were taken by documentary photographer Q. Sakamaki. These images are pulled from his website and represent a variety of socioeconomic projects expanding across countries.
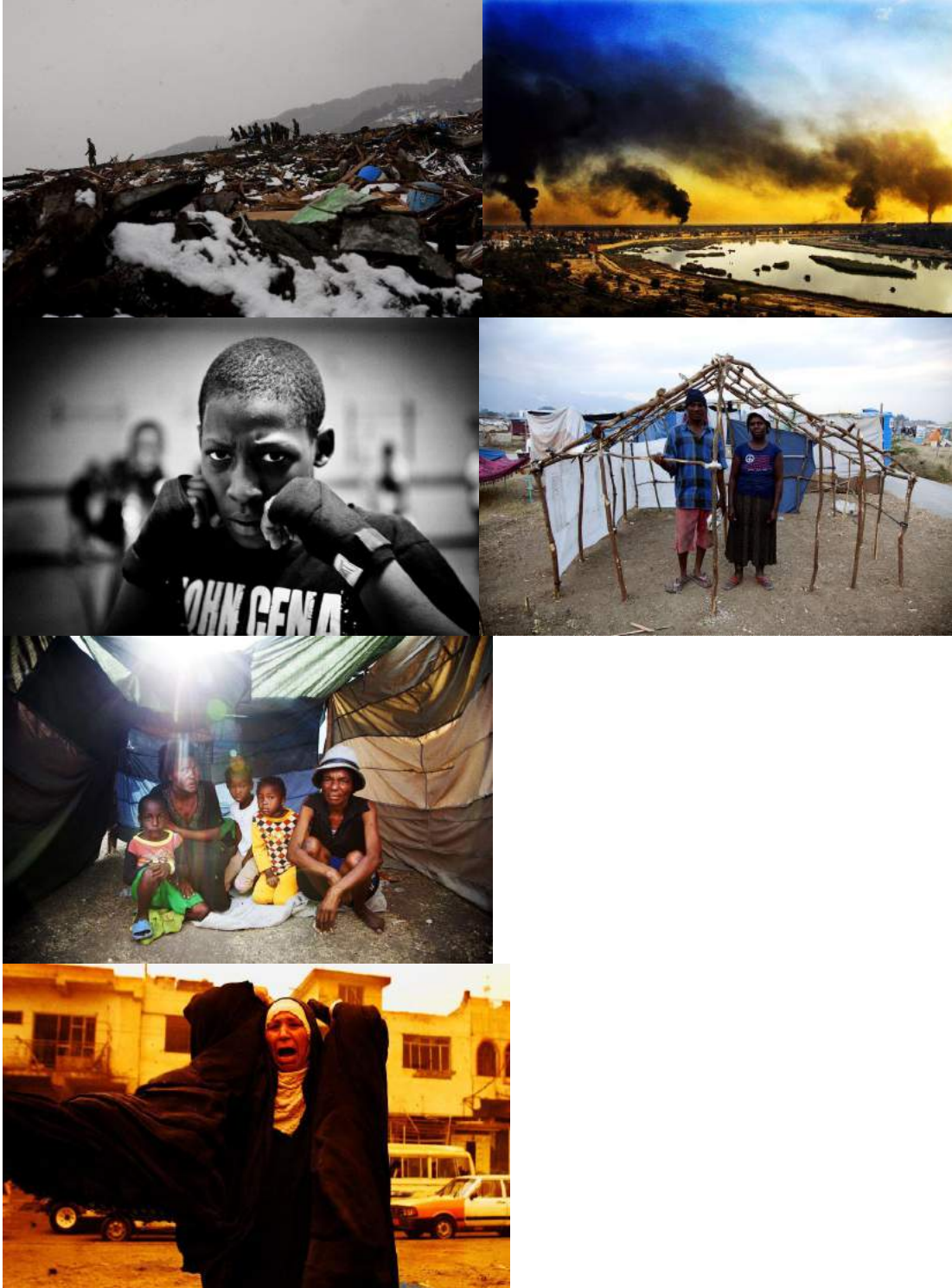
Japan, Iraq, Harlem, Haiti, Haiti, Iraq

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RECOGNITION ON THE OLYMPIC STAGE: THE TENSION BETWEEN OLYMPISM AND UNIVERSALISM

BY ALANA MCKAY

Culture is at the forefront of the Olympic Games. The mission of the Olympics is to promote Olympism, which seeks to combine sport, culture, education, and international cooperation. The Olympic Games are rich in culture, and host countries have the unique opportunity to showcase their national cultural identity during the opening ceremonies. Hosting the Olympic Games allows a nation to gain global recognition, while stimulating local economy, and promoting global unity. The Olympic Games are praised for uniting the nations of the world through sport. The host nation is responsible for culturally connecting the global public sphere. This essay seeks to answer the question: What does a host nation have to gain by hosting the Olympics, and at what cost? The hidden costs of Olympism include universalism through a Westernized perspective and failing modernity. This essay will answer how universalism and modernity plays a role in Olympism, as well as the ways in which a nation can gain recognition on the global stage. Hosting the Olympic Games can significantly benefit a nation's global identity by allowing the nation to claim and reshape their national identity through the process of recognition. However, the costs of universalism and modernity within Olympism could very well be the contributing factor to the failure of global unity and identity.

The host nation of the Olympic Games has the ability to express its national identity, as well as its global identity, through cultural display during Olympic ceremonies and rituals. The opening ceremony is a highly-publicized performance in which the host nation can celebrate the triumphs of their nation, as well as unite global cultures to celebrate the initiation of the Games together. Because the opening ceremony is so rich in culture and national and global identity, this paper will discuss two opening ceremonies in a comparative analysis. The first opening ceremony will be from the London 2012 Olympic Games, and the second will be from the Rio de Janeiro 2016 Olympic Games. These two ceremonies were chosen because each nation had different intentions for global recognition, and such is evident in the opening ceremonies.

First, this paper will synthesize previous scholarship analyzing the Olympic Games. Following the review of scholarship will be a description of events from the 2012 London Olympic opening ceremony, coupled with a cultural analysis of the recognition achieved during the opening ceremony. A description of the events from the 2016 Rio de Janeiro Olympic opening ceremony will follow, along with another cultural analysis of the recognition achieved in the public sphere. A comparative analysis of the two ceremonies will bring light to some of the implications of Olympic universalism.

Charles Taylor's article *The Politics of Recognition* (2005), outlines how global recognition is crucial for a nation. Maurice Roche makes the connection that Olympic recognition is critical in two pieces of scholarship, *The Olympics and 'Global Citizenship,'* (2002), and *Mega-Events Modernity* (2000). Roche's dedication to critical

Olympic scholarship opens a number of arguments surrounding the significance of culture and universal citizenship. MacRury and Poynter expand on identity and recognition and explain how re-definition of global identity can be achieved by hosting the Olympics. Roche's analysis of modernity in the Olympics can be expanded upon by Otavio Tavares' explanation of Olympic modernity in his article, *Olympic Values in the 21st Century: Between Continuity and Change* (2010). Roche's look at the Olympic universalism is supplemented by Kraidy's (2005) concept of hybridity in conjunction with Wallerstien's (1990) concept of universalism.

Maurice Roche explores the global culture movement of the Olympics in *The Olympics and 'Global Citizenship'* (2002). Roche defines global citizenship as both universal citizenship in relation to individualized human rights. The Olympics are responsible for nation building, internationalization, globalization, as well as the positive and negative effects of the politics of national identity, citizenship, and rights.

Universal citizenship is implied by individualized human rights, and access to those rights are institutionalized in contemporary international society. Roche makes the distinction that human rights in regards to universal citizenship cannot be defined or limited to the nation-state, nor can it be attributed to citizenship within a territory. Human rights ideals are central to the Olympic movement and implied universal citizenship. For example, during the apartheid era in South Africa from 1970-1992, the nation was excluded from sending athletes to the Olympic Games in an international rejection of the racist state. This exclusion by the International Olympic Committee was due to a violation of human rights as defined by Olympism.

The Olympic Charter focuses on Olympism and its many goals. Olympism aims to encourage the establishment of a peaceful society that concerns itself with human dignity. It seeks to form a way of life that respects universal fundamental ethical principles. Olympism is defined as incompatible with any form of discrimination, and aims to use sport to educate the world on mutual understanding and international compatibility. After outlining the goals of Olympism, Roche explains that Olympism does not always blend well into the cultural realities of political economy as the Games have become massively commercialized. Roche makes the claim that in the post-war and post-colonial period, the Olympics give new nations the opportunity to display themselves and become recognized and legitimated on a global cultural stage. The Olympics are the political and cultural international public sphere, and Roche argues that a nation needs recognition from the Olympics almost as much as they would need recognition by the United Nations.

The importance Roche puts on a nation's Olympic recognition can be better understood by Charles Taylor's article *The Politics of Recognition*. Maurice Roche claims that Olympic recognition is crucial for a nation, and Charles Taylor outlines why recognition is necessary for a nation. Taylor makes the claim that due recognition is a vital human need in his article *The Politics of Recognition*. Non-recognition, and misrecognition, can be harmful for both a nation and the individual, and can be a form of oppression. Democracy has introduced an era of politics of equal recognition, which demands all cultures to share equal status. National identity relies on acceptance and recognition as a

legitimate sovereign nation. Taylor makes the distinction that recognition must not rely on cultural assimilation, but rather the politics of difference within the politics of equal recognition. The main demand in this case, is the demand for universal equality.

Taylor explains that the politics of equal dignity is based on the notion that all humans are worthy of equal respect. Roche previously explained that Olympism is concerned with human dignity and human rights in universal citizenship. Both authors stress the importance of dignity on a global level. Taylor's arguments for the importance of recognition through equal dignity and respect coincide with Roche's claims that the Olympics are a crucial stage for a nation to gain recognition, with the separation of universal citizenship as human rights from the nation-state at the forefront.

While Taylor expanded on the significance of recognition, Roche previously claims that the Olympics are a global stage for post-colonial and post-war nations to gain recognition. Iain MacRury and Gavin Poynter offer an additional perspective to this point in their article *'Team GB' and London 2012: The Paradox of National and Global Identities* (2010). In analyzing the London 2012 Olympic bid, MacRury and Poynter explore how the goal of the London Games aimed to redefine and rebrand Britain's national identity by using the Olympics' global audience.

The need for recognition of a developing nation often stems from the nation's attempt to distance its national identity from colonial imperialism (MacRury and Poynter, 2010). At the height of the British Empire, British imperialism overtook the interests of the specific nations they inhabited. Many nations formerly colonized by Britain have since needed to seek recognition post-colonialism. In a unique twist, Britain wants to re-define British identity as an inclusive state and distance the nation from the imperialist social hierarchies that the British Empire once built. The Olympic Games are the perfect embodiment of the global public sphere, and the perfect setting for a nation to gain global recognition. Britain aimed to use the 2012 London Games to become re-recognized as an inclusive nation.

MacRury and Poynter claim that "inclusivity is an elusive concept" (p.2961). The authors explain British inclusivity as citizens being able to hold dual identities, for example, being both Welsh and British. The London Games were an attempt at reformulating national identity by aiming to enhance social inclusivity in the cosmopolitan. Aside from rebranding Britain's politics of identity, and enhancing social integration, Britain hoped the 2012 London Games would regenerate a poor and multiethnic area of London. Hosting the Games in an underdeveloped area of London is a strategic move for a lasting urban renewal legacy, through gentrification.

The authors compare Britain's Olympic bid to Brazil's Olympic bid and find that Brazil used some of London's tactics to win the 2016 Rio de Janeiro bid. Rio has underlying social, economic, and environmental issues they wished to resolve by hosting the 2016 Games. Rio de Janeiro desired global recognition, and aimed to use mega events as a catalyst for urban renewal and promotion of social integration. MacRury and Poynter

make the claim that "the Olympics perform a propping up job, on behalf of a failing modernity" (p.2969).

Otavio Tavares expands on the connection between modernity and the Olympic Games in his article, *Olympic Values in the 21st Century: Between Continuity and Change* (2010). Tavares defines modernity as a "product of the triumph of the humanistic and rationalist theories that have given rise to the modern state and the idea of the individual as an autonomous entity" (Tavares, p.1). The author's main argument is that the elements of neo-modernity are manifested in the Olympic Movement. Both modernity and Olympism are multi-dimensional and multi-compatible, and the Olympic Movement is subject to the reconfiguration of modern values. In other words, to understand the Olympic Movement, one must understand modernity and the role it plays.

In *Hybridity, or the Cultural Logic of Globalization* (2005), Kraidy defines hybridity and its relation to globalization, as well as the difference between multiculturalism and transculturalism. "Hybridity entails that traces of other cultures exist in every culture, thus offering foreign media and markets transcultural wedges for forging affective links between their commodities and local communities" (Kraidy, p.148). While the mainstream public sphere sees this as beneficial, Kraidy explains that hybridity is the "cultural logic of globalization," that also perpetuates global order (p.148). Kraidy is hopeful that hybridity can be progressive only when globalization is eliminated from the cultural logic.

Analysis of Opening Ceremonies

In *'Team GB' and London 2012: The Paradox of National and Global Identities* (2010) by MacRury and Poynter, the authors explain that the domestic goal of the London Olympics was to reunite Great Britain, and incorporate England, Wales, Northern Ireland, and Scotland as one united nation. The first few minutes of the London 2012 opening ceremony do just as MacRury and Poynter predicted. The opening ceremony begins with a chorus of children singing in the stands of the stadium, while the stadium floor is staged as a mock village with a grassy hill erected to represent Glastonbury Tor. The screen cuts to groups of children singing in Scotland, Northern Ireland, and Whales, exemplifying the uniting mission outlined by MacRury and Poynter. The announcer reporting on the ceremony says, "London's Games are Great Britain's Games." Between shots of the children singing all over Great Britain, there are British sports highlights clips being played. This is a strong start to the opening ceremony, as Britain unites all its factions and boosts its national identity at a local level.

An enormous tree at the top of the hill representing Glastonbury Tor is lifted into the air, and beneath the roots of the tree, men march out wearing tattered clothing. Men in Victorian formalwear enter the stage via stagecoach, and begin to survey the village land, and order the land to be industrialized. The actors portraying the working-class begin to deconstruct the stage and great brick smoke pillars rise from the floor. This section of the performance is representing the industrial revolution. As the stage is being revolutionized, women march into the scene, demonstrating the women's suffrage movement. Before the scene's crescendo, there is a moment of silence for the loss of

lives in both World Wars, and visuals of the poppy flower appear. As the music intensified, five flaming iron rings rise from each of the smoke pillars and drift together to form the Olympic symbol above the stadium. The spectacle of the Olympic rings was beautiful and iconic.

The next section of the ceremony is a short film called "Happy and Glorious." Daniel Craig plays his most famous character, James Bond, and walks into Buckingham Palace to meet the Queen. A group of young students from Brazil are on a tour of the palace, and spot Bond as he arrives. This is a nod to Rio de Janeiro, the next city to host the Olympics after London. Bond and the Queen hop into a helicopter and fly around London, highlighting various aspects of the city. The pair arrive at the stadium and stunt doubles jump out of the helicopter and parachute into the stadium. The Queen enters the stadium and the audience is asked to "please stand for her majesty the Queen." The Royal Army and the Royal Air Force march the British flag up Glastonbury Tor.

The next section is a tribute to Great Britain's National Health Service. Doctors and nurses enter the stage pushing in children on hospital beds, and perform a dance number. J.K. Rowling, author of the *Harry Potter* series, reads the children a bedtime story, and the children drift to sleep. Enormous puppets portraying all the great villains from British literature come to life and scare the children before a dozen Mary Poppins float down onto the stage and save the children.

The London Symphony Orchestra accompanies a tribute to British film, and Mr. Beans, the famous British comedian jokes along with the orchestra. This transitions into the popular culture section of the opening ceremony. Video games, television, and forms of social media are displayed by a stage filled with millennials, dancing to famous British music. The scene ends with inventor of the World Wide Web, Tim Berners-Lee, being honored for making the internet free and available to everyone.

The opening ceremony ends with fireworks shooting from the Tower Bridge in London, and David Beckham driving in on a boat to deliver the Olympic Torch. London's opening ceremony was centered around British pride.

MacRury and Poynter (2010) outline the goal of London 2012 to be "a vehicle for redefining Britain's national identity, in the domestic sphere and within the international community, during a period of significant turmoil in the global economy and in the relationships between the 'advanced' and 'emerging' nations in the world" (p.2959). Britain's ambition to redefine their global identity to an inclusive state through London 2012 was more or less a failure in the opening ceremony.

The cultural displays in the opening ceremony did not effectively separate British national identity from its past of imperial consciousness during the British Empire. Specifically, the performance of the Industrial Revolution was misguided. MacRury and Poynter (2010) explain, "the British industrial revolution and the expansion of the empire across the world helped to forge a British ruling class and an imperial service that was staffed by Scots, Welsh, Irish and English" (p.2961). The performance thus contradicted

the goal of inclusivity of Great Britain during the portrayal of the working class taking orders from the ruling class.

The goal of British re-recognition in London 2012 was to "replace the 'old' paternal inclusivity of empire with a 'new' egalitarian vision of 'social inclusivity' as a defining characteristic of Britishness" (MacRury and Poynter, p.2961). This identity of social inclusivity was not the main takeaway of the opening ceremony. The opening ceremony was a festival of British culture that had a slight focus on uniting Great Britain, and a main focus on patriotism. While patriotism plays a crucial role in all Olympic opening ceremonies, the patriotism in London's opening ceremony was highly saturated, and failed to express a new and inclusive global identity.

By spending the duration of the opening ceremony praising various British accomplishments, Great Britain was celebrating modernity in universalism. In *Culture as the Ideological Battleground of the Modern-World System* (1990), Wallerstein explains modernity "as a central universalizing theme [that] gives priority to newness, change, and progress" (p.47) Great Britain attempted to reposition their national identity by hosting the Olympics, but ended up perpetuating their position of global power through modernity and universalism. Wallerstein explains, "universalism can become a motivation for harder work in so far as the work ethic is preached as a defining centerpiece of modernity" (p.46). London's focus on celebrating the modernity of British accomplishments left little to no opportunity for global unity in the London 2012 Olympic opening ceremony.

Rio de Janeiro's opening ceremony for the 2016 Olympic Games was an incredibly emotional performance. Following Brazil's national anthem, the ceremony begins on an interactive stage. Projections of waves flow across the stage, and the "birth of life" begins. After performers march in large sculptures of insects, roots appear to grow across the stage, and an artistic representation of trees is portrayed by a projection onto strips of fabric hung over the stage. This scene was a stunning representation of the Amazon Rainforest, which is later discussed in the scope of environmentalism towards the end of the ceremony.

Performers, dressed as indigenous people, enter the stage and twist and intertwine the fabric to portray huts. Portuguese voyagers enter the stage by boat and interact with the indigenous people. Portuguese is the official language of Brazil to this day. The stage is cleared and Africans enter the stage in shackles. Next, the Arabs enter the stage carrying luggage, and create a crossroads with the Africans. Following the Arabs are the Japanese, carrying red flags and rice hats. Roche discusses the portrayal of the "other" in *Mega-Events Modernity* (2000). This portion of the ceremony displays the "other" as "mixtures of exoticism and distinctive appearance" (Roche, p.82). The goal of this performance is to show the world how other nations and cultures became integrated into Brazil. While there is an exaggerated depiction of these cultures in the performance, the use of the "other" is less polarizing, and geared more towards a celebration of the international cultures present in Brazil.

Once the stage is cleared, contemporary Brazil emerges, and projections portray tall buildings lifting from the stage as performers jump from building to building. Following the modern performance, the ceremony takes a sentimental turn. An actor portraying Santos Dumont takes flight on the famous 14 BIS airplane. Brazilians feel great pride for Santos Dumont, and consider him the first person to take flight. The airplane takes off and flies around Brazil, highlighting attractions around the country, including the Christ the Redeemer statue. The airplane floats along Rio de Janeiro's gorgeous coastline city before returning to the Olympic stadium. This section of the ceremony expresses Brazilian pride and patriotism. The Santos Dumont flight shows the nation's pride in their innovative capabilities, while also showing international viewers the beauty of Brazil's landscape and attractions.

The ceremony returns to the stadium and the song "Girl from Ipanema" is performed live as Brazilian supermodel Gisele Bundchen struts across the vast stage. The announcer tells the viewers that this is Gisele's last time ever taking the catwalk, using the Olympic stage to end her modeling career. After the song ends and Gisele's catwalk is complete, the popular culture section of the ceremony begins. The voice of the favelas play pop music while hundreds of people dance on the stage in different colorful outfits. The audience is encouraged to "look for similarities" and "celebrate the differences" as the dancers flood the stage. Fireworks beautifully explode from the stadium as the dancers observe their similarities and differences. This segment of the ceremony celebrates the recognition of differences in multiculturalism, and calls upon agency from the international audience.

The ceremony takes a serious turn following the celebration of multiculturalism. A video discussing global warming begins, and the narrator explains the implications of CO_2 emissions and the effects of global warming. Animation shows how the ice caps of Greenland have nearly vanished in recent years. The animation then depicts coastal cities around the globe being flooded by melting ice caps. The sea level rising swallows Amsterdam, Dubai, Florida, Shanghai, Lagos, and Rio. This section of the opening ceremony is an emotional global call to action to end global warming. As the athletes from every participating nation march into the stadium, they each carry a seed to be planted as the lasting legacy for the Rio 2016 Games.

MacRury and Poynter highlight Rio's goals of encouraging social inclusion and environmental consciousness while hosting the 2016 Olympic Games (2010). Rio's 2016 opening ceremony successfully united global cultures without assimilation. Showing the different cultures coming to Brazil invited the members of those nations to feel as if a piece of themselves can be found in Brazil. Asking the audience to "look for similarities" and "celebrate the differences" was a successful form of hybridity that excluded globalization, which Kraidy considers honorable. The artistic depiction of the Amazon Rainforest in the beginning of the performance helped ignite pathos in the audience after revealing the serious global implications of global warming.

From the opening ceremony alone, Rio was able to be recognized on the global stage as a beautiful and innovative nation that is inclusive of other cultures and identities. Rio was

successful in global recognition by mastering the politics of difference, as explained by Taylor in *The Politics of Recognition* (2005):

> What we are asked to recognize is the unique identity of the individual or group, their distinctness from everyone else. The idea that it is precisely this distinction that has been ignored, glossed over, assimilated to dominant or majority identity. And this assimilation is the cardinal sin against the idea of authenticity (471).

Rio explicitly asked the audience to recognize their unique cultural identity, allowing the international public sphere to recognize Brazil as an inclusive nation, dedicated to the world issue of global warming. London on the other hand, maintained world older and assimilation in their cultural displays of British Nationalism during their opening ceremony. London's opening ceremony was focused on British pride, and less inclusive to other cultures and identities. Rio was able to gain the global recognition they desired, while London's performance was overly steeped in the British nationalism to be recognized for global inclusion, separate from British Imperialism.

Conclusion

Olympism relies on universalism of its values of mutual recognition, equality, peacefulness, and multiculturalism. These values are specific and Westernized, and rely on the interpretation of the host nation to exemplify these values in a unique way. Great Britain perpetuated modernity and global order in the London 2012 Olympics opening ceremony, while Brazil invited inclusion and a global call to action. The global recognition formed by these opening ceremonies will leave a lasting legacy on each nation.

An Olympic host nation will benefit from the global economy in both the short and long term, but must bear a heavy cultural weight and responsibility. Roche explains the benefits of hosting the Olympics in *Mega-Events Modernity* (2000) as a, "long-term cultural impact of the event on the image of the city nationally and internationally by potential tourists and private sector decision makers and investors" (p.140). The host nation of the Olympics must unify the global public sphere, without allowing universalism and modernity to control the discourse. If a host nation is successful in portraying global unity, the recognition they receive will leave a positive legacy upon the nation, and allow for a culturally inclusive global public sphere.

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YES, WHITE PEOPLE CAN BE TERRORISTS, TOO.
BY DILLON MULHERN

Hours prior to walking into the church, the final update to the manifesto posted on an obscure blog outlined the political views and motivations for the massacre that would take nine lives. The intent of this act and the manifesto was to start a race war, or at the very least, expose the perceived evil of a group of people he likened to dogs (Sack, 2017). By shooting up Emanuel African Methodist Episcopal Church, Dylann Roof felt he was fulfilling his obligation to his fellow whites, and consequently, he became a terrorist. Despite the clear parallels to the actions of Roof and the United States' definition of a terrorist; "premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against noncombatant targets by subnational groups or clandestine agents,"' (18 U.S. Code Chapter 113B) at the time of the event, no major media outlet called him a terrorist. That terminology, it would seem, is reserved for Muslims.

This is not just an occurrence exclusive to Dylann Roof, in the past years there has been a reluctance in the media to describe white mass shooters as terrorists. Instead, they highlight issues such as mental illness (The 2017 Las Vegas Shooter, 2012 Aurora shooting, 2014 Isla Vista rampage) or coming from a bad family (Dylann Roof). Utilizing Google Trends, an application which compares particular search terms in relation to the total search volume to determine relative interest in a topic and provide insight into the media and general public's mindset, the search term "terrorist", "Muslim", "Islam", and "mental illness" were plotted with relative interest on the X axis and time on the Y axis. This allows for an overview of the rhetoric used to describe each event, and the factors that lead to the synthesis of the media's viewpoint of each attack.

The events outlined with a grey in Figure 1 were perpetrated by a person or persons who follow Islam, or in some cases were just perceived to be. Noticeably there is a correlation between the use of the word terrorist and an uptake in searches using the words "Muslim" or "Islam", even before the allegiances or religions were implicitly confirmed. Notable articles about the Marathon Bombing featured speculation from news organizations (like Breitbart) about the attacks being perpetrated by Muslim terrorist two days before the first of the brothers had been identified and their religious affiliations determined (Nolte et al, 2013). Crimes committed by Muslims received around 4.5 times the media coverage than similar events that were perpetrated by white assailants (Boyle, 2017). Articles written about the perpetrators focused on their meticulous planning prior to the event, and their connection to terrorist groups, such as ISIS and Al Qaeda, even in instances where there was no direct communication between members of the group (Ross, 2016).

The events in red are perpetrated by a white person or persons, and it should be noted that for events A and B, there is no correlation to the time of the attack and an increase in the usage of the search term terrorist. This reflects a discourse analysis of articles written by major media outlets, who almost universally use terms such as 'mass shooter' or 'deadly rampage' instead of 'terrorist attack', despite the nature of the attacks. Much like Dylann

Roof, Elliot Rodgers committed acts that were motivated by his desire to make an impact on society by means of killing. Rogers released a manifesto shortly before his rampage that outlined his misogynistic views and his belief that women that denied him sexually deserved to die. Articles about Rogers often highlighted his mental health issues as a reason for his killings, and labelled him a mass shooter.
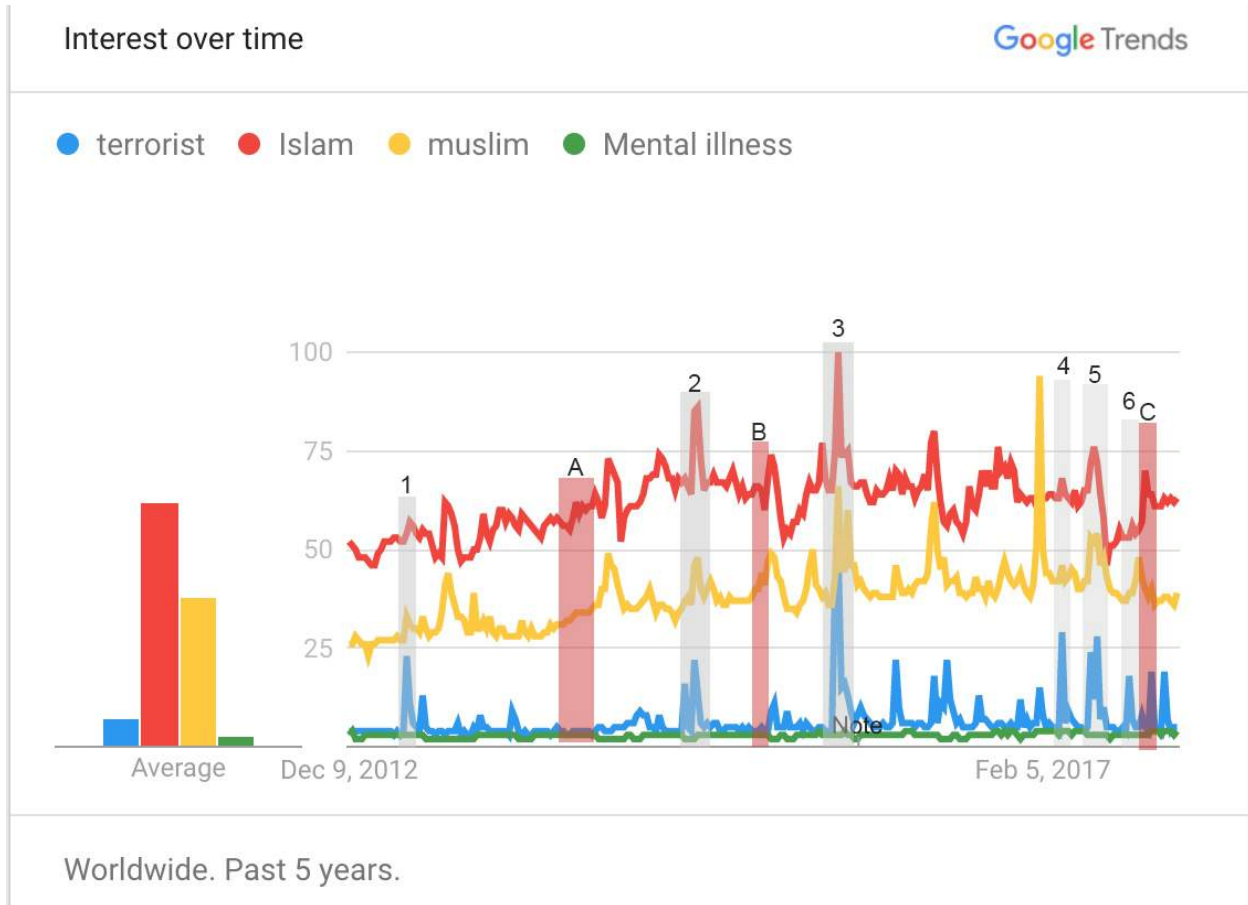

Figure 1: Relative frequency of particular search terms in relation to total Google searches.

Terrorist acts committed by Middle Eastern perpetrators

1. Boston Marathon bombing
2. January 2015 Île-de-France attacks shooting
3. November 2015 Paris attacks
4. 2017 Westminster attack
5. June 2017 London Bridge attack
6. 2017 Barcelona attacks

Terrorists acts committed by whites

A. 2014 Isla Vista killings
B. Charleston church
C. 2017 Las Vegas shooting

*It should be noted that only attacks with significant media coverage were included in this event, therefore the number of crimes perpetrated by each group is not proportional or equal to national numbers.

The difference in language used by the media has a two-pronged effect on the general public: the term terrorist when applied to a criminal action increases the likelihood of a conviction and leads to increase in the severity of charges, and supports xenophobic stereotypes of people of Middle Eastern descent. In a study conducted to gauge the effect that terrorism charges had on jurors, a mock jury heard cases in which a defendant was charged with terrorism, compared with a non-terrorism charge; it was found that, "The participants reported more negative emotions with a suspect charged with a terrorism than non-terrorism crime, independently of criminal conduct," (Goodman-Delahunty et al). Jury members were 12.4% more likely to convict a defendant with terrorism charges than a defendant that committed the same crime without being labelled a terrorist. If the stereotype of Muslims being terrorist is perpetuated by the media, then this could result in a positive feedback loop in which the increased conviction of Muslims reinforces the stereotype; which leads to even more convictions.

It is the role of the media to lead the public in the discussions of social issues. When the Las Vegas shooting occurred (Event C in Figure 1), opinion pieces in favor of labelling the perpetrator a terrorist started conversations about the exclusivity of the Muslim terrorist and how whites have the unique privilege to avoid such terminology (King, 2017). Notice the uptake of the search term terrorist in association to the time period around the attack, which is the first noticeable correlation between a white perpetrator and the label terrorist. This reflects a change in the conversation around what it means to be a terrorist. At the same time, the search term "mental illness" also increased in frequency during that time period which reflects other articles which sought to find an excuse for a mass shooting perpetrated by a white man (Las Vegas shooter Stephen Paddock). Another factor, Paddock's apparent lack of motivation, became a focal point of the media's coverage (Wallace-Wells, 2017). The need for motivation is another form of privilege as it is often overlooked in attacks featuring Muslim perpetrators, such as the 2017 London Bridge attack (Beauchamp, 2017).

If we are to curb stereotyping Muslims, we need to start looking at how we portrayals of terrorism in the media and the standards we use in labelling someone a terrorist. There is force behind the terminology, policies such as the PATRIOT act enable terrorist to be treated as enemy combatants, and is used to justify new policies such as the Travel Ban executive order (The USA PATRIOT Act). If the media continues to determine whether or not someone is a terrorist by race, xenophobia will run rampant, further inspiring hate towards Muslims. By allowing whites the privilege of escaping the label, we inflame individuals' racist or misogynistic views, which could inspire further actions. If we are to ever stop the war on terrorism, it is necessary to realize that a label does not have a racial or religious mandate. Public opinion is reflective of the information put forth by the media, so it's time to stop making excuses for white terrorists.

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QUEERING IT UP: THE QUEERING OF FOOD JUSTICE

BY ZOË PARSONS

Food justice is an area of activism and academic thought that does not get the attention it needs. Many people are unfamiliar with the idea, but it is a critical area to work in to solve food insecurity on the local and national level. The goal of food justice is to institutionalize food equity for all people. It is the right to choose one's food source, and how it is produced and consumed. Food justice concerns the accessibility to food and how accessible culturally relevant food is for the average person. This school of thought and activism includes governmental policies regarding food, and local efforts to increase food accessibility for marginalized identities. Food justice activists heavily advocate for increased control over food production and consumption for people who have been marginalized by the current agricultural industry (Cadieux and Slocum, 2015). Food justice can also include health related conditions, such as diabetes and obesity (Guthman, 2014), which are problematic topics as I will explain. Food justice is concerned with how diverse groups of people lack access to good food (Guthman, 2014).

Food justice tends to passively exclude marginalized identities (Loo, 2014), and I take a queer perspective to food justice especially in regards to gender, sexuality, ability, size, and race. A queer perspective examines food justice through several lenses and various aspects of food justice. Queering food justice can look like sustainable agriculture led by queer people. Food justice is not limited to marginalized identities in rural settings, but also in urban landscapes. The idea of the "family meal" under queer theory is also examined, and what this is and who it includes. This is a relatively new idea that food justice scholars are examining as part of equalizing who gets access to fresh and healthy food, and who is represented in images of a "healthy" lifestyle.

Although this paper focuses on LGBTQ identities and food justice, I also examine how food justice intersects with other marginalized groups, but specifically intersections including LGBTQ people. Food justice thought falls petty to generalizing all marginalized identities and lumping them together regarding solutions for food issues. Queering food justice starts with examining different intersections with equal access to food, and this paper analyzes current intersectional literature. Looking at food justice in conjunction with other identities complicates activism and the solutions utilized to aide those with unreliable sources of fresh and healthy food.

Food justice issues are made more intersectional when queer thought and experience are included in discussion and activism. Queer thought brings new perspectives to food justice by centering different identities and analyzing how these intersect with food justice issues. Food justice activism and thought tends to center usually the most privileged people: class-privileged, white, cisgender, heterosexual identified people (Loo, 2014). This narrative only involves one perspective and assumes all other identities need the same solution. Queering food justice looks at different intersections and how they involve in food justice. It disrupts conventional thinking of food activism and offers many other practical solutions to food related issues such as accessibility.

Queer experience includes identities that are not typically included in food justice thought. Using a queer lens challenges food justice activism to provide diverse solutions help marginalized people access food. Bringing a queer perspective to an otherwise mono field diversifies conventional ways of thinking about food justice. Using a queer lens, current literature takes steps to analyze intersections of food justice and race, class, gender, sexuality, size, and other identity categories. Queering food justice brings an intersectional perspective to food-related social issues, providing diverse solutions for different communities. Food justice must be queered because one solution to end food scarcity is not universal. Instead, solutions must be tailored to each community. Looking at food justice from queer experience challenges conventional ways of thinking regarding solutions for food scarcity, accessibility, and sovereignty.

Hawkes (2004) argues that culture must be sustained in order to create a sustainable future. Culture is considered as a fourth "pillar" of sustainability, where it is so influential that it affects public policy and planning (Hawkes, 2004). As food is a fundamental part of culture, amongst art, language, and media, providing access to culturally appropriate food for people helps create a sustainable future. This is where food justice comes into play, as it protects the right for access to nutritious, fresh, and culturally appropriate food for local communities. Food justice works towards equal access to not only fresh and healthy food, but culturally appropriate food as well (Wilkerson, 2016). Maintaining access to cultural foods and the ability to grow these foods is a part of creating a queer sustainable future for everyone. Working towards food justice creates a sustainable future by sustaining culture for marginalized identities.

Food justice and agriculture

Local farming keeps culturally relevant food alive for communities, both in urban and rural places. It supports a sustainable future and food for the community. Agriculture as food justice often looks like small-scale farms providing fresh food for people in the area, both rural and urban, especially for low-income people. This provides a reliable source of fresh and nutritious food for those who could not otherwise get one. Local agriculture encourages food sovereignty, the right for all people to define where they source their own food which is sustainable to their own circumstances (Diaminah, 2012). When creating different solutions for local sustainable agriculture, it is necessary to consider the community at hand, whether it is in urban or rural landscapes. Food justice here is made more diverse and queer when we consider how different identity markers intersect with farming, and their effect on the local landscape. Analyzing how gender, sexuality, race, and class intersect with food justice complicates the solutions used to create sustainable futures and encourage food sovereignty.

LGBTQ people queer the agricultural industry in rural areas through starting their own local agricultural systems. LGBTQ farmers diversify the agricultural industry, disrupt the current normative hegemonic ideas surrounding farming, and change food sources for communities. Food justice here is queered, or made more diverse, by challenging the gendered agricultural process and heteronormative representations of farming. Gender and sexuality intersect with food justice for example, when LGBTQ farmers challenge the notion of rural environments as being for heterosexual people and urban

environments as being inherently gay. Rural areas and the domination of nature is regarded as manly, such as camping, playing outdoor sports, and hunting (Putney, 2001). This extends to farming, a white male-dominated field.

Rural and urban spaces are dichotomized, sharing little to no mutual qualities in common definitions. As agricultural and rural spaces are dominated by cisgender, heterosexual men, LGBTQ+ people moved into cities to form their own communities. While rural spaces are historically regarded as masculine and heterosexual, urban spaces are gendered and sexualized as feminine and gay (Mortimer-Sandilands, Erickson, & Gable, 2010; Putney, 2001; Sbicca, 2012). As heterosexuality is perceived as "natural", nature spaces are seen as dominated by heterosexual people while urban spaces are "queer" and dominated by LGBTQ people (Mortimer-Sandilands et al., 2010; Sbicca, 2012). Rural spaces are also regarded as heterosexist by LGBTQ farmers (Leslie, 2017). These perceptions deter LGBTQ people from farming in rural places, making it harder to encourage food justice in rural places.

Through surviving and sustaining LGBTQ communities in rural areas, LGBTQ farmers redefine farmland and rural communities as capable of being feminine (Sbicca, 2012). As more queer-identified and women-aligned people farm, rural areas become feminized, and agricultural systems are gender and sexuality-inclusive. Communities have access to fresh local food from LGBTQ farmers, and sustainable futures are supported through increased positive representations of LGBTQ farmers and sustainable agriculture (Leslie, 2017).

LGBTQ farmers exist across the United States, who are queering food justice by providing fresh local food to communities (Sbicca, 2012). LGBTQ farmers create a sustainable future for gay communities by claiming space in rural areas. This challenges cis-heteronormative ways of thinking about rural and urban areas as a binary. Food justice is made more complicated by introducing gender and sexuality as intersections. LGBTQ farmers diversify local food sources for communities and guide us to more queer sustainable futures.

Race and accessibility in cities

In cities where space for farming is limited, fresh food is hard to come by for people not privileged by class. This section discusses how people increase food accessibility and help those living in urban food desserts. Race and class are considered as intersections to food justice thought here when developing solutions for food desserts to think queerly about food justice.

Urban agricultural systems often provide food to low-income and unhoused people (Reynolds and Cohen, 2016). Agricultural farms in cities use this as an opportunity to demonstrate that farming does not need to be connected to exploitation of people of color (Reynolds and Cohen, 2016). Food can also be grown in cities as resistance to different forms of oppression. Urban farms resist supermarket chains by growing their own local food for communities (Reynolds and Cohen, 2016). Urban farms can also serve to resist cultural oppression by preserving cultural foods.

White people in power should consider ceding to marginalized people to allow food justice to reform in communities ("Dismantling White Veganism," 2017; Gottlieb & Joshi, 2010; Scott, 2013). The idea is that only the people living in food-impoverished communities know what is best for their own communities. White food justice activists tend to come into a community with solutions but not understanding what people actually want or need. Food justice for urban areas must be queered. A solution for one community is not going to work the same for the next, so intersections of race and class must be considered to make food justice intersectional.

Queering food justice for urban environments encourages us to think about what food justice accomplishes beyond providing food. By bringing a queer perspective to food justice in urban areas, food justice looks at more than just food but the impacts that growing local food has for the area. Urban farms accomplish more than just being a source of food for people of color and low-income people, but they act as a form of resistance against different causes of oppression. This challenges us to think about how a sustainable future can be developed in urban cities where food can be scarce for low-income people. Cultural knowledge of food is sustained for future generations through urban agricultural systems (Reynolds and Cohen, 2016).

Analyzing the "family meal"

Mainstream media considers the "family meal" to be the most important part of the day as a family that people can partake in. The family meal occurs at the end of the day, takes place at a large table where each family member sits, and features plenty of filling, local, and nutritious food. The family meal is considered integral to American culture because it is a place where the family reconvenes after a day of working to discuss family matters, spend time together and "civilize human beings" (Hall & Alaimo, 2017). This meal is presented as the desired future for family and food sustainability by promoting a specific set of family values and nutrition (Hall & Alaimo, 2017). Because of its promotion of local nutritious food, spending time with family, and cooking homemade food, many food justice activists also support the family meal (Hall & Alaimo, 2017). Although it is not inherently bad to support the "family meal" as a solution for family bonding and teaching children about healthy food, it must be considered that it is not a feasible solution for everybody.

"Family" in this instance is the cisgender heteronormative, nuclear, non-disabled, class-privileged, family image that dominates the media, representing the stereotypical American family (Hall & Alaimo, 2017). By only including a specific type of family, other family forms are pushed out of this idea of what potential families can look like. Dissimilar families are not considered equal or as families with this image (Hall & Alaimo, 2017). Whether or not this stereotypical family image truly represents the majority of families in the United States, this marginalizes a large number of identities and groups that do not fall into this category. This image does not include people who need assistance eating, LGBTQ people and families, people without children or single parents, and many family forms (Ahmed, 2006; Hall & Alaimo, 2017).

The expectation of the "family meal" for every family shames those who do not eat the same way. It creates a hierarchy of those who partake in the "family meal" every night, and those who do not, or cannot. Those who do not eat at "regular" times or eat

"unhealthy" foods are considered unwholesome. Eating elsewhere but a table is a shameful image of unhealthy habits informed by class (Hall & Alaimo, 2017). Disability is also erased from these family meal scenes as a result of unsustainability and ableism (Hall & Alaimo, 2017). By focusing on only one problem, access to local nutritious food and family time in this case, food justice neglects and creates other issues.

Using diverse experience to guide food justice thought avoids erasure of marginalized identities. By thinking queerly about food justice, the problems that food justice activists want to solve can be focused on from a different, more inclusive perspective. The "family meal" idea creates more problems than it solves, and by taking a more comprehensive stance at the idea of a family meal, more people can be included in food justice.

The promotion of the family meal in food justice thought is an example of how food justice does not actively include diverse identities. Queer thinking requires us to actively include other types of families in our constructed definitions of who is included in a family and what it looks like. It disrupts these definitions to allow other family forms more representation, not only in the media but in local communities where planning and policies regarding food occur. Thinking queerly about the family meal as a solution for providing a chance for family bonding and fresh nutritious meals changes the definition of "family" to one that is broader and more diverse. By using a queer lens to look at the family meal, food justice thought includes diverse families to create solutions for food justice. Through using a queer perspective to analyze the family meal image, disability, class, and LGBTQ identities can be included in food justice.

The importance of considering other identities

Whereas food justice tends to be dominated by heteronormative, white, and able-bodied people, actively including other voices or having privileged people step down to let others make decisions for their own communities contributes to stronger activism in food justice (Scott, 2013). White food justice advocates are typically non-intersectional, and while there is existing research which starts to queer food justice, work still needs to be done to make food justice queer and sustainable for all identities. Having non-white and other marginalized people take control over food policies in their own communities to develop greater accessibility and food sovereignty queers food justice, complicating activism and the ways by which food justice is performed (Scott, 2013)

Food justice often mistakenly attributes "obesity" to the result of an unhealthy diet and lifestyle, immersed in one problem while ignoring and causing another (Guthman, 2014). This attribution grossly oversimplifies what is really the issue at hand. Using a queer perspective to this issue in food justice challenges this fatphobic thinking by investigating where "obesity" as a term comes from and who is affected by this.

Body Mass Index (BMI) sets the standard for classifying bodies as obese/not obese, a crude scale for measuring adiposity. African Americans are often thought to have higher BMI's than whites because of an unhealthy choice of foods or lack of access to nutritious foods, however taking a closer look reveals that is not necessarily the case (Guthman, 2014). "Obesity" as a term was developed using thin white bodies as the standard for living (Guthman, 2014). This is a racist standard that food justice maintains by

considering "obesity" as an issue that needs to be addressed, when it has been shown it is not an unhealthy body type (Burgard & Wann, 2009; Guthman, 2014).

Food justice movement still needs to look at the intersection between it and queer disabled people. Although there is much information regarding food justice, race, and class, there has not been as much analysis of ability and queer identities in the food justice movement. Research combining disability theory and food justice thought is not as available compared to other fields of thought with food justice. People with disabilities are affected by food insecurity at significantly higher rates than people without disabilities (Simpson & Alaimo, 2017). Examining this intersection complicates food justice by including ability as a crucial factor to food accessibility.

Conclusion

Food justice argues for food sovereignty, accessibility, and equity among all people. It recognizes that growing food can be an act of resistance and activism. A sustainable future in part depends on food justice. Sustainability has four parts or pillars, of which culture is one. Food justice protects the right to culturally appropriate foods for communities, which help sustain marginalized communities. Passing down knowledge of cultural foods also creates a sustainable future for generations to come.

Food justice must use a queer perspective to challenge conventional thinking and create solutions regarding food scarcity and sovereignty to put marginalized identities into power and create change in communities. I argue for a queerer food justice by examining different identity markers and how they intersect and involve with food justice. Although there exist many facets of food justice that need to be looked at from an intersectional perspective, I look at a few different areas including agriculture both rural and urban, size, race, class, gender, sexuality, and size. I analyze how these intersect with food justice in order to create a queerer food justice that benefits more people. Using a queer or diverse perspective to look at food justice thought creates sustainable futures for marginalized communities with access to food.

This paper only touches on a few areas of food justice and how they can be queered, but there are still many other ways that food justice thought can consider other identities. Food banks, for example, could be examined from a queer perspective to see how they contribute to sustainable futures in conjunction with marginalized identities. Indigenous people and food justice is another intersection that does not have enough research done on in food justice thought. Food justice has potential to grow as an intersectional field because many intersections have not yet been directly included. This paper serves as a launching point for future queer food justice research.

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SHAPING ADOLESCENCE: THE BENEFIT OF YOUNG ADULT NOVELS, SPECIFICALLY *THIS ONE SUMMER*

BY TALI CHERIM

Sex, boobs, and swearing—these compelling curiosities are present in the minds of many teens. Exploration of these so-called "adult matters" is both exciting, allowing one to escape the confines of childhood and social expectations of "appropriateness," and daunting, marking the difficult transition from adolescence to adulthood. In their graphic narrative *This One Summer,* author Mariko Tamaki and illustrator Jillian Tamaki explore this liminal phase through the novel's main characters, Rose (age 13-14) and Windy (age 11-12), two adolescents on the cusp of adulthood. During a yearly family vacation to a lake-side cottage in Awago, Rose's childhood nostalgia about her previously-idyllic summers is interrupted by the new presence of more mature concerns such as pregnancy, sex, swearing, and other compelling adult issues that mark the start of her transition from childhood to adulthood. Through this coming-of-age tale, adolescent readers gain a deeper insight into the complex shift toward adulthood that all young adults must eventually go through. Therefore, Rose and Windy's experiences act to guide young readers through this maturation process, helping them come to terms with their own adolescence.

Unfortunately, the content presented in *This One Summer* has faced criticism from both parents and libraries. Too often, adult authority figures deem the issues presented in novels such as *This One Summer* to be too mature for younger readers. They condemn themes in the novel that test the boundaries of social acceptability, such as the use of vulgar language, the prevalence of sex and sexuality, and the introduction of other psychologically mature topics such as teenage pregnancy and the emotional trauma that results from a miscarriage. For these reasons, *This One Summer* was temporarily banned in several libraries. This strict decision was later relaxed, but only to allow high schoolers, rather than all children K-12, access to the novel—and, even in this case, their access was restricted (those who want to check it out must get a parent's or guardian's permission).

While many parents are concerned about mature content, YA novels can be beneficial resources to adolescents, providing knowledge of issues that will almost certainly arise as they continue to grow. As author Thomas W. Bean states, "because they deal with issues that are relevant to teens, including racism, pregnancy, divorce, substance abuse, family conflicts, and political injustice, Young Adult novels provide a roadmap of sorts for adolescents coping with these issues in real life" (Bean, 2003). Thus, through its presentation of controversial themes, *This One Summer* too can act as a resource, or a "roadmap," for young adults to help guide them through adolescence.

In addition to their relevance for young adults, YA novels also benefit these readers by allowing them to experience the transition from youth to adulthood through the eyes of a relatable, fictional figure. This intimate perspective is beneficial for adolescents, as it

gives them the opportunity to explore more mature curiosities (sex, drugs, swearing and so on) in a safe environment (Bean, 2003). It is better for adolescents to experience these topics through a YA novel character rather than participating themselves. To limit or hinder this exploration by banning or restricting the resource of YA literature ultimately serves only to incite adolescents' curiosity, forcing them to pursue knowledge of mature issues firsthand. In other words, it is beneficial for young readers to first experience these subjects through the subjective lens of fictional characters, rather than unpreparedly encountering them on their own. Therefore, the reasons YA novels such as *This One Summer* have become so controversial—the exploration of mature issues such as sexuality, death, vulgarity, and so on—are exactly why young adults (aged 9th grade and on) should have access to these novels.

More than just entertaining stories, Young Adult literature serves as an accessible guiding resource for adolescents on the cusp of adulthood. Scholars Thomas W. Bean and Karen Moni support this idea that YA novels are valuable resources for adolescents in their article "Developing Students' Critical Literacy." In this piece, Bean and Moni (2003) claim that the YA genre is beneficial as it offers a relatable presentation of the societal conflicts that many teens face. Therefore, the "immediacy of first-person narration and the unique point of view" offered by a novel's main character allows readers to observe issues (such as racism, pregnancy, divorce, substance abuse, family conflicts, and political injustice) that are relevant to their own lives (Bean, 2003, 638). By learning how a novel's characters handle, or mishandle, these situations, young readers are able to better manage their own, potentially similar experiences. The same idea of secondhand experience is true for other areas of curiosity such as experimentation with drugs or sex. A reader watches a character encounter these possibly harmful experiences and learns from the outcomes presented in the novel without exposing themselves to personal risks (such as addiction, diseases, or pregnancy). In this way, Bean and Moni argue, YA novels provide these young readers with a roadmap to guide them through difficult situations, helping them to cope with the real-life manifestations of these issues.

While author Gwen Tarbox ultimately agrees with Bean and Moni's view that YA literature offers relatable themes and valuable secondhand learning experiences, she argues that the use of a graphic medium, such as in *This One Summer*, distances readers from the text's construction of reality and prevents them from making these meaningful connections with the characters. In her article, "Young Adult Comics and the Critics," Tarbox (2017) describes how the comic format of YA graphic narratives obfuscates the relatable perspective of the adolescent main character that is provided in traditional YA literature. She describes how in YA comics, rather than traditional text-based narratives, confusion arises from the presence of visual aids and illustrations accompanying the text. Tarbox (2017) explains that the images depict a visible manifestation of the narration mechanics, constantly reminding young readers of the constructed nature of the fictive space. This dynamic present in comic narratives, Tarbox claims, prevents the reader from fully associating themselves with the main character and their experiences, unlike text-based narratives in which the reader can almost seamlessly merge their perspective with that of the novel's protagonist. The inability of adolescents to achieve this first-person

perspective, Tarbox suggests, ultimately hinders them from gaining the beneficial secondhand experience that is accessible within traditional YA novels.

Another issue that YA novels help young readers figure out, these scholars argue, is adolescents' concept of personal power and how this power increases and develops as they mature. Power is a thematic pattern that scholar Roberta Seelinger Trites identifies as central to Young Adult literature in her book *Disturbing the Universe: Power and Repression in Adolescent Literature*. In this book, Trites (2010) refers to power as the influence an adolescent holds and explores as they mature, based on their independence, knowledge, and level of responsibility. She particularly focuses on the power structures and dynamics of repression/limitations within the various social institutions surrounding most adolescents—school settings, family environments, and religious communities for example. For instance, the power structure of a family environment would include a parent's authority over their children—a dynamic that is formed because the parents' power (knowledge, independence, influence, etc.) outweighs the child's. Trites explains how young readers are made aware of these power-hierarchies of society by observing them in YA novels, helping them to clarify the expectations and responsibilities of the members at each level of maturity (2010).

Vilification of YA novels is prevalent even in today's society; for instance, such criticism can be seen surrounding the YA graphic narrative *This One Summer*. In the article, "Minnesota School's Ban on Graphic Novel Draws Free-Speech Protests," author Alison Flood discusses the backlash that *This One Summer* has received—specifically, from a school library in Henning, Minnesota. Regarding this banning, Flood (2016) presents Superintendent Jeremy Olson's reasoning behind the decision, stating that he deemed this graphic novel "pervasively vulgar," citing "inappropriate language" as a main concern. Olson's objection against *This One Summer* was influenced by the fact that the school's library is shared by all students aged K-12, and the library material is not divided by grades. Therefore, his worry—one shared by parents and teachers—was that children who were too young (and thus not mature enough) to benefit from the content presented in *This One Summer* would not be able to positively process this book.

In response to Olson's decision, Flood discusses how the banning of *This One Summer* could lead to a slippery slope reaction. Banning this book could potentially incite more parent requests to remove other YA books, even classics such as *The Catcher in the Rye*, *Slaughterhouse-Five*, *Black Boy*, *Huckleberry Finn*, and *Beloved* for their presentation of similarly controversial language and mature content (Mintcheva, et al., 2016). According to Flood, this trend is problematic as YA novels with provocative content can benefit young readers, exposing them to controversial topics and challenging conventional thinking on the issues they present. For instance, the controversial topics presented in these works—such as issues of race, sexuality, discrimination, and death—provide adolescent readers with opportunities to "make personal and intertextual connections with Young Adult literature that challenges their thinking" (Bean, 2003). In other words, the Young Adult books that are banned oftentimes are actually the most useful in pushing these individuals to think critically about important social issues that are beyond their usual realm of consciousness. Therefore, by restricting these and similar works, Flood

argues, the adolescents' ability to empower themselves by exploring divisive topics to form their own opinions is closed down.

All three scholars, Bean, Moni, and Trites, counter the opposition and banning of YA novels such as *This One Summer*, arguing that the mature content presented in YA novels has the potential to be beneficial for adolescents, as long as this genre is accessed by readers of an appropriate age. Bean and Moni (2003) clarify this "appropriate age range" by asserting that most contemporary young adult literature is "intended for readers between the ages of 12 and 20," because readers at this age group are suitably mature to appreciate the "unique window on societal conflicts and dilemmas." In *Disturbing the Universe*, Trites goes on to explore exactly how children's literature, which is intended for a younger age, differs from YA literature, identifying that the reader's emotional maturity is the main factor that distinguishes these genres. As Trites points out, children's literature is usually centered around that which represents the child's "immediate environment," such as home or family, and "often affirms the child's sense of Self and her or his personal power" (2010, 3). Young Adult literature, on the other hand, deals with social forces, helping adolescents "learn to negotiate the levels of power that exist in the myriad social institutions within which they must function" (Trites, 2010). Thus, Trites explains, YA literature requires a more mature reader to fully appreciate or benefit from the content provided.

This One Summer was especially contested because the age appropriateness of the piece became muddled, due partly to its reception of the Caldecott Honor Award in 2015. The American Library Association (ALA) describes the Caldecott Medal as an award usually used to recognize and honor "American picture books for children" ("Case Study," 2018). The winners and recipients of this award in the past have been books intended for children rather than adolescents; according to a Case Study performed by the Comic Book Legal Defense Fund (CBLDF), "in the last ten years alone, about 82% of Caldecott winners have been aimed at audiences age 8 and younger." The study describes how, because *This One Summer* became a Caldecott award winner, many people wrongfully assumed that this novel would be appropriate for younger readers. In reality, as author Mariko Tamaki explains, the book is actually intended for young adults aged 12-18, as it "contains depictions of young people talking about, and dealing with, adult things" (Tamaki qtd. in Flood, 2016).

In light of this misunderstanding, the National Coalition Against Censorship pointedly acknowledged the potential benefits of *This One Summer* when read by its intended audience, citing: "while [this] book may be above the maturity and reading level of elementary school students, its value for young adults at the high-school level has been recognized by leading professionals" (Mintcheva et al., 2016). Regardless, this novel was removed from libraries in both Minnesota and Florida for its presentation of "mature themes," such as the inclusion of LGBT characters, drug use, profanity, and sexual explicitness (Ediaz, 2017). The removal/censorship of *This One Summer* in these regions was contested, however, when the CBLDF stepped up to challenge the book's banning, resulting in the Minnesota library reinstating *This One Summer* (under the condition that

it could only be accessed by students in grades 10-12 with parental permission) as well as in Florida, without restriction ("Case Study," 2018).

While the NCAC was satisfied with the resolution achieved in the Florida library, they expressed frustration over the restrictions impeding adolescents' access to the novel in Henning, Minnesota, stating: "The requirement for high-school-aged students to have written parental permission just to read the book is a needless encumbrance on their First Amendment rights" (Diaz, 2016). In other words, the NCAC emphasized the same concern that Flood did regarding the censorship of YA novels for adolescents, claiming that by restricting controversial material, these institutions are preventing young readers from pursuing information that they have every right to access. As the NCAC claims, this act threatens "the principle that is essential to individual freedom, democracy, and a good education: the right to read, inquire, question and think for ourselves," arguing that taking away adolescents' exposure to culturally pertinent information ultimately hinders their ability to think critically about these prevalent issues in order to become engaged members of society in the future.

Examining the Importance of Books like *This One Summer*

Relatability:
The relatability of characters in YA novels such as *This One Summer* promotes a helpful dynamic between the novels' main characters and adolescent readers, allowing these young readers to learn, secondhand, from the experiences presented by the protagonists. Tarbox argues that the comic-style of *This One Summer* detracts from this novel's relatability because the presence of images reminds the reader that the setting is constructed and the characters are artificial. In other words, while prose literature allows readers to imaginatively build a character in a world, the visual aids in comics builds the world for them, like a movie. By prohibiting this creative and imaginative aspect of the reading process, the comic format limits the reader's connection with the characters that he/she has assisted in creating in his/her mind. This structure, Tarbox claims, prevents the reader from fully associating themselves with the novel's characters. Coversely, the visual symbolism present in *This One Summer* actually allows the novel to depict liminal moments in adolescence more relatably than in text-based narratives.

An example of this heightened relatability gained through visual symbolism can be seen in one scene in *This One Summer* in which Rose and Windy sit together outside of the convenience store eating candy that they have bought. This scene occurs near the beginning of the novel, before either character has begun to truly transition from adolescence to adulthood. Rose remains in the realm of childhood, a status which is visibly demonstrated when she peers through a gummy foot at Duncan, an older teen (aged 17-18) kissing a similarly-aged girl, Jenny (Tamaki, 2014). Rose's lingering innocence and immature perspective is illustrated through her physical action of looking through the translucent candy, blurring out the image of budding sexuality displayed by the two kissing teens. This act implies that Rose still sees the world through a childlike lens (i.e. the gummy foot) and is not yet mature enough to acknowledge the more-adult acts of kissing or sex. Whereas words alone would only have the ability to present readers with a superficial description, the images Tamaki provides allow the reader to literally

see through Rose's eyes. This intimate perspective enables the reader to see compassionately from Rose's point of view, as well as analytically as an observer acknowledging her immaturity.

Tamaki's depiction of Rose and Windy's visit to Awago's "Heritage Village" also serves to effectively present how awkwardly these adolescents are caught in the transitional space between childhood and adulthood. For instance, in one scene, Rose and Windy are depicted standing among dozens of "little kids" (ages 3-10) who are crying, whining, screaming, and running around, with parents supervising their every move (Tamaki, 2014). Rose and Windy are both shown towering above these younger children, hands in their pockets and backs hunched to show their discomfort in this setting. They are clearly too old to play with the other children but immature enough to still be embarrassed hanging out with the adults (i.e. Windy's mom and grandma). Tamaki goes on to further juxtapose Rose and Windy with images of the younger children to emphasize how un-childlike the teens are. First, Tamaki (2014) depicts a mother chastising a young boy as he sulks; she then shows a young girl falling down and crying only to be comforted by her mother before finally coming back to Rose and Windy, sitting on a bench, surrounded by these "little kids" and their parents, clearly bored and feeling out-of-place. Whereas a text-based narrative would fall short in capturing the awkwardness and discomfort of this stage of adolescence, the purposeful contrast of images in this scene achieves this goal. In this way, *This One Summer* effectively presents instances which highlight the liminal nature of adolescence, creating accessible situations that many young readers can connect to.

This One Summer also makes Rose and Windy relatable characters through the depiction of the girls' bodies—Rose, who is on the cusp of adulthood, has a visibly different body type than Windy, who is still more visibly childlike. Rose, who is a little older has a longer, taller, and slimmer body than her younger friend Windy, who is "moon-faced, saucer-eyed, [and] roly-poly…the very picture of childhood" (Marcus, 2015). The difference in the two characters' body types reflects their different levels of maturity; Rose's body is more adult while Windy's is more childlike, both indicative of the level of the characters' psychological development. When reading *This One Summer*, I found the characters' bodies to be very relatable; as a child, my body type was more similar to Windy's, as was my maturity level. In comparison, my best friend, Cailee, was not only taller and thinner, but also more grown-up psychologically, like Rose. Because of this personal connection I felt to the images of Rose and Windy, I was able to form a deeper emotional connection with these characters. Since the depiction of the girls' bodies can also be familiar to many adolescents, these characters (and therefore their experiences) are then more relatable and understandable to young readers too.

Authors Bean and Moni (2003) explain this notion of relatability of characters in novels such as *This One Summer* in greater detail, highlighting these characters' importance as individuals who are "living and wrestling with real problems close to [real adolescents'] own life experiences," to act as guides for young readers. The individuals' lives can then offer an accessible presentation of topics that young readers can use as secondhand learning experiences (Bean, 2003). For instance, because the bodies of Rose and Windy

are familiar to young readers, these characters can effectively address adolescents' curiosities, such as their fascination with the changing adolescent body, through Rose and Windy's own exploration of this topic. The idea of body curiosity is relatable for young readers, as many adolescents are becoming aware of their own changing bodies as well as others'.

This coming-of-age theme of body curiosity recurs in several scenes in *This One Summer* with the mention of boobs—a symbol of puberty and bodily maturity for girls as they grow to be women. Even this term—boobs—helps to emphasize that Rose and Windy are still children; they use immature language, in comparison to the adults' reference to breasts, a more sophisticated anatomical term. In one scene, Rose and Windy relax at the beach and begin to notice other girls in their environment and how their bodies are changing: "This girl in my dance class is ten and she's like a D cup. Maybe a G," Windy states (Tamaki, 2014, 35). The girls then go on to discuss both their mothers, their friends, and even their friends' mothers—gathering information about the female figures present in their lives in order to relate this knowledge to their own bodies; Rose predicts her breast size based on her mother's and Windy laments her lack of insight—the "problem with being adopted" (Tamaki, 2014). While this conversation about the body could be deemed inappropriate by some for its inclusion of "vulgarity," such as the word "boobs," and the focus on a "mature theme" such as the developing adolescent body, this curiosity is one that many adolescents share (Diaz, 2016). Therefore, the discussion of this topic by fictional characters of *This One Summer* ultimately provides young readers the opportunity to explore this area of curiosity themselves, secondhand.

This One Summer also presents an inevitable coming-of-age theme: the crumbling of the childhood façade (the fantastical ideas that children imagine of themselves and their environment) replaced by more-realistic views. This change is epitomized through Rose's growing awareness of the "varieties of human frailty and imperfection" that exist in the realm of adulthood (Marcus, 2015). For instance, during the family's summer in Awago, Rose begins to fight with her mother and witness discord in her parents' marriage. Thus, as she matures, the idealistic way in which Rose views her parents—her mother in particular—begins to fall apart. Through a flashback, we learn how a much younger Rose used to view her mom, elevating her as children do (Tamaki, 2014). The scene depicts Rose as a toddler (possibly aged 5-6) being supported underwater by her mother while her mother helps her overcome her fear of being submerged in the lake: "When I first came to Awago I was scared to swim in the lake," Rose describes, "Then my mom taught me how to open my eyes under the water" (Tamaki, 2014, 111). Through this childlike lens, we learn that Rose, like many children, viewed her mom as a savior and a superhero—a façade that deteriorates when Rose learns about her mother's miscarriage. In learning about this vulnerability and her mother's experience of emotional pain, Rose begins to see her mother as human, rather than as an infallible hero. This knowledge is an important step in Rose's transition toward adulthood; her perspective regarding her mother becomes more realistic, representing the progressive maturation of her adolescent psyche.

Rose also gains awareness of other harsh realities that pervade adulthood, a development presented through her experience with milkweed. The first time Rose sees milkweed is when she is a kid on the beach at Awago—a setting which represents her childhood: "I thought they were magic pods," she relates, "if we ate them, the fluff would make us grow wings" (Tamaki, 2014, 32). This imaginative, innocent belief represents the carefree whimsy of childhood, a mentality that slowly changes as Rose herself grows up. This development is reflected by Rose's later discovery that milkweed is actually poisonous. In the same way that her understanding of her mother changes, reflecting a more mature and realistic view of the world, Rose's transition from childhood to adulthood is represented through the change from the wistful, magical way she viewed this plant when she was a child to the truth she knows now that she's older. Thus, the milkweed also alludes to the difficult truths and poisonous realities which adulthood may bring. Rose's new understanding of the world around her can help to guide adolescent readers to some of these same conclusions, helping them to leave behind their childish or naïve constructions of the world to better understand adults and the realities of adulthood.

Power Dynamics:
Through the microcosm presented in *This One Summer,* this novel also provides adolescents with a window into the power dynamics present between themselves and society. This understanding, in turn, also raises the individual's awareness of adolescent powerlessness compared to adult power (as well as the responsibility that accompanies growing into this authority). As Trites (2010) argues in *Disturbing the Universe*, YA literature presents "the desire that many teenagers have to test the degree of power they hold," as well as what will happen to their world if they assert this personal power. In other words, the reader experiences the novel through the lens of the novel's characters, objectively watching them push the boundaries of adolescence and then discovering the consequences of these actions. Through these observations, readers then subconsciously absorb what Trites calls the primary lesson present in YA literature: "the recognition that social institutions [i.e. parents, teachers, and other authority figures] are bigger and more powerful than individuals" (2010, 3). The perspective adolescents gain from this knowledge then helps them to be more aware of their freedoms and abilities as adults, but also the potential consequences of these actions. This idea is presented in *This One Summer* through Rose's experimentation with vulgar language and the subsequent authoritative intervention of Rose's mother as she scolds Rose, reminding her that words can be harmful.

Rose's experimentation with "adult words" begins with vulgar language that she hears from the older teens of Awago. For instance, Duncan's friend speaks crudely to the local girls—calling out, "Okay, sluts, let's go," before getting in their car—and they respond in turn, calling him an "asshole" (Tamaki, 2014, 39). Understanding that the use of swears crosses the boundary of what is typically "appropriate for children" and offers passage into the realm of adulthood, Rose tries out this new language for herself with Windy by similarly referring to the local girls as "sluts" (Tamaki, 2014). Rose knows that these words she hears are grown-up words, so she uses them too because she wants to be more grown-up. Because Rose thinks she and Windy are alone, she is comfortable asserting her "degree of power" by using adult language; despite knowing that this word is derogatory,

not a kind or appropriate term for her to call someone, she uses it anyway because she finally feels grown-up enough to try.

However, as Trites explains, in YA literature, while adolescents' power is "acknowledged" and "engaged," it also is often simultaneously "denied" and "disengaged" by the larger societal institutions in which the teen functions, requiring them to "modify their behaviors" (2014, 6). This denial and forced modification of behavior is demonstrated in *This One Summer* when Rose's mother overhears her daughter using this vulgar language. She immediately chastises Rose, scolding, "I don't like you talking like that" (Tamaki, 2014, 42). The reader can see the influence that the reprimand has on Rose in the following scene where, while walking home with her mother, the crunching sound of Rose's footsteps is replaced with the word "slut," repeating with every step as the word, with its weighty implications, echoes through her head (Tamaki, 2014, 44). Therefore, in this scene, the dynamic between an adolescent character, Rose, and the larger social institutions of her life—in this case, her mother—is illustrated through Rose's desire to push the boundaries of what she knows is acceptable, and the resulting consequence of her mother's admonishment. In this way, Rose learns that along with using this adult language, there is also an adult responsibility to acknowledge the repercussions of terms like "slut" or "asshole". Therefore, because of her mother's chastisement, Rose learns that as an adolescent who can now use more "adult" words, she also must take personal responsibility for her language and its impact.

Communication:
Allowing adolescents access to the mature content presented in YA novels also emphasizes the importance of open communication, promoting confidence that young adults will be able to handle the growing responsibility that accompanies adulthood with adequate guidance and honesty from the adults around them. This importance of letting young adults enter into the realm of adulthood and adult issues is seen in *This One Summer* when Rose's mom chooses not to share the fact that she had a miscarriage with Rose. She assumes that keeping Rose in the dark about the situation will protect her when in reality it just leads to hurt, fighting, and confusion. For Rose, who is already teetering on this line between childhood and adulthood, she perceives the conflict and her inability to access the truth becomes harmful to her relationship with her mother, adding to everyone's emotional turmoil.

While this conversation would have been difficult, telling Rose the truth with the support and guidance of both her parents, trusting that she could handle this mature information, would have ultimately been a healthier choice for both parent and child. As Rose's Aunt says to Rose's mother regarding the miscarriage, "You should [have told] her. Kids are…they get it" (Tamaki, 2014, 301). The portrayal of this situation in *This One Summer* could be beneficial to young readers as it emphasizes the importance of open communication—for both adolescents and adults—promoting sincerity and directness as fundamental for healthy relationships by showing, secondhand, the negative impacts of secrets and silence. In this way, the main internal conflict within the storyline of *This One Summer* mirrors the contentious situation surrounding the banning of controversial YA novels. By banning these books, adults shelter cildren from truths that they are not yet

mature enough to handle—much like Rose's mother thought she was protecting Rose by keeping the "mature issue" of her miscarriage a secret. However, keeping these adolescents from accessing such books creates the same problems that arose in *This One Summer*—hiding the knowledge only causes misunderstandings and ignorance.

Conclusion

As discussed in this essay, *This One Summer*'s effective and relevant presentation of coming-of-age themes—the "adult" curiosities about sex and changing bodies, the crumbling of the childhood façade, Rose and Windy's experimentation with vulgar language, and even Rose's insight into pregnancy and miscarriage—is ultimately beneficial for adolescents. Through these characters' experiences, young readers can use the information they absorbed from reading *This One Summer* as secondhand learning experiences, applying this knowledge to their own lives. Therefore, while many authority figures (parents and teachers for instance) believe that banning YA novels will shield adolescents from "mature" or "inappropriate" content, in reality these restrictions only serve to keep adolescents from gaining valuable insight into the dynamics of adolescence, using YA novels as a resource—or a "roadmap"—to guide them as they mature.

Similar to *This One Summer*, other YA novels are ultimately beneficial resources for adolescents, despite the sometimes-controversial content they present. The relatability of YA literature—both novels' characters and situations—helps young reader to form connections with YA novels' protagonists, allowing them to better understand these individuals' feelings and experiences. From this dynamic, adolescent readers can then learn from the main characters' experiences and apply this knowledge to real-life. Therefore, the relatability of these novels and the beneficial knowledge they provide supports the stance that adolescents should not be denied access to YA novels such as *This One Summer* simply because of the mature material these books contain.

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YOU HAVE TO SEE IT TO BELIEVE IT: MENTAL ILLNESS VS. PHYSICAL ILLNESS IN NATE POWELL'S *SWALLOW ME WHOLE*

BY TALI CHERIM

Nate Powell's graphic narrative, *Swallow Me Whole*, presents mental illness through the illustrated delusions of the adolescent main characters, Ruth and Perry. In general, society handles physical illnesses in a more direct and receptive way because of the visible evidence these ailments produce; without a physical manifestation of symptoms, an affected individual is unlikely to have their struggle recognized, or to receive public compassion and appropriate help. Throughout the novel, Powell demonstrates the necessity of this visible evidence that society demands by playing with the concept of imagined vs imaged: how he envisions the illusory manifestations of schizophrenia and, consequently, how this affliction is demonstrated using the comic format. These illustrations present visible proof of the illness to the reader. The comic depictions of Ruth and Perry's hallucinations are necessary because it is implied that only the affected individuals (and now the reader too) can see them. Therefore, while the characters' delusions are extremely real to them, the illness' lack of outward visibility provokes skepticism from the public. In *Swallow Me Whole*, Powell presents the notion that, in regards to illness, people tend to only believe what they can see and doubt what they cannot.

Due to the invisibility of the symptoms and manifestations of mental illness, any effects experienced by the patient (for example, frustration, confusion, anger) are often dismissed as personal issues rather than consequences of an affliction. Both Ruth and Perry struggle with visual and auditory hallucinations, a symptom of their mental illness—schizophrenia. These symptoms are invisible to everyone except them and the reader. This one-sided visibility is problematic, as neurotypical members of society are unable to fully understand this illness' severity, while the affected teens are left to face society's ridicule. As is common for most adolescents, Ruth and Perry are self-conscious of their own image. Therefore, out of fear of provoking judgment from their family and peers, Ruth and Perry mostly keep their delusions to themselves. Every now and then, however, they slip up and acknowledge their hallucinations while in public, within earshot of others. For example, Perry, experiences a recurring, persistent hallucination of a wizard who lives on the end of his pencil and forces him to draw; overwhelmed by the Wizard's incessant prompting in class one day, Perry raises his voice to silence the him. He later regrets this public display, expressing his frustrations to Ruth: "I had to shut him in the drawer and raise my voice, and I know for <u>sure</u> some people caught it" (Powell n.p.). Perry feels ashamed of his delusions, asking Ruth "are we fucked up?," as he understands that his disorder sets him apart from others. Along with typical teenage self-consciousness, Perry also deals with the embarrassment of an internal, invisible struggle that no one else seems to understand and, by extension, the stress of being unable to share his concerns.

In addition to society's general lack of compassion, the effects of mental illness which cannot be seen are often mistaken for symptoms of visible, physical illnesses. Chalking the manifestations of mental illness up to something physical provides an overly-simplified solution to a complex, underlying problem. For instance, caught zoning out in class, Ruth is sent to see the principal and an accompanying police officer who accuses her of being on drugs, the only rationalization that these adults can produce for Ruth's atypical behavior. Drug abuse is a tangible problem; therefore, it is the officer's primary suspicion while the possibility of OCD or schizophrenia are never approached. This situation demonstrates a severe lack of awareness that many members of society have surrounding mental illness. It also serves to show how mental illness, among other invisible illnesses, are not acknowledged by the rest of society as a real issue; because the problem cannot be seen, it does not exist. Unlike these adults, however, the reader is able to see Ruth's hallucinations just as she experiences them, thanks to Powell's illustrated portrayal of her delusions. This visible evidence leaves no room for doubt regarding her illness. The accessibility that the reader is granted to Ruth's inner psyche reinforces the "see it to believe it" notion that Powell reveals throughout the rest of the narrative—raising the question that, if illustrations of Ruth's hallucinations were invisible to the reader just as they are to the public, would we still believe in the validity of her illness?

Due to their lack of visibility, mental illnesses are often fundamentally misunderstood. For instance, because the symptoms of schizophrenia are invisible to all except those who suffer from it, this illness is stigmatized and discounted by society. For Ruth and Perry, this ignorance surrounding mental illness is demonstrated in the teens' inadequate medical assessments and subsequent treatments. Ruth is psychoanalyzed, diagnosed (with OCD, schizophrenia, and dissociative patterns) and medicated, while Perry's illness is simply dismissed as "stress." In the long run, this lack of knowledge becomes harmful, as the adolescents are unable to receive appropriate treatment.

Perry's parents' immediate and concerned response to his state of physical distress when he hurts his arm emphasizes the difference in society's treatment of visible versus invisible ailments. Perry's mom sees him holding his arm in pain and yells "Perry, what happened to you?!!," the increased size of the text and excessive punctuation demonstrating her agitation over his injury. He is then rushed to the pediatrician. The doctor takes a look at Perry's hurt arm and asserts that it is fine. As Perry is about to leave, however,

the doctor stops him and pries further into Perry's personal health, getting him to admit his deeper concerns about the Wizard and his delusions. After listening to his situation, the doctor minimizes Perry's illness, dismissing his issues as stress-related and claiming, "there's nothing weird about being stressed out…. a few problems are always normal." Because the doctor cannot see the physical harm that Perry's illness is causing, unlike the tangible injury of his arm, he writes off this internal struggle as normal adolescent angst. The doctor also lightly mocks Perry's distress as he sends him off, joking to Perry's dad, "this kid is clearly a wizard." While the doctor's teasing is not malicious, this lighthearted behavior in the face of a serious issue downplays Perry's concerns. The doctor's dismissal illustrates the disparity between how mental and physical illnesses are approached, as similar behavior would never be directed toward a physical ailment like a broken bone or another, more perceptible condition.

Just as a physical illness is perceived differently than an invisible illness, the treatments prescribed for mental disorders reflect this same mentality, valuing what is tangible above what is not. For instance, medications are a societally acceptable way to deal with mental illness because pills are a visible and concrete remedy, while an immaterial alternative—counseling—is never offered in this novel. Ruth receives several tangible treatments to treat her diagnoses—a cocktail of six different medications—while her own method of dealing with her illness, her practice of organizing her bug jars, is rejected by her parents who view it as a childish, eccentric pastime. Although this coping mechanism may not be the healthiest action for Ruth, as it involves giving in to her compulsion, this habit is Ruth's way of exerting control over her schizophrenia. She can put the insects in jars, observable and contained, while everything else related to her illness is seemingly out of her control.

Ruth's parents consider only the physical manifestations of her disorder, essentially judging these aspects beyond the context of mental illness. For instance, what Ruth's parents see in her room is just an assortment of insects, an eccentric hobby. In reality, however, the collection presents a mental coping mechanism for Ruth, an intangible solution to her unseen affliction. Because of their lack of understanding, Ruth's parents essentially dismiss her illness, playing off her compulsion as a "hobby." While Ruth's parents try to help her through her diagnosis and medication, their fundamental ignorance of her situation and needs lead them to cause more harm than good. For example, Ruth's parents' frustration surrounding her troubled behavior and outbursts in school prompt them to dismantle Ruth's bug collection while she is out of the house. Because her parents only see her collection as a meaningless pastime, they cannot comprehend the potential chaos that dismantling this system of order might cause, or how this disruption of Ruth's coping method could affect her mental stability.

The parents' thoughtlessness demonstrates their basic lack of knowledge of Ruth's needs; removing the insect jars disturbs Ruth further, a fatal mistake for someone already so mentally fragile. Powell illustrates this mental disruption through Ruth's reaction to finding her collection undone. She tears through the boxes to put the jars back on her shelf, and Powell illustrates an enormous visible shift in her psyche as the situation overwhelms her. Through Ruth's zombielike body, floating inches above the floor toward the window, and her unfocused, dead eyes, Powell visibly imagines a visualization of the

inner feelings of anxiety, chaos, and powerlessness developing within Ruth's mind during this breakdown, providing a concrete image of her mental unraveling. In the subsequent panels, the jars vanish off of Ruth's shelves, then the bug books off of her cart, and finally, the insect poster on her wall goes blank as her body disappears out the window into the 'unknown' of the panel into blank, unfeeling space. In the last panel, on the recto side of the page, Powell depicts the room as it actually is: jars in-place on the shelves, books on the cart, and poster firmly attached to the wall. This last panel demonstrates that the four previous images are merely a physical interpretation of what is happening inside of Ruth's head, rather than a depiction of reality. Ultimately, the panel's succession parallels Ruth's mental numbness, her apathy, as her obsessive attachments slip away and she loses her grasp on reality.

In contrast to the invisible manifestations of Ruth and Perry's mental illness, Memaw's accident on the couch demonstrates the visible evidence presented by physical afflictions. Powell depicts this incident by illustrating the couch with a shaded stain, representing the


mess, and black background that isolates the couch and emphasizes the critical nature of this event. In this scene, there is visible proof of Memaw "losing control" due to her physical deterioration. Ruth and Perry later discuss this incident during a heart-to-heart at a playground one night. They compare Memaw's physical loss of control to their own mental struggles: "you know what it's like to lose control over yourself, right?" Ruth asks Perry—when he confirms, she follows up by asking, "so…how is the wizard?," referring to Perry's past struggles with

delusions. The difference between the two situations is that Memaw's declining health produces a visible consequence while Ruth and Perry's schizophrenic hallucinations remain unseen to all except themselves and the reader. Through this situation, Powell reaffirms that, when it comes to illness, without physical manifestation of symptoms society is unlikely to recognize the struggles of an affected individual.

Later in the novel, Ruth and Perry's discussion on the playground reveals the bond that the two siblings share, solidarity derived from their common
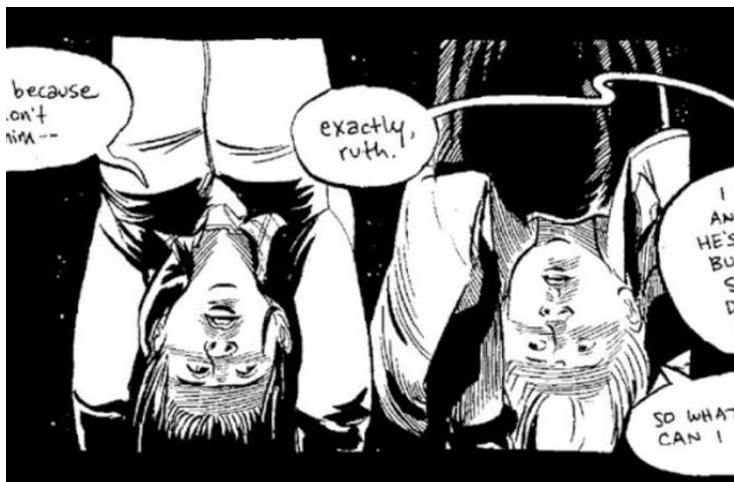
experience being mentally ill in a neurotypical society. They are similar to each other but different from everyone else. As Ruth's doctor admits, "childhood schizophrenia is rather rare," a fact that likely encourages the isolation and otherness Perry and Ruth feel. While they talk, Ruth and Perry move so that they are hanging upside-down on the monkey

bars together. This depiction of the two teens indicates their situation among the typical members of society; they are the inverted idea of what is normal. The whole world is right-side-up, while the two of them are outliers with their invisible illness. Powell also plays with angles in this scene on the playground, viewing the pair from high above. This far-away angle leaves the teens looking very small, surrounded by the vast, empty, white space of the rest of the park. While the whiteness of the background feels "safe" as the siblings confide in each other, the emptiness surrounding them, as well as their small size, present Ruth and Perry as isolated and vulnerable figures (Bang). This set-up mirrors the characters' situation as mentally ill adolescents in a world where only physical ailments are acknowledged by society while invisible illnesses are doubted and ignored.

Within the neurotypical society surrounding Ruth and Perry, Powell plays with the relationship between invisibility and lack of recognition. While this "you have to see it to believe it" attitude is upheld for both mental and physical illness throughout the text, it is contradicted in the case of religious faith. Religion—like mental illness—is a concept that, while offering no physical evidence, is indisputably accepted by society. In the novel, Creationism, based on Christian beliefs, not science, is so universally accepted that it is even taught in Ruth and Perry's private school, regardless of the lack of any concrete evidence. For example, in one scene, Ruth's teacher discusses how the creation of life will be taught in school, stating that religious creationism, rather than scientific evolution, will be emphasized: "If I want to keep my job, I can't say anything rooted in scientific theory. Thank the PTA. I'll only teach what can't be proven, and science that isn't defined as such…This close to teaching magic." Not only is evidence of Creationism not required for society to believe in the religious view of how the Earth and humans came to be, but ideas for which there is proof—those that are "rooted in scientific theory"—are vehemently opposed, to the point where the teacher's job could be in jeopardy if she oversteps. Society's inherent rejection of science in favor of religion is applicable to Ruth and Perry's schizophrenia; although their hallucinations are invisible to everyone but them and the reader, the idea remains that what is socially accepted is not always that which has tangible, visible proof.

In the same way that the immaterial presence of religious faith is real to those around her, Ruth's schizophrenia, her own invisible influence, is real as well. However, while both are intangible factors, religion is societally accepted while mental illness is not. For this reason, Ruth conflates her illness with faith in an attempt to make sense of something she does not fully understand: "Would you think I was stupid if I said I feel religious?," she asks Perry, "I get it….this thing of mine, this disability or whatever—I've unraveled it….I realize now that I know a supreme order. When I give into it, I channel it. And when I channel it, only then do I find peace." Powell visibly sets up this comparison between religion and mental illness on one page of the narrative by contrasting images of the church during Memaw's funeral with Ruth's bug collection, laid out in a way that resembles a shrine. This image suggests that, to Ruth, the manifestations of her illness— the compulsions, sounds, and hallucinations—are like a religious experience. By comparing her delusions to faith, Ruth attempts to force her schizophrenia into something

that society will recognize and even accept, despite the fact that—like religion—this illness manifests in ways that are not outwardly visible.

Powell's imaging of the imagined in *Swallow Me Whole* ultimately reinforces the "see it to believe it" mentality that he simultaneously seems to be condemning. Despite the apparent criticism of the need for physical evidence when none exists, Powell paradoxically uses the medium of comics to illustrate the concept of mental illness, allowing the reader to perceive what otherwise would be invisible. The visuals of Ruth and Perry's delusions that Powell provides make these manifestations accessible to the reader. Without the illustrations of the schizophrenic hallucinations, however, would the reader still be expected to believe in the existence of the illness? To grasp its severity? While the text appears to reject a society that demands material evidence to achieve recognition, the reader ultimately needs the physical representation of schizophrenia, presented by Powell's artistic interpretations of Ruth and Perry's mental illness, in order to fully understand and be compassionate towards the teens' situation.

Works Cited

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