

2022-2023 | GONZAGA UNIVERSITY | VOL. 60

# Charter

Gonzaga's Journal of Scholarship & Opinion

Charter | 2022-2023 | Unravel

*unravel*



I came to explore the wreck.  
The words are purposes.  
The words are maps.  
I came to see the damage that was done  
and the treasures that prevail.

*from "Diving Into the Wreck" by Adrienne Rich*

*Charter*  
Gonzaga's Journal of Scholarship & Opinion  
2022-2023

Editor-in-Chief Delaney Sousa  
Copy Editor Olivia Rollman  
Assistant Editor Ben Gonzales  
Graphic Designer Emily Grygar  
Advisor Dr. Dave Oosterhuis

Charter is a publication of the Gonzaga University Student Media Board. All questions and comments regarding Charter can be directed to: [charter@zagmail.gonzaga.edu](mailto:charter@zagmail.gonzaga.edu).

All contributions to Charter are created and designed by students, faculty, staff, and alumni of Gonzaga University.

The views expressed do not necessarily reflect the views of the Charter staff, the Media Board, or Gonzaga University.

All content © 2023  
Gonzaga University  
502 E. Boone Ave.  
Spokane, WA 99258

Epigraph:  
Rich, Adrienne. "Diving Into the Wreck." *Poets.org*, 1973,  
<https://poets.org/poem/diving-wreck>.

# Charter

Gonzaga's Journal of Scholarship & Opinion



# Letter from the Editor

---

February 23, 2022

Dearest Reader,

As I sit down to write this letter, I find it hard to believe that we are approaching midterms in the Spring 2023 semester. Waiting eagerly for a frigid winter to end, it's an agitating time for most, myself included, as our patience begins to unravel. It's difficult enough to manage our own day-to-day stresses, much less everything going on around us. What with Chinese spy balloons looming overhead, earthquakes ravaging Turkey and Syria, and the threat of nuclear war still a legitimate possibility, it feels as though our world is unraveling too.

Working on this edition, however, I find myself pondering what it might mean to take a step backward and to reflect on our progress through the semester and the year. What might we find if we unravel where we've been? How might that help us move forward with more purpose, intentionality, and understanding?

I turn to the words of Adrienne Rich upon considering these questions. She invites us to “ponder the wreck,” and in doing so, we must come “to see the damage that was done and the treasures that prevail.” Not only are we able to reflect on the damage we incurred or experienced, but we can find what's valuable among the shards of the wreck, the lessons we can learn from unraveling the mess of our shared human history and condition.

This very sentiment is what I urged writers to consider when doing their own pondering on this year's theme: “Unravel.” When one thinks of unraveling in a literal sense, they may conjure up images of a tangled mass of string, yarn being pulled in neat lines off the hem of a sweater, or curls of paper or paint stripping away, like our beautiful cover art unravels off the page. Diving deeper into the wreck, this theme asked writ-

ers to contemplate the implications of unraveling: untangling the society within which we operate, flipping back through the pages of our human history and progress, and reflecting on culture and media, calling people and groups into spotlight, rather than out of it.

I encourage you, dear reader, to dive headlong into the wreck, endeavoring unafraid on our human journey to unravel. I am grateful and honored to have witnessed and celebrated the voices recorded in these pages, placing them in conversation with one another over the past several months.

Now, I invite you to listen and enjoy these voices too.

Cordially,

Delaney Sousa

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Dey S', with a large, stylized flourish at the end.

Editor-in-Chief

# Table of Contents

---

## Part I: Society

- |    |   |
|----|---|
| 2  | Unraveling “Illegality” Through Race, Citizenship, and Border Practices<br><b>DR. JAMELLA GOW</b>   |
| 9  | Working-class Hegemony in the United States<br><b>KEVIN PINKELMAN</b>   |
| 20 | “The Third Shift: Multiple Job Holding and the Incarceration of Women’s Partners.” An Interview with Dr. Angela Bruns<br><b>INTERVIEW BY BEN GONZALES</b> |
| 27 | Essay to the Spokane City Planning and Development Sector<br><b>JACK STEHR</b>  |
| 37 | To Reform or Restart: Changing How the Justice System Deals with Mental Illness<br><b>BRIDGET WILSON</b>  |
| 47 | Leave Meeting<br><b>JOVONNA GONZALEZ</b>  |

## Part II: Progress

- |    |   |
|----|---|
| 56 | The Structural Creation of the Opioid Epidemic with a Focus on Rural America<br><b>MADDY ROSE LENNON</b>  |
| 66 | Physical Construction as Metaphysical Incarnation: Infrastructure Projects and the Built Environment can Divide or Unite<br><b>ANTONIO ROMAN CAMPOS</b> |

76

Music's Effect on Escapism Habits and  
Maladaptive Daydreaming

OLIVIA SANDVIK

87

Revealing Pragmatism Around Us: Intersections  
with Historical Methodology and Thoughts on  
Pragmatism as a Tool for Change

NATHANIEL SHAFFER

93

The Connections and Disintegrations  
Between the United Irishmen and the French  
in the Age of Revolution

NICHOLAS NOVOTNY

### Part III: Media

103

Excerpt from *Crazy Ex-Girlfriend* and  
'Whitefiltering:' A Critical Cultural Analysis of  
Filipino/Filipino American Representation

MARRIANE NACANAYNAY

110

"What's Done is Done:" Comparative  
Relationships in *Macbeth* and *Breaking Bad*

MEAGAN GRAVES

119

Unraveling Early Modern Texts: An Interview  
with Dr. Katey Roden

INTERVIEW BY DELANEY SOUSA

126

Dentistry as a Civilizing Force in Norris's  
*McTeague: A Story of San Francisco*

CLAIRE ENGLELY

135

"Fortune and Glory" in the Rearview Mirror:  
Ronald Reagan, Imperialism, and Nostalgia in  
*Indiana Jones*

ANTONIO ROMAN CAMPOS

148

Contemporary Native American Art

BRI COVERT





PART ONE

---

# Society

# Unraveling “Illegality” Through Race, Citizenship, and Border Practices

---

DR. JAMELLA GOW

In this brief essay, I wish to unravel the idea of illegality that, by its very creation, tries to resist unraveling. We learn that acts are either legal or illegal through the law. Through the law, it also becomes possible to denote and define people as “legal” or “illegal” based on their acts. The term “illegal” has become a way for the public to label migrants, particularly those who are nonwhite, as legal or illegal. This rhetoric has had dangerous consequences for their safety, livelihood, and overall sense of belonging. Their naming as such has roots in the same processes which label Black people in the U.S. as another form of “illegal” due to their constant criminalization. This, too, has led to very similar, and, at times, even deadly consequences. It has become normal for some to interject, well, “what part of ‘illegal’ don’t you understand?” or some version of “the law is the law.” What these responses reveal is how the law and legality work to preempt criticism or, as I use here, unraveling. However, the law is bound up in social acts done by individuals whether on behalf of the nation-state, political parties, or, even, an individual or community via vigilante justice. In order to unravel illegality, it is necessary to unravel other terms built around it--race and the law, citizenship, and borders—and show how these concepts inform one another to divide, criminalize, and ultimately dehumanize certain racialized communities.

Let us start with unraveling race and the law. Why race and the law together? Because as Barbara and Karen Fields explain: “the law shows society in the act of inventing race” (130). Race, to put it bluntly, was and is more than color. It is a set of strategies and processes that allow for the division and exploitation of certain bodies that, more generally, inform both how we learn to “treat” one another and how in turn justify the negative systemic treatment of certain groups. It was not always the case that people of different backgrounds were just “naturally” different. As critical

race and legal scholars have shown, “in the name of racially regulating behavior, laws *created* racial identities” (López 83).

The law tells us how to act, but, in its development over time, it has also taught us how to treat others who are negatively racialized. From the early days of the U.S., the law defined and regulated both Blackness and whiteness as two sides of a coin. On one hand, Blackness meant to be legally bound to intergenerational enslavement, then negative or partial citizenship, and then regulated (and policed) movement; on the other hand, whiteness (informed by gender and class) meant the legal protection of freedom, full citizenship, access to property and privilege, and freedom to move in any space (c.f. Alexander 2012; Fields and Fields 2014; Glenn 2002; Harris 1993; Taylor 2016). Pertinent to our discussion on legality, these laws not only created race, but they also criminalized the movement of those negatively racialized as Black, Brown, and otherwise non-white. Rather than simply define legal or illegal, they also made certain bodies legal or illegal. These logics, in turn, inform citizenship.

Citizenship, in the U.S., is something one is born with.<sup>1</sup> The Fourteenth Amendment (1868), which extended citizenship to formerly enslaved African Americans, also made citizenship a possibility for all those “born or naturalized” in the U.S.<sup>2</sup> However, scholars of race and ethnicity, citizenship, and those who study their intersections with gender and class all insist that we must go back to the first naturalization law to unravel how citizenship has focused less on those eligible for citizenship and more on who was not. The first law establishing eligibility citizenship in the U.S. can be found in the Naturalization Law of 1790, which limited citizenship to “free white persons.” A further unraveling of “free,” “white,” and “persons” would, as scholars who study whiteness have shown, reveal that not all whites were free (e.g., indentured servants who were typically poor), not all people counted as white (a category U.S.-Americans initially shared only with western European migrants), and persons did not include women, at first, or, generally, the property-less poor (Glenn).

---

1. According to the Fourteenth Amendment: “all persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the state wherein they reside.”

2. Note that the idea of citizenship as birthright happened thanks to the brief moment of Reconstruction after the Civil War, in which the country sought to make amends to formerly enslaved African Americans and reunite a country divided by war.

Gradually, citizenship did become solidified around whiteness, but this came at the exclusion of all others. For example, even as the Fourteenth Amendment gave citizenship to African Americans, such citizenship held no significant weight after the gains of Reconstruction (1863-77) were demolished by white violence against a newly enfranchised Black populace. In its place, Jim Crow laws (c. 1887-1960s) led to second-class citizenship for Blacks. In addition, citizenship excluded other nonwhite persons. Indigenous communities in the U.S. did not gain access to citizenship until 1924, and it is argued that such citizenship remains circumscribed. The Chinese Exclusion Act (1882), the Gentlemen's Agreement with Japan (1907), and the "barred Asiatic zone" (1917), collectively generated the racial category of Asian in the U.S. while also making them "aliens ineligible for citizenship" (Ngai). This did not change until 1952. Even as Mexican-turn-Mexican Americans (as the saying goes "[they] did not cross the border, the border crossed [them]"<sup>3</sup>) were transformed into white and then racially Brown citizens in the U.S., the birth of the Border Patrol and the labor recruitment-turn-mass deportation of both migrant and citizen alike firmly established that their citizenship was and is racialized.

Certain groups may be citizens in name, but history has shown that not all citizens are recognized as such nor are they guaranteed the ability to use it or experience its protection. Thus, who is a citizen is shaped by both the law and its inflections through race, ethnicity, gender, and class, for example. Borders, in turn, have become a new mechanism to determine citizenship through these lenses.

We are familiar with the imagery of a wall or "the" wall which resides at the edges of nation-states and helps us to demarcate here and there. Though, as Anzaldúa famously described, it is more fitting to call these spaces *borderlands* and thus hybrid zones where languages, cultures, and people are made, unmade, and remade. As she puts it: "To live in the borderlands means you... / are neither hispana india negra española / ni gabacha, eres mestiza, mulata, half-breed / caught in the crossfire between camps while carrying all five races on your back / not knowing

---

3. This phrase originally says: "we did not cross the border, the border crossed us!" and is meant to emphasize that Mexican migration must be understood within the context of the U.S. takeover of over half of what was Mexico that used to include California, Nevada, Utah, New Mexico, Texas, and parts of Arizona, Colorado, Oklahoma, Kansas, and Wyoming in 1848. See "Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (1848): <https://www.archives.gov/milestonedocuments/treaty-of-guadalupe-hidalgo>) for more information.

which side to turn to, run from" (216). In this famous poem, Anzaldúa unravels, identity, language, race, and culture in the borderlands. We too must also unravel what we mean by the border. Anthropologists and geographers have contributed important perspectives for understanding borders less as a physical boundary and more as a process or practice of bordering. Newman explains it in this way:

Borders may signify the point or line separation between distinct entities, separating one category from another, in some cases institutionalizing existing differences, while in other cases creating the difference where none existed previously.... This is as true of territorial spaces in close proximity to the physical borders of the state or urban neighborhoods, as it is of the social and cultural borderlands which interface between religious and ethnic groups, or economic categories. (2)

Borders are physically constructed but they are also socially constructed. Further, as has been detailed above, we have seen how bordering practices are key to understanding how race and ethnicity, gender, and class, for example all inform the ways that laws define social inclusion. Hence, borders both create and reinforce physical and social boundaries delineating us vs. them, inside vs. outside, and native vs. other.

De Genova also points to another process that borders generate. The visibility of the border is enhanced by the constant fear that it can be breached or crossed. If borders can "create" the Other, it can generate fears that that Other may penetrate the otherwise homogenous and "safe" space within. The Other then becomes a source of trepidation, no matter what form it takes—whether it is migrants travelling alone, refugee families or unaccompanied children, or so-named "caravans" of people travelling together. Rather than seeing people as people, through the logic of the border, they are instead read as potential threats and thus part of what De Genova calls the "border spectacle" or, "a spectacle of enforcement at 'the' border, whereby migrant 'illegality' is rendered spectacularly visible" ("Spectacles" 1181). Spectacles are usually used to connote performance or extravagant display. The border spectacle renders visible the border as a site and means of protection from the so-named dangerous, evil, or illegal. Calls to strengthen "the wall," images that show furtive crossings, reports on drugs and terrorism, and the suspicion that not all migrations might be "legitimate" all contribute to the border as a space where illegality is generated and performed as spectacle.

This spectacle is certainly not limited to the U.S. One need only look at similar racial rhetoric in Europe regarding “asylum-seekers”—a term which De Genova says implies that one may not be a “legitimate” refugee but rather simply an economic “migrant” (as if seeking a better life is not reason enough for entry) (“Introduction” 7). Borders amplify much of what we understand about the genealogy of race and how it is used as a tool of oppression and division. It also helps us recognize, as a consequence, how citizenship can function as a mechanism for both inclusion and exclusion. However, by only seeing the border as a wall that is constantly under attack by so-called illegal activity and people, we can miss these histories which unravel racialized citizenship’s role in defining the “illegality” of people and certain acts.

Thus, we arrive at illegality, a term fortified by its attachment to the law and yet, as we have seen, is informed by assumptions about who is already presumed to be legal or illegal. To call a person illegal is to draw on assumptions about criminality, belonging, and legitimacy. For example, the insistence of activists and scholars to call migrants “undocumented” rather than “illegal” is actually a call to be more accurate. It is to denote those without the paperwork to be officially labelled migrants in the United States. This renaming is also an act that counters what the law has done to negatively racialized persons, which is to turn them from individuals to nonhuman threats. Illegality implies a kind of innate nature of wrongness or out-of-placeness that is automatically foreign or dangerous. Similar implications surround terms like “criminal,” or “felon,” thus linking the racialization of Black and Brown communities through shared criminalization (Chomsky 17).<sup>4</sup>

Thus, racist calls for people (citizens by birth or naturalization, or otherwise) to “go back where they came from” serves as a natural consequence of these processes, especially when the law itself has, over time, delineated who will always belong within the nation and who will not. As Aviva Chomsky insists: “Illegality is the flip side of inequality. It serves to preserve the privileged spaces for those deemed citizens and justify their privilege by creating a legal apparatus to sustain it” (19). Regardless of how one enters or exists within the U.S. nation, everyone is read through this lens of “legal” and “illegal.”

---

4. Aviva Chomsky says: “In the era of colorblindness,’ Alexander writes, ‘it is no longer permissible to hate blacks, but we can hate criminals.’ The same argument could be made for Mexicans and criminalized immigrants” (Chomsky 17).

The law renders certain communities as legal/illegal, citizen/non-citizen or completely outside the imagination of the nation. We have seen the consequences of these assumptions through racist attacks on Asian Americans, the incarceration of Black people, the relative silence around violence against BIPOC women, and the treatment of undocumented migrants as both criminal and undeserving of safety and support. In our everyday language and encounters with others, it is necessary that we unravel the assumptions we bring to illegality and instead link in shared humanity and struggle.

---



## Works Cited

---

- Alexander, Michelle. *The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Era of Colorblindness*. The New Press, 2012.
- Anzaldúa, Gloria. *Borderlands / La Frontera: the New Mestiza*. 1987. Lute Books, 2007.
- Chomsky, Aviva. *Undocumented: How Immigration Became Illegal*. Beacon Press, 2014.
- De Genova, Nicholas. "Spectacles of Migrant 'Illegality': the Scene of Exclusion, the Obscene of Inclusion." *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, vol. 36, no. 7, 2013, pp. 1180-98.
- De Genova, Nicholas. "Introduction: The Borders of "Europe" and the European Question." *The Borders of "Europe": Autonomy of Migration, Tactics of Bordering*, edited by Nicholas De Genova, Duke University Press, 2017.
- Fields, Karen E., and Barbara J. Fields. *Racecraft: The Soul of Inequality in American Life*. Verso Books, 2014.
- Glenn, Evelyn Nakano. *Unequal Freedom: How Race and Gender Shaped American Citizenship and Labor*. Harvard University Press, 2002.
- Harris, Cheryl "Whiteness as Property." *The Harvard Law Review Association*, vol. 106, no. 8, 1993, pp. 1707-91.
- López, Ian Haney. *White by Law: the Legal Construction of Race*. New York University Press, 1996.
- Newman, David. "On borders and power: A theoretical framework." *Journal of Borderland Studies*, vol. 18, no. 1, 2003, pp. 13-25.
- Ngai, Mae M. *Impossible Subjects: Illegal Aliens and the Making of Modern America*. Princeton UP, 2004.
- Taylor, Keeanga-Yamahatta. *From #BlackLivesMatter to Black Liberation*. Haymarket Books, 2016.

# Working-class Hegemony in the United States

---

KEVIN PINKELMAN

In the eyes of many working-class Americans, unequal wealth distribution is an inevitable part of all societies. The masses believe that while wealth inequality is not necessarily a good thing, it is mainly unavoidable, out of their control, and not so severe that radical action needs to occur ("false consciousness"). Most people dismiss or frown upon the idea of a working-class uprising, particularly because today's inequality is not debilitatingly bad in many people's minds. However, when examined from a historical and systemic perspective, that could not be further from the case. One historical example of inequality that most people would claim was exceedingly bad was the conditions of France prior to the French Revolution (Kelly). The French Revolution was a radical uprising of the working class against the French aristocracy in response to the overall unequal distribution of wealth; in the years preceding this revolution, it has been estimated that the top ten percent of the population had roughly sixty percent of the national wealth, while the bottom eighty percent of the population only had twenty-four percent (Morrisson). This inequality is, of course, striking, and it is no shock that the working-class people of France took swift action in opposition to this disproportionate distribution of wealth. However, what is more striking is the unequal distribution of wealth in the United States today. According to a 2016 study, the top one percent of Americans hoard forty-five percent of the nation's financial resources, while the bottom eighty percent of Americans are left with just five percent of the nation's financial resources (Wolff). Furthermore, it is essential to note that in the years since 2016, wealth inequality in the US has gotten exponentially worse (with the COVID-19 pandemic having a significant impact on wealth inequality) (Sidik). While it is impossible to perfectly measure wealth distribution (especially at the time of the French Revolution), these studies indicate that the wealth gap in France just before the revolution was less extreme than today's wealth gap in the United States. This dichotomy begs the question, why did the French respond with guillotines and revolution while the majority of

Americans respond with indifference or by vehemently defending and idolizing the upper class?

The question of why the masses of the working class fail to take extreme action in attempts to end wealth inequality is far from a new one. Some have pointed to Marx's concept of "false consciousness," which argues that the masses do not accurately perceive their positionality in society and fail to fully understand the class-based systemic struggles they face because of capitalism (Britannica). Other theorists have claimed that the issue lies in the fact that the working class is so physically, mentally, and emotionally exhausted by the burdens of working-class life, that they lack any energy to fight the oppressive system that exhausts them in the first place ("Ideology: Marx, Althusser, and Gramsci."). While these ideas are valid and likely factors for the passivity of the working class, another factor, cultural hegemony, is highly relevant today but wholly overlooked by most. Through various institutions, the media, and the rise of neoliberalism, today's upper class has developed a cultural hegemony to deter the working class from questioning the economic status quo or inciting violence in response to the extreme wealth inequality that plagues the United States.

## **Cultural Hegemony**

The ways in which the upper class has manipulated the working-class perspective of wealth and wealth distribution are anything but simple—it was not solely done through a few propaganda-esque commercials shown on primetime television nor a series of blockbuster films that glorified a certain wealth-hoarding, bat-loving, vigilante superhero; this colossal manipulation and change required a mass ideological shift of the values, beliefs, and ideas of the working class. This tremendous ideological shift is best seen within the context of Italian philosopher Antonio Gramsci's idea of cultural hegemony. Antonio Gramsci was a crucial figure in the Italian Communist Party until he was arrested in 1926 and sentenced to twenty years in prison by order of the Fascist state in power; however, some of his most monumental works, specifically those connected to the idea of hegemony, were developed while he was incarcerated (Bates). In his works, Gramsci separated the superstructure of society into two distinct floors: civil society and political society. Gramsci defined civil society as the sects of a society made up of organisms that are private from the state, like schools, churches, journals, and even political parties. Gramsci noted that civil society was the key contributor to how people

form their social and political consciousness. On the other hand, political society was composed of all public institutions like the government, military, justice system, and police; Gramsci described how political society, synonymous with the state, was responsible for the *direct* domination of people, specifically the working class.

With the distinction of these two floors of society in mind, Gramsci established the crossover and differences between dictatorship and hegemony. Gramsci agreed with Marx and other communist scholars that every state is a dictatorship and, more specifically, will always default to this form of actively-violent rule in times of crisis (specifically class revolution). However, Gramsci argued that dictatorship is not the only form of societal rule. He claimed that a dictatorship ultimately relies on the power and coercion of political society, while hegemony, the other form of societal rule he identified, is rooted in the power of manipulating the ideology of the masses through civil society (Bates). As defined by Gramsci, hegemony is a form of rule based on a balance of coercion and consent of the masses (rather than the pure coercion that dictatorship is based on) (Femia). However, in hegemony, this consent is not "actively informed." Rather, the working class only gives consent because of ideas and values that the ruling class silently diffused and pushed into the minds of the masses. In this Gramscian view, the United States is a clear example of a society ruled by hegemony, as the vast majority of Americans do not live in immediate fear of a militant dictatorship. A society dominated by hegemony rather than dictatorship may seem peaceful, equitable, full of well-educated individuals, and free from any need for civil strife. However, this perception of an idyllic society ruled by hegemony is false because, in a society driven by hegemony, the masses live under an ideology that has been imposed on them by the upper class—an ideology that is so dominant but so invisible that the vast majority of people see no reason to question the status quo, even though it fails to benefit the masses and strictly serves the interests of the state. The values, goals, and ideas which occupy the minds of the working class are not beneficial to them, they are of sole benefit to the ruling class, which goes wholly unnoticed because of how the ruling class imposes this supreme ideology.

While the majority of Gramsci's work focused on the existence and impacts of hegemony, various other scholars, like French philosopher Louis Althusser, used Gramsci's theoretical framework to address the specifics of how the ruling class goes about imposing a specific controlling ideology on the working class. In his scholarly work, Althusser

postulated that ideology exists at the deepest core of society and that all individuals are socially constructed through the dominant ideology ("Ideology: Marx, Althusser, and Gramsci."). He asserted that ideology is not simply an amalgamation of ideas that stand alone and that humans constantly experience ideology through institutions which he dubbed "Ideological State Apparatuses" (ISAs). Althusser further contended that the state is not a neutral institution but a physical and conceptual manifestation of the ruling class's interests ("Ideology: Marx, Althusser, and Gramsci"). According to Althusser, some examples of ISAs are privately and publicly owned media (like BBC or Fox News), the education system, the Church, and even the family. It must be noted that ISAs are not entirely separate from state influence in that the state actively utilizes ISAs to maintain ideological control and hegemonic dominance. He argued that an individual's sense of self is socially constructed through experiences with ISAs and if an individual breaks through and begins to question their sense of self and the status quo ideology, then new institutions, called Repressive State Apparatuses (RSAs), come into play by order of the state ("Ideology: Marx, Althusser, and Gramsci"). Examples of RSAs include the military, the police, and other direct arms of the state; in this sense, ISAs cross over with Gramsci's idea of civil society, and RSAs cross over with the concept of political society. The core of Althusser's theory is that hegemony is developed and imposed on people through ISAs which are controlled, in part, by the ruling class and the state. Moreover, when hegemony fails, and the masses begin to break free from the dominant ideology that has been imposed on them, the state makes use of RSAs, and society becomes ruled by what most would identify as a pure dictatorship.

Gramsci's and Althusser's theoretical framework around hegemony and state institutions is key to understanding today's social, political, and economic dynamics between the U.S. working and upper class. In modern America, the line between the upper class and the state has become wholly blurred, particularly with the political power of Super PACs, lobbyists, and other billionaire-funded organizations like ALEC (13th). This means that in the United States, state dominance (through hegemony, dictatorship, or an amalgamation of both) is the same as upper-class dominance and that the ideology imposed on the working class by the state does not merely prioritize the interests of the state, it has the interests of the upper class at heart. As sobering as it may seem, it is essential to realize that most working-class Americans do not live

their lives in a way that serves to benefit them. "American" values are not working-class values, but through the invisible dominance of hegemony, the masses believe they are. For example, many people instantly associate hard work and individualism with classical American values. However, upon further inspection, it is clear that these values only benefit the upper class. Working-class people pushing themselves to work harder rarely brings them greater bliss and fulfillment, but it does bring CEOs and the upper class more profits. Working-class people being individualistic does not bring them contentment, but it gives them more time to focus on their job and delivering profits to the upper class. The structure of capitalism creates a system where workers' labor benefits those at the top of the hierarchy. By making the values of hard work and individualism seem like common-sense American values, the upper class has manipulated the masses' beliefs and created a dominant lifestyle and ideology that serves upper-class interests. Working-class Americans live their life to work and fail to question if that is a good or a bad lifestyle because of the power of hegemony. Whether through the education system teaching students to work hard if they want success, through the media sharing stories about an employee working eighty-hour weeks to feed their family, or through any other ISA, all working-class Americans have been socialized under a hegemony that strengthens the upper class. All of this has become particularly successful because working-class Americans do not even realize that these values rule society, and because people are so exhausted from perpetual labor, few people ever have the time, mental energy, or resources to come to this realization. There are countless different ISAs that the upper class has relied on to create this hegemony, but one of the most notable is the media—specifically social media. The upper class has used today's media to develop cultural hegemony and perfect their individual public images in the eyes of working-class people.

### **Media Today**

In the early 1900s, when Gramsci first developed his theory of cultural hegemony, he recognized the unique capabilities of the media as a tool to spread ideology and manipulate the masses (Altheide 477). Althusser, too, placed exceptionally high importance on the power of the media as an ISA ("Ideology: Marx, Althusser, and Gramsci."). Over the past fifty years, but particularly in the past two decades, as social media has revolutionized the way information spreads, the role and capabilities of the media in hegemony have exploded. It is nearly impossible to go a

day without being exposed to some piece of information or idea from the media, and because of this, the working class is even more susceptible to manipulation by the upper class. Whether it is an Instagram post about how "winners make money" (TATESMEMES) or a Seattle Times article about why "billionaires are not the problem" (Smith), Americans are drowning in propaganda-esque information from the media, all of which imposes pro-upper class ideas on the working class. The ties between the upper class and the media today are all but non-existent, especially with so many billionaires owning massive media and news companies, from Jeff Bezos' ownership of the Washington Post, Michael Bloomberg's Bloomberg L.P., and most recently, Elon Musk's baseless buyout of the entirety of Twitter. It has become practically impossible to access an article or news story that an oligarch has not influenced.

The control the upper class has over the media gives them the unchecked ability to strengthen the current cultural hegemony, but this control gives them more than structural power alone; in fact, a vital tool to developing hegemony is the way individual members of the upper class use the media to manipulate how the masses view them and curate their public image. One of the most prominent and timely examples is how Elon Musk portrays himself in the media, specifically on Twitter and television. When most people think of Elon Musk, an image of an insanely intelligent, quirky, brilliant businessman with a great sense of humor instantly comes to mind. This favorable image did not come out of thin air, and the masses did not develop it with much thought or critical analysis—it was intentionally developed by Musk himself to distract from his darker side. The reason so few people think of Musk's 450 Tesla factory public health violations, the widespread sexual harassment in Tesla workplaces (Levin), or his anti-union labor rights violations (Scheiber) is because of his expert use of the media to curate a specific image which serves his interests and deters from backlash. Specifically, Musk uses the media to focus on the lighter and more humorous sides of his person. For example, in 2021, Musk hosted SNL and was able to crack jokes, humble himself, and reveal a persona of a "normal guy," in front of millions of working-class viewers ("Elon Musk Monologue – SNL"). Musk has further developed this persona on social media by making himself into a meme, like when he tweeted about "building a spaceship to get back to his home planet Mars" (Musk). By revealing random facts about his personality and pushing out this "funny guy" image, he makes working-class people feel like they know him, making working-class people more tolerant of

his extreme wealth hoarding. According to a 2021 research study from The Ohio State University and Cornell University, "people are more tolerant of inequality when it is expressed in terms of individuals rather than groups at the top" (Walker). When the working class hears how much wealth the "1%" is hoarding, it is infuriating, but when then the working class hears how much wealth Elon Musk—that funny guy on Twitter who once hosted SNL—is hoarding, it suddenly becomes understandable and a result of his hard work. While Elon Musk is a clear example of the upper class using the media to manipulate the working class, he is far from the only one. Consider the Kardashians, who flex their extreme wealth every day but appeal to the masses by pushing out an idyllic image of a loving family, or the Sackler family, who, despite being directly responsible for the opioid crisis, preserves their image by tying museums and research institutions to their family name (Porterfield). The specific cases of individual members of the upper class doing this are practically endless, and this trend is, once again, inherent to Gramsci's idea of hegemony. While it is difficult to identify when this ideology became so dominant, the rise of neoliberalism over the past four decades is one explicit part of today's hegemonic beliefs around wealth.

### **Impact of Neoliberalism**

The implementation of neoliberalism as the dominant economic, political, and social structure of the United States was done through intentional actions by the ruling class, which thus was major societal revolution that went wholly unnoticed by the working class. The impacts of neoliberalism are prevalent: from the elimination of economic safety nets to tax cuts for massive corporations, the political and economic effects have been extreme, but more notable have been the social impacts of neoliberalism. Neoliberalism is an ideology rooted in the belief that any attempts to limit the "free" market harm the liberty and freedom of all individuals. In this school of thought, even attempts to limit monopolies or wealth hoarding harm individual liberty. The hypocrisy and flaws of neoliberalism are significant, but its dominance in today's world is indisputable. Neoliberalism believes that competition is the core driving force behind all human interactions. It turns the working class into consumers whose value depends on how much profit they can generate (Monbiot). While many aspects of neoliberalism are vital contributors (and are inherently part of) the hegemony that dominates society today, arguably most important is the value that neoliberalism places on individualism.



Friedrich Hayek, one of the founders of the neoliberal ideology, stressed the social value and importance of individualism. From this idea, neoliberalism was developed. Individualism is one of the core pillars of neoliberal ideology (Monbiot). In a society dominated by neoliberalism, everything is individualized. Abundant private property is synonymous with success and fulfillment. Individual responsibility is ingrained in people in the earliest stages of education and socialization. Individual accomplishments are seen as social accomplishments. The rise of neoliberalism has caused Americans to focus on themselves and believe that if everyone does the same, society is bound to be prosperous. Rather than trusting and relying on others, caring about community, or encouraging the best in humanity, neoliberalism has taught the working class to live as individuals and find fulfillment through profit. It is exceedingly important to recognize the direct tie that individualism has to the way the working class views the unequal wealth distribution in the United States. The aforementioned Cornell University and The Ohio State University study indicates that humans are far more sympathetic to wealth inequality when it is shown in terms of individuals instead of being shown in terms of groups (Walker). A society like the United States, which places so much value on individualism and views everything from an individualistic perspective is far more tolerant of wealth inequality than a society that focuses on group dynamics. The rise of neoliberalism has caused the working class to see the highly unequal distribution of wealth as a result of the hard work that individual billionaires put in rather than as a result of a system that disproportionately profits off the backs of working-class labor. There is no denying that the hegemonic ideology that dominates society and the minds of the working class is an amalgamation of various upper class beliefs, concepts, and ideologies. The complexities of this hegemony cannot be understated, but there is a clear connection between this hegemony and the rise and dominance of neoliberal ideology.

## Conclusion

The core of Gramscian theory around cultural hegemony is rooted in the idea that society can be split into two floors: political society and civil society. There is no question that today's upper class is protected by political society. Through their multi-million dollar donations to legislators or perpetual avoidance of consequences in the criminal justice system, the upper class has mastered their power and control of political society.

However, to have genuinely unquestioned power, the upper class recognizes that they must have control and protection in civil society; they have secured this control through cultural hegemony. While the idea that working-class people do not have proper control over their ideas, ambitions, and lifestyles is undoubtedly sobering, it is not entirely hopeless. Gramscian hegemony is based on a balance of coercion and consent, so the first step in ending this destructive hegemony is refusing consent. Hegemony that was developed by the upper class exists, is dominant, and benefits the upper class. Therefore, the only way the working class can break free from this hegemony and begin to live their lives in a way that benefits them is by developing a strong, radical, and dominant counter-hegemony to challenge the existing upper-class-backed hegemony. The working class must recognize the existence and oppressive nature of today's hegemony and then begin to challenge this hegemony as they develop their own.

A more equitable society will not appear out of thin air. The French working class put their lives on the line in fighting for a better future and still did not emerge into a utopia. Wealth inequality and its negative impacts in the United States are indisputable. At the same time, the causes of the working-class passivity will be long-debated. However, there is no denying that the existence of a pro-upper-class hegemony is a significant basis for why the working class is not more adamant in radical acts for equity. Breaking free from a hegemony-based dictatorship strengthened by ideas and mindsets is far more complex than breaking free from a pure dictatorship backed solely by military strength. However, revolution and change are always possible. The working class must interrogate and change their core values and beliefs, dispute the prevalent messages in the media, challenge individualistic neoliberal ideas, radically alter socializing institutions to encourage the best of human nature, and perpetually question the extreme wealth inequality in the United States. Through these acts, even in the face of fascism and extreme inequality, the working class will have hope and potential to prevail.

---

## Works Cited

---

- 13th. Directed by Ava DuVernay, Netflix, 2016.
- Altheide, David L. "Media Hegemony: A Failure of Perspective." *The Public Opinion Quarterly*, vol. 48, no. 2, 1984, pp. 476–90. JSTOR, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2749038>.
- Bates, Thomas R. "Gramsci and the Theory of Hegemony." *Journal of the History of Ideas*, vol. 36, no. 2, 1975, pp. 351–66. JSTOR, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2708933>.
- "Elon Musk Monologue – SNL." *YouTube*, uploaded by Saturday Night Live, 8 May 2021, [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fCF8I\\_X1qKI](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fCF8I_X1qKI).
- "false consciousness." *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 4 Mar. 2020, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/false-consciousness>.
- Femia, Joseph V. *Gramsci's Political Thought: Hegemony, Consciousness, and the Revolutionary Process*. Clarendon Press, 1987.
- "Ideology: Marx, Althusser, and Gramsci." *Films On Demand*, Films Media Group, 2015, [fod.infobase.com/PortalPlaylists.aspx?wID=16149&x-tid=145538](http://fod.infobase.com/PortalPlaylists.aspx?wID=16149&x-tid=145538).
- Kelly, Kim. "How the French Revolution Is Inspiring Today's Online Anti-capitalists." *Teen Vogue*, 26 November 2019, <https://www.teenvogue.com/story/eat-the-rich-guillotine-anti-capitalists>.
- Levin, Bess. "A Reminder of Just Some of the Terrible Things Elon Musk Has Said and Done." *Vanity Fair*, 26 Apr. 2022, <https://www.vanityfair.com/news/2022/04/elon-musk-twitter-terrible-things-hes-said-and-done>.
- Monbiot, George. "Neoliberalism – the Ideology at the Root of All Our Problems." *The Guardian*, Guardian News and Media, 15 Apr. 2016, <https://www.theguardian.com/books/2016/apr/15/neoliberalism-ideology-problem-george-monbiot>.
- Morrisson, Christian, and Wayne Snyder. "The Income Inequality of France in Historical Perspective." *European Review of Economic History*, vol. 4, no. 1, 2000, pp. 59–83, doi:10.1017/S1361491600000149.
- Mouffe, Chantal. *Gramsci and Marxist Theory*. Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979.
- Musk, Elon [@elonmusk]. "The rumor that I'm building a spaceship to get back to my home planet Mars is totally untrue."

- Twitter, 12 March 2015, [https://twitter.com/elonmusk/status/576140759281238017?ref\\_src=twsrc%5Etfw%7Ctwcamp%5Eetwembed%7Ctwtterm%5E576140759281238017%7Ctwgr%5Ef0ac63cec91ce4f634318f26f9c82dbb96bf0f07%7Ctwcon%5Es1\\_&ref\\_url=https%3A%2F%2Finterestingengineering.com%2Fculture%2F16-great-tweets-from-elon-musk-that-definitely-made-us-laugh](https://twitter.com/elonmusk/status/576140759281238017?ref_src=twsrc%5Etfw%7Ctwcamp%5Eetwembed%7Ctwtterm%5E576140759281238017%7Ctwgr%5Ef0ac63cec91ce4f634318f26f9c82dbb96bf0f07%7Ctwcon%5Es1_&ref_url=https%3A%2F%2Finterestingengineering.com%2Fculture%2F16-great-tweets-from-elon-musk-that-definitely-made-us-laugh).
- Porterfield, Carlie. "These Museums Still Have the Sackler Name up despite Opioid Crisis Controversy." *Forbes*, Forbes Magazine, 9 Feb. 2022, <https://www.forbes.com/sites/carlieporterfield/2022/02/07/these-museums-still-have-the-sacklername-up-despite-opioid-crisis-controversy/?sh=6e46a06f57d5>.
- Reiman, Jeffrey H. *The Rich Get Richer and the Poor Get Prison: Ideology, Class, and Criminal Justice*. 6th ed., Allyn and Bacon, 2001.
- Scheiber, Noam. "Tesla Employee's Firing and Elon Musk Tweet on Union Were Illegal, Labor Board Rules." *The New York Times*, The New York Times, 25 Mar. 2021, <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/25/business/musk-labor-board.html>.
- Shenk, Timothy. "What Exactly Is Neoliberalism?" *Dissent Magazine*, Dissent Magazine, 18 July 2017, <https://www.dissentmagazine.org/blog/booked-3-what-exactly-is-neoliberalism-wendy-brown-un-doing-the-demos>.
- Sidik, Saima May. "How COVID Has Deepened Inequality — in Six Stark Graphics." *Nature News*, Nature Publishing Group, 22 June 2022, [www.nature.com/immersive/d41586-022-01647-6/index.html](http://www.nature.com/immersive/d41586-022-01647-6/index.html).
- Smith, Karl W. "Billionaires Aren't the Problem." *The Seattle Times*, The Seattle Times Company, 18 June 2019, <https://www.seattletimes.com/opinion/billionaires-arent-the-problem/>.
- TATESMEMES. "Photo of Andrew Tate Walking in Front of a Car with Text Overlayed Stating 'LOSERS MAKE EXCUSES, WINNERS MAKE MONEY'." *Instagram*, 2022, <https://www.instagram.com/p/CmChMt-0Paf7/?igshid=MDJmNzVkMjY%3D>.
- Walker, Jesse, et al. "People Are More Tolerant of Inequality When It Is Expressed in Terms of Individuals Rather than Groups at the Top." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America*, vol. 118, no. 43, 2021, p. e2100430118, <https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.2100430118>.
- Wolff, Edward N. "Household Wealth Trends in the United States, 1962 to 2016: Has Middle Class Wealth Recovered?" *National Bureau of Economic Research*, Nov. 2017, <https://doi.org/10.3386/w24085>.

# **"The Third Shift: Multiple Job Holding and the Incarceration of Women's Partners"**

An Interview with Dr. Angela Bruns

---

INTERVIEW BY BEN GONZALES

*How did you get into researching the familial impacts of incarceration?*

When I was in graduate school, I took a class called "Regimes of Racial Control," which was a pretty impactful class in a lot of ways. What we did in the class is that we started at the end of slavery and took this historic look at various regimes of racial control, building off of Loic Wacquant's piece about how these institutions of racial control have just shifted over time, but haven't gone away. So of course, we ended the quarter talking about mass incarceration as the current regime of racial control. And something that I had noticed throughout all the pieces that we had read that focused on different historical periods, was that there was an absence of discussion of how these regimes of racial control were impacting women. Everything seemed to be focused on men, whether we were talking about black codes in the South post-slavery and how those were used to harness their labor because plantations suddenly didn't have the laborers, they needed nor did other businesses or if we were talking about urban ghettos they were talking mostly about men's difficulties with employment. There were just no women in anything that we read, and that was true for incarceration too. So much of the work on incarceration is focused on incarcerated men, both their time incarcerated and after which makes sense because they're the most likely to be incarcerated. But it just made me wonder how incarceration and these other regimes of racial control are impacting women, and not just women who are incarcerated, but the family members of people who are incarcerated.

I did play around with the idea of doing a much more historical analysis, not looking at incarceration, but another regime of racial

control. However, my professors were like, “Why don’t you stick to something current?” Even the guy who taught the class was a historical researcher, but he recommended sticking with something current. I was lucky enough to be in a department that was very strong in the criminology and incarceration area, so it really just made sense given whom I had as available mentors to pursue that. I wanted to know where the women were and what was happening to them and how social institutions impact women.

*In this study, you cite a prior study that you published where you didn’t find that women with incarcerated partners experience an increase in the number of hours they worked at their main job, but what is the third shift you discuss in this study?*

In addition to being interested in incarceration, I was very interested in people’s experiences of the labor market. So, this was one way to bring both of those interests together into one place. I started by looking at how having an incarcerated partner impacts the number of hours that women work. Because that could be one strategy, right? Increasing the number of hours that we work could be one strategy for dealing with the loss of income that a family potentially experiences when someone is incarcerated or those increased costs of incarceration: like traveling to the prison, paying for food while you’re at the prison, phone calls, those stamps that you must have on emails so your partner can send those to you, lawyer fees. There are so many costs associated. So, this is really based on the assumption that women when their male partners are incarcerated will need supplemental income. And so, I did find that the incarceration of women’s partners had no impact on the number of hours they worked at their main jobs. And then I thought, well maybe that’s because there are some constraints. You can’t always go to your employer and say, ‘Hey, my husband or my co-habiting partner is incarcerated, I need 10 extra hours a week.’ An employer isn’t necessarily going to be like, ‘Okay, that sounds great.’ And so, I think it is reasonable to inspect that increasing your income via wages would be then to find a second job.

What this paper shows is that women who have incarcerated partners are far more likely than other similar women to work multiple jobs to work two or three jobs in comparison to one job. I describe that as the third shift because Arlie Hochschild introduced this concept of the Second Shift, years and years ago, where women are working outside the

home, often full-time jobs, and then coming home and working a second shift doing all the care labor and the family labor that they have always done. And so, I decided to think about the second job as a third shift. As women are working their main jobs, they're coming home and caring for their families, and then they're often having to incorporate a third job in the face of a partner incarceration. And it ties in really well with this concept that race, class, and gender scholars often talk about, which is called the Third Burden. The idea there is that marginalized women must contend not only with their own positionality within race, class, and gender structures, but they also must deal with the positionality of the men they're connected to. One really good example is the underemployment of Black men in our society because of racism and the labor market, and women are often having to pick up the slack from the burdens that Black men in particular face. Scholars have called that slack the Third Burden. So, it seemed like it translated really well, in which men are being constricted and women are having to pick up the slack. So, it was about building upon the concepts that were already out there, the Third Burden and the Second Shift, and creating this idea of the Third Shift.

*What did you find was the impact of the third shift on those families? Is the third shift a successful way to make money, or a successful way of survival?*

The data doesn't really give us all that information. The wage data in this particular study, the Fragile Families and Child Wellbeing Study, which has renamed itself the Future of Families and Child Wellbeing Study, that wage data isn't as precise to be able to determine that. But, I think we can imagine lots of different consequences. We can imagine that this is a viable strategy for increasing your income and it absolutely helps families make ends meet. The biggest reason that people take on a second job is in order to meet the financial needs of themselves and their families, to pay off debt, et cetera, and to make ends meet on a monthly basis. But we can also imagine the ways in which a second job creates a lot of stress, going from one job to another, managing the different expectations of different jobs. And there is research that shows, not looking specifically at people who have incarcerated partners, but workers in general that having a second job can lead to excess stress there is also higher injury among people who work second jobs.

In another paper, I found that women, mothers in particular, who work second jobs have higher rates of depression and life dissatisfaction. So, are they earning more money to make ends meet? Hopefully. Hopefully, that strategy is working. But what are the mental health consequences, what are the physical health consequences, and what are the consequences of time away from your children? And I think there isn't as much research on the consequences of multiple job holding as there should be, and I have been trying to fill that gap. We also know that it is not great for kids when parents are multiple job holding.

*On the note of the reality of that impact, you mentioned earlier the continuing regimes of racial control. How do you imagine your research uncovering how the regime of mass incarceration affects bodies of color, specifically women and children?*

One of the things that I argue in several of my papers about the impact of incarceration on families and partners is that this system of mass incarceration controls the lives and bodies of not only Black low-income men who are being incarcerated but also the people they are being connected to. So, in some ways we can think about it as, no, the partner isn't being locked up, she isn't being controlled in that way, but the way that she engages in the labor market is being heavily influenced, right, it is being controlled. And the fact that low-income Black women are already facing precarious situations in a labor market that pushes them into these precarious jobs, and that has certain ideas about the kind of work that a Black woman should be doing. The fact that the labor market is also pushing them to seek out employment from not just one job but two jobs, I think is another way that the bodies and the lives of Black women on a daily basis are being controlled by this institution. It's not just men. It's not just Black men who are being confined.

*Does your research document how the state is controlling someone as both a woman and a person of color and that intersectional control?*

I think that this is intersectional because we know that mass incarceration is a regime of racial control because we know that it disproportionately impacts Black men and to a lesser degree Hispanic men, and definitely Native American men and the people they're connected to. It's hard for me to even think about it without thinking about the intersections between race and gender. We're talking about various institutions



which these women are working with or working within or dealing with mass incarceration and the labor market and the ways in which those two things end up intersecting or end up overlapping in their lives and shaping each other. It's all very intersectional. Your question is really about this case in which being both a woman and being Black creates a unique positionality. And I think yes, and we see that playing out within both these institutions mass incarceration and the labor market.

*In your study, you discuss how this isn't just for women who are married with their partner or living with their partner, but also affects woman who have been separated from their partner and are losing child support; this doesn't just affect nuclear families.*

Yes, we can't think about mass incarceration as only affecting the families who have partners removed from their households because family systems can take lots of different forms and just because a woman doesn't live with the father of her children doesn't mean that his absence from their lives is going to be inconsequential. I will say that there are several studies including mine on multiple job holding which suggest that the impact on outcomes like multiple job holding financial support from fathers, the families that are most impacted to seem to be the ones where a father is being removed from the home, either co-habiting or married prior to the incarceration. So there does seem to be a more intense or concentrated impact for those nuclear-ish families, but that doesn't mean that there is nothing happening for the women who have exes or their children's father who have been incarcerated and didn't live with them beforehand.

*Would you speak a little bit about the relationship between welfare, Medicaid, and multiple job holding, and trying to get those benefits?*

We know that public assistance is needs-tested. And so, what often happens for folks is as they earn more money, the amount of food stamps they receive is reduced. Interestingly at the same time, in order to get access to food stamps or other forms of public assistance people must be working as a condition for that benefit. So it's very possible, and I definitely observed this on another study of the Seattle minimum wage increase, that many of the respondents in that study reported, 'It's great that I am getting this increase in wages, but that also means that my housing assistance has gone down and my food stamps have gone down.' I can

see the same kind of thing playing out for women who have incarcerated partners who are like, 'Oh, I'm going to take on this second job,' and then what does that do to their benefits? And that's probably what pushes a lot of people into the informal labor market. If they can take a job doing people's hair and not have to report that, then that can be really beneficial.

*Where does that leave you for what is the next step in your research, or what are your outstanding questions?*

I would love to use the qualitative data I have from interviews with women who have incarcerated family members to understand the thought process around any employment changes they make after their family member is incarcerated. Or to get a better understanding of the processes and mechanisms through which incarceration impacts people's interactions with the labor market and their employment. I think those are questions because there is only so much, we can get from quantitative data. We see this affects this, but how? What is actually going on in that in-between that space where this happens, and a job is impacted? So, learning more about what women are thinking about, the pros and cons, and how they are weighing them.

I do really think my work with incarceration is focused more on qualitative data right now because my colleagues and I have collected this data. It's just about having time to analyze it and learn more about what is actually happening in their own words and their own experiences. One of the papers we're working on looks at the prisonization of motherhood and how having the father of your children or having your own child incarcerated impacts the way you mother, the ways that it intensifies mothering or throws women with adult children back into intensive mothering that they did when they were younger and their kids were five. So I'm wanting to explore that data more. We've interviewed women across the country that have these experiences.

I think that ultimately one of my big research interests is the intersection between work and family, and so I have some research that is heading in that direction too. It is thinking about how people balance work and family, and how they think about and assess the resources and demands that their jobs and their families provide. I feel like this paper about incarceration and employment is this focal point of my research

and then I have research in other directions to think about incarceration and other directions to think about the labor market and work. That's one of the reasons I love this paper; all of the things that I love and care about are happening in one paper.

---

## Works Cited

---

- Bruns, Angela. "The Third Shift: Multiple Job Holding and the Incarceration of Women's Partners." *Social Science Research*, vol. 80, 2019, pp. 202–215, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssresearch.2018.12.024>.

# Essay to the Spokane City Planning and Development Sector

---

JACK STEHR

Social disorganization theory is grounded in the idea that the physical environment has significant ties to crime (Rodgers; Sampson). It describes how community traits shape a neighborhood's capacity to establish and uphold community norms (Rodgers; Sampson). The high crime rate (AreaVibes), demographics, and physical reality of the Logan Neighborhood in Spokane, Washinton invites the application of social disorganization theory to potentially discover and explain the neighborhood's criminogenic attributes. This paper aims to examine the physical and statistical characteristics of the Logan Neighborhood to approximate the area's level of social organization. Based on the assessment, this paper will provide policy suggestions in line with social disorganization theory to the Spokane City Planning and Development sector to improve the Logan Neighborhood's social organization, and thus reduce crime and disorder.

Social disorganization theory posits that social organization serves as a mediating factor between structural characteristics and crime in a specific area (Rodgers). Therefore, structural factors do not directly cause crime; rather, structural factors influence the level of social organization in a neighborhood which then influences crime (Rodgers; Sampson). Specifically, social organization shapes levels of informal social control and collective efficacy in an area, giving communities a weaker or stronger ability to influence crime (Rodgers; Sampson). The target of this paper's suggestions will therefore aim to boost collective efficacy and informal social control to combat structural features and their potential to generate disorganization. According to social disorganization theorist Robert Sampson, collective efficacy refers to the capability of a neighborhood to establish safety and order by limiting crime and other unaccepted behaviors through the control of the people and groups in the area (Samp-

son). Manifestations of informal social control and collective efficacy involve the mobilization of social ties and trust to control behavior in the community. For instance, in an area with high levels of informal social control and collective efficacy, well-connected community members may organize a demonstration against an uptick in violence in the community or work together to better control the behavior of community members (Sampson). Collective efficacy and informal social control can still be fostered and maintained in areas where certain structural factors that contribute to social disorganization are prevalent, ultimately neutralizing their effect on crime rates in the community. This may explain why some communities experience high levels of poverty and other indicators of social disorganization but maintain low crime rates (Rodgers; Sampson). Some structural factors that contribute to social disorganization are high population density, residential instability, low income levels, family disruption, and racial heterogeneity (Rodgers).

In this paper's analysis, Census Tract 25.01 of Spokane County was evaluated both visually and statistically via the website Social Explorer which aggregates data from different surveys and displays them geographically. This paper infers that Census Tract 25.01 statistics are representative of the Logan Neighborhood at large. The Logan Neighborhood is a socially disorganized space. It possesses many statistical and physical characteristics that are indicative of or help produce social disorganization. According to the 2020 American Community Survey (ACS), Census Tract 25.01 has a population density of 6,848.3 people per square mile ("Population Density"). This is not nearly as dense as certain areas of the United States's major metropolitan areas, but it is significantly denser than Spokane County's 291.0 people per square mile density ("Population Density"). Greater population density is associated with higher levels of social disorganization as it makes forming social cohesion between a large number of residents difficult (Rodgers; Sampson). However, Census Tract 25.01's population density, while it is significant and likely influences the neighborhood's level of disorganization on some level, is not so extreme that it is the primary factor influencing the level of social disorganization found in the Logan Neighborhood.

Rates of home ownership, likewise, significantly influence social disorganization in the Logan Neighborhood. In 2020, according to Social Explorer data from the ACS, 81.46% of housing units in Census Tract 25.01 are renter-occupied ("Renter Occupied") and only 18.54% are

owner-occupied (“Owner Occupied”). In contrast, for Spokane County, renter-occupied housing units comprise 36.9% of housing (“Renter Occupied”) while owner-occupied housing units make up 63.1% of housing (“Owner Occupied”). The high prevalence of renting in the Logan Neighborhood contributes to residential instability which is a structural factor that limits social organization (Rodgers). Additionally, the same survey found that in 2020 only 67.99% of residents in Census Tract 25.01 had lived in the same house one year prior, which is quite low compared to this statistic increasing to 81.01% at the county level (“Same House”). This is another sign of residential instability and social disorganization as high population turnover makes forming social bonds and cohesion difficult because there is less continuity in the neighborhood population (Rodgers; Sampson).

Other important statistics to examine concerning social disorganization theory are poverty and income. Poverty levels in the Logan Neighborhood trend higher than the county average for both people from 18-64 years old and people under the age of 18. The 2020 ACS finds that 50.83% of the population from 18-64 years old (“Population Age 18 to 64”) and 93.47% of the population under 18 years old live in poverty (“Population Under 18”) compared to the county numbers of 13.53% (“Population Age 18 to 64”) and 15% (“Population Under 18”) respectively. Poverty is connected to social disorganization because those in poverty tend to have less time to organize within the community due to the necessity of working long hours or multiple jobs. This working reality exists in part because the \$15.74 an hour minimum wage in Spokane County does not reflect the area’s living wage (“Living Wage Calculation for Spokane County, WA”; Rodgers). Additionally, when these folks do have time off work, they may be too physically and mentally exhausted to build social ties and cohesion with their neighbors (Rodgers). Similarly, the 2020 ACS states that the median household income for Census Tract 25.01 is \$44,527 and \$60,101 for the county (“Median Household”)—meaning Logan residents have fewer financial resources to organize their neighborhood. Thus, it is harder to create networks of informal social control and to build collective efficacy (Rodgers; Sampson).

Logan also has a high rate of disrupted families compared to Spokane County. Statistics from the 2020 ACS show 96.83% of children in Census Tract 25.01 live with single parents, whereas in Spokane county only 27.87% of children live with single parents (“Children Living”).

Family disruption, according to Dr. Rodgers, is another indicator of social disorganization (Rodgers). Without someone to share parenting responsibilities, single parents have less spare time to organize and form bonds with members of their neighborhood. As a result, it is less likely that networks of informal social control can be formed to solve problems and reduce crime and disorder (Rodgers).

In addition to statistical disorder indicators, physical disorder is relatively prevalent in the Logan Neighborhood. Visually examining the area of Census Tract 25.01 revealed several vacant lots featuring weeds, discarded furniture, and broken glass (Photograph 4). Additionally, a number of deteriorating houses (Photograph 1 and background of photograph 3) and vehicles discarded in the streets were observed (Photographs 2 and 3). Small instances of graffiti were also noted (Photograph 5). According to Dr. Rodgers, physical disorder—like the run-down houses,



empty lots, graffiti, and broken cars mentioned and depicted—is a sign of social disorganization (Rodgers). Physical disorder displays a lack of care by the community for the space they occupy. It shows that individuals in the neighborhood are not connected significantly enough to prevent the physical deterioration of their community.

Some elements that engender social organization were also observed while surveying the Logan Neighborhood. Logan is composed primarily of single-family homes and is not very racially diverse considering that the 2020 ACS finds that 76.5% of Census Tract 25.01 is white (“White Alone”). According to Dr. Rodgers, both of these factors can facilitate greater social organization considering their opposites (multi-family housing and racial heterogeneity) are associated with social disorganization (Rodgers). This is because multi-family housing brings greater population density and racial heterogeneity brings greater variation in



cultural norms and values, both of which create difficulties in forming social ties and cohesion (Rodgers).

Despite these features of the neighborhood that facilitate social organization, Logan's relative levels of population density, residential instability, poverty, median household income, family stability, and physical disorder either foster social disorganization or are indicators of a socially disorganized area (Rodgers; Sampson). All these characteristics of the Logan Neighborhood and the social disorganization they signal or help engender likely contribute to its relatively high crime rate. As reported by AreaVibes.com, the neighborhood has a 249% higher crime rate than the national average (AreaVibes "Logan, Spokane, WA Crime"). Additionally, when comparing the neighborhood to Spokane at large, crime rates in Logan are 42% higher (AreaVibes "Logan, Spokane, WA"). This is less significant than the difference between the national average, but it still indicates that the Logan Neighborhood is less safe than the surrounding area.

Contemporary social disorganization theorists like Robert Sampson champion the idea of changing places instead of people (Sampson). The following suggestions for the Spokane City Planning and Development sector will thus aim to change the Logan Neighborhood rather than its inhabitants by going beyond individual-level fixes to macro-level ideas. In areas where certain structural factors that contribute to social disorganization are prevalent, collective efficacy and informal social control can still be nurtured and maintained to mitigate or neutralize the criminogenic effects of elements of social disorganization (Rodgers; Sampson). Consequently, many of the following suggestions will also involve the production of collective efficacy and informal social control.

First off, this paper recommends that a community maintenance group be created to maintain the physical order of the neighborhood. This group would be composed of neighborhood residents who would listen to local complaints about physical disorder. They would then organize volunteer groups and local businesses to solve specific problems or to conduct general neighborhood street clean-ups. For example, this group could organize volunteers and work with Flash's Auto Body and Paint on North Astor Street to remove and dispose of the burnt-out car depicted in Photograph 2. If members of the community took issue with and complained about graffiti like that seen in Photograph 5, this group could also organize volunteers to remove it. These types of initiatives

could reduce physical disorder while also creating ties between community members and between local businesses and the community. These ties could be the foundation for greater collective efficacy and informal social control (Rodgers; Sampson).

Another more specific suggestion would be to allow Flash's Auto Body and Paint to store vehicles with missing parts in the empty lot on the corner of North Astor Street and East Jackson Avenue since it is likely that the cars on North Astor Street with missing bumpers seen in Photograph 3 are vehicles the shop is working on. This would reduce the physical disorder of the area by getting those vehicles off the street and into the context of a more suitable storage environment. These vehicles could then be held until they are worked on or properly stripped down for parts.

In addition, the Spokane City Planning and Development sector should publicly fund the upkeep of dilapidated residences to eliminate these elements of physical disorder and to send the message that the community cares for itself. Additionally, this would relieve the financial burden on those in poverty to paint or make repairs, potentially creating more time and physical and mental resources for building social cohesion with neighbors to further the development of collective efficacy and informal social control (Rodgers).

The many empty lots in the Logan are also a source of physical disorder (Sampson). These lots could be cleaned up and used either to build affordable public housing or to provide an opportunity for community-run urban farming. Building multi-family affordable housing, although increasing population density, would provide poverty relief and residential stability to the neighborhood amid Spokane's housing crisis. In addition, turning the lots into community urban farms would provide fresh produce to the neighborhood as well as opportunities for collective engagement and community building—providing platforms for collective efficacy and informal social control to grow.

Another measure to alleviate poverty in the neighborhood and create conditions more favorable to social organization and the crime prevention benefits it brings would be to establish an adequate social safety net and to mandate that employers in Spokane pay their workers a living wage. This may be outside the scope of the Spokane City Planning and Development sector. Nonetheless, it should be implemented to create

a more conducive environment for community members to organize themselves and for the simple cause of economic justice.

Poverty is linked to residential instability as those in poverty are forced into the rental market. The basis for residential stability is homeownership. Therefore, providing borrower-friendly loans to residents of the neighborhood to purchase homes rather than rent can increase residential stability (Rodgers). Another viable suggestion is to expand the use of Spokane Housing Choice Vouchers to improve residential stability by preventing poor renters from being priced out while also alleviating the effects of poverty by lowering housing costs (Rodgers). These policy initiatives would provide a more stable population of social actors with sufficient fiscal and time resources to connect and strengthen social organization (Rodgers).

Finally, the problem of family disruption in the Logan Neighborhood must be addressed. The creation of a socialized childcare system could alleviate some of the burdensome parenting responsibilities single parents face. This could combat some of the obstacles that prevent single parents from opportunities for employment, as well as community organization and engagement.

Strain theories can also be applied to analyze and explain crime in the Logan Neighborhood, but align with the suggestions presented according to social disorganization theory. Sociologist Robert Merton's classical strain theory claims that individuals he terms "innovators" are pressured into crime when they are denied access to legitimate means of achieving culturally prescribed goals (Merton). When looking through Merton's version of strain theory, one might conclude that the cultural goal of wealth in US society is unattainable through legitimate, institutionalized means for many of the residents of the Logan Neighborhood due to the high levels of poverty (Merton). Financially disadvantaged, Logan residents are blocked out of the institutional means to achieve the cultural goal of wealth, leading some individuals to become innovators and use illegitimate means to pursue the cultural goal of wealth—producing higher rates of crime (Merton). Looking through Agnew's general strain theory provides a slightly different perspective. Agnew's general strain theory goes beyond financial strain and identifies not only the failure to meet positively defined goals as a source of strain, but also names the removal of something of high value to a person and the exposure of a person to noxious stimuli as sources of strain (Winfrey and Abadinsky).

People facing these types of strain, especially if the strain is perceived as unfair or unjust, are more likely to adopt criminal activity as a coping mechanism (Winfree and Abadinsky). This theory might identify the high rates of poverty and children being raised by single parents as negative strains that certain individuals are coping with through deviant behavior—producing higher crime rates (Winfree and Abadinsky). All of the suggestions in this paper derive from social disorganization theory, however, they still align with both Merton and Agnew's theories. They reduce social disorganization and create the conditions suitable for the building of collective efficacy and networks of informal social control per social disorganization theory (Rodgers; Sampson). The suggestions also increase access to resources and, therefore, institutional means to economic success and alleviate some negative strains—satisfying both Merton and Agnew's theories respectively (Merton; Winfree and Abadinsky).

Overall, social disorganization theory provides a suitable perspective for understanding the Logan Neighborhood's relatively high crime rates. Also, by identifying social disorganization's mediating role between structural characteristics of the area and crime, proper policy suggestions can be designed and brought to the attention of the Spokane City Planning and Development sector. These suggested policies have the potential to rid the neighborhood of the signs of social disorganization in the form of physical disorder. In addition, policy suggestions like housing vouchers, loan assistance (Rodgers), socialized childcare, and the creation of a strong social safety net can produce greater social organization and provide the bedrock for the formation of strong collective efficacy and informal social controls to curtail crime rates. It is important to note that these policy initiatives should be publicly funded to avoid the gentrification characteristic of private investment driven by the profit motive rather than humanitarian and community concerns (Rodgers). The more ambitious suggestions this report offers could be funded by adequately taxing the large corporations that conduct business in Spokane, such as Wells Fargo. If these suggestions are implemented, I believe the people of the Logan Neighborhood could enjoy a more cohesive, prosperous, and safe environment.

## Works Cited

---

- AreaVibes. "Logan, Spokane, WA." *AreaVibes*, <https://www.areavibes.com/spokane-wa/logan/>.
- AreaVibes. "Logan, Spokane, WA Crime." *AreaVibes*, <https://www.areavibes.com/spokane-wa/logan/crime/>.
- "Children Living with Single Parents, 2020." Map. *Social Explorer*. Social Explorer, n.d. Web. 17 February 2023 at 01:44:33 GMT-8. (based on data from U.S. Census Bureau)
- "Living Wage Calculation for Spokane County, Washington." *Living Wage Calculator*, <https://livingwage.mit.edu/counties/53063>.
- "Median Household Income (In 2020 Inflation Adjusted Dollars), 2020." Map. *Social Explorer*. Social Explorer, n.d. Web. 16 February 2023 at 20:24:49 GMT-8. (based on data from U.S. Census Bureau)
- Merton, Robert K. "Social Structure and Anomie." *American Sociological Review*, vol. 3, no. 5, 1938, pp. 672–82. JSTOR, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2084686>. Accessed 16 Feb. 2023.
- "Owner Occupied, 2020." Map. *Social Explorer*. Social Explorer, n.d. Web. 16 February 2023 at 20:09:04 GMT-8. (based on data from U.S. Census Bureau)
- "Population Age 18 to 64 for Whom Poverty Status Is Determined: Living in Poverty, 2020." Map. *Social Explorer*. Social Explorer, n.d. Web. 16 February 2023 at 20:22:00 GMT-8. (based on data from U.S. Census Bureau)
- "Population Density (Per Sq. Mile), 2020." Map. *Social Explorer*. Social Explorer, n.d. Web. 16 February 2023 at 14:57:51 GMT-8. (based on data from U.S. Census Bureau)
- "Population Under 18 Years of Age for Whom Poverty Status Is Determined: Living in Poverty, 2020." Map. *Social Explorer*. Social Explorer, n.d. Web. 16 February 2023 at 20:16:37 GMT-8. (based on data from U.S. Census Bureau)
- "Renter Occupied, 2020." Map. *Social Explorer*. Social Explorer, n.d. Web. 16 February 2023 at 20:09:04 GMT-8. (based on data from U.S. Census Bureau)
- Rodgers, Forrest. "Chapter 6 Video Lecture Part One: Social Disorganization Theory." *Criminological Theories*, 18 Oct. 2022, Gonzaga University, Spokane WA. Lecture.

- “Same House 1 Year Ago, 2020.” Map. *Social Explorer*. Social Explorer, n.d. Web. 16 February 2023 at 20:11:58 GMT-8. (based on data from U.S. Census Bureau)
- Sampson, Robert J. “Neighborhood Effects and the Contemporary City.” *YouTube*, uploaded by Chicago Ideas, 12 February 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rnKLIvF0zc>.
- “White Alone, 2020.” Map. *Social Explorer*. Social Explorer, n.d. Web. 16 February 2023 at 23:14:10 GMT-8. (based on data from U.S. Census Bureau)
- Winfree, L. Thomas, and Howard Abadinsky. *Essentials of Criminological Theory*. Fourth edition, Waveland Press, 2017.

# To Reform or Restart

## Changing How the Justice System Deals with Mental Illness

---

BRIDGET WILSON

One of the most overlooked demographics in prison is the mentally ill. A serious mental illness is defined as “a mental, behavioral, or emotional disorder resulting in serious functional impairment, which substantially interferes with or limits one or more major life activities” (“Mental Illness”). Nearly 15% of men and 30% of women in jail have a serious mental illness (SMI) (“Responding to Crises”). These numbers are staggering in comparison to the general U.S. population, where only about 3.9% of men and 6.5% of women have an SMI, indicating that the mentally ill are overrepresented in the prison population (“Mental Health Information”). In 2012, there were 356,268 inmates with an SMI and 35,000 patients in psychiatric hospitals—that is to say, there were ten times more people with an SMI in prison than in a place designed for treating individuals with an SMI, such as a psychiatric hospital (Torrey et al. 6). Keeping people with SMIs in prison is harmful to the individual, as their mental state often worsens and they become further isolated from society and creates problems for the greater community who feels the effects of higher rates of incarceration in many ways, including but not limited to the increase in taxes citizens pay and the threat the community may face of a mental illness left untreated. In the following pages, I will be further exploring the treatment of the mentally ill in prison, as well as how we got to this point, potential solutions to the problem (and challenges to these solutions), and current groups that are working to create change. This exploration will make it clear why I believe it is important to build a new justice system to better help people with an SMI get access to resources that will improve their quality of life, and hopefully motivate others to get involved.

There are detrimental effects from incarcerating individuals with an SMI since the severity of their symptoms of mental illness only become

greater once in prison. This happens for a few reasons. First, mentally ill inmates are more likely to be victims of physical abuse, facing harsher and more forceful treatment from prison officers and other incarcerated people (Torrey et al. 7). This physical abuse might come in the form of other inmates bullying someone who is “different.” Or it might look like an attempt to restrain an inmate with an SMI during a mental health crisis. For example, a prison in South Carolina often restrained mentally ill inmates in a “crucifix position” as a form of punishment (“South Carolina Judge”). Incarcerated people with an SMI are also more likely to be placed in solitary confinement, and many are kept there for extended lengths of time, some even for years on end (“Prison Conditions”). Solitary confinement might be used as punishment because of symptoms of an SMI such as bipolar disorder or schizophrenia. It could also be used under the guise of serving as a “benefit” to the overall incarcerated community so the mentally ill individual does not face harassment from others and the other incarcerated people are considered “safe” from the individual. However, isolation only exacerbates mental illness. In fact, when inmates with an SMI are placed in solitary confinement, many end up attempting to self-harm and/or committing suicide—suicides after solitary confinement make up 50% of all prison suicides, though less than 8% of the prison population is held in isolation (“Prison Conditions”). Finally, perhaps the biggest reason mental illnesses get worse in prison is because many individuals are simply not treated for their symptoms, since incarcerated individuals have decreased access to the actual methods of treatment, whether it is therapy or medication. Looking at data provided by the Federal Bureau of Prisons, one can see that the number of prisoners with access to high levels of care decreased by 35% after 2014 (Thompson and Eldridge).

Putting mentally ill individuals in prison instead of in treatment centers is also harmful to the wider community. Taxpayer costs go up when more people with SMIs are incarcerated (Torrey et al. 7). Inside the prison, prisoners and prison officers face the potential of physical attacks that could lead to injury by inmates with an SMI that is left untreated (Torrey et al. 7). Other prisoners often also start acting out when incarcerated alongside mentally ill inmates, which creates more unrest in an already unstable environment (Torrey et al. 7). Again, these situations directly result in monetary costs to the community since care for injured people and obtaining resources to potentially help settle unrest (i.e., more



officers) requires more money. Overall, putting people with an SMI in prison is more problematic than beneficial for both the individual and the community. Therefore, it is time to change the system to one that actually works for everyone.

This problem is not new—it is a continuation of old, uninformed policy. The earliest law regarding mental illness was passed in 1694 in the Massachusetts Bay Colony. It ordered confinement for anyone who was “lunatic and so furiously mad as to render it dangerous” to others (Torrey et al. 9). An unintended effect of this was an increase in corruption and bribery as community members paid jailers to keep the mentally ill locked up and away from society (Torrey et al. 9). It was not until almost sixty years later that alternative plans started being developed so that the mentally ill could receive help. The first psychiatric ward was built in Philadelphia in 1752, and the first hospital for the mentally ill was authorized in 1773 (Torrey et al. 9), but these wards were kept in appalling conditions that reflected dehumanizing attitudes toward mental illness of the time. While the creation of these facilities was a sign of progress, it was not easy to abandon a system that had been in place for over half a century, and it required many activists to get involved. Dorothea Dix and Reverend Louis Dwight were two activists who fought for the rights of incarcerated people with a mental illness in the nineteenth century (Torrey et al. 9-10). They worked primarily to expose the horrid conditions that mentally ill inmates faced, as well as to get funding to build more state psychiatric hospitals. Eventually, society’s beliefs were changed by their work, and the numbers reflected it. Decades after Dix and Dwight’s work, in a 1930 study of 10,000 arrests, only 1.5% of those were of a mentally ill person. Those individuals were sent to hospitals to receive treatment; although this treatment was still far from ethical, they were not sent to prisons as often, a marginal improvement (Torrey et al. 11).

Unfortunately, things got worse again in the 1960s as the deinstitutionalization movement began (Torrey et al. 12). The deinstitutionalization movement began as an effort to bring those with an SMI back into society with community-oriented solutions because many citizens felt that isolating the mentally ill in a psychiatric hospital was dehumanizing. While these intentions are honorable and align with the idea of not discriminating against mentally ill people because of their illness, the deinstitutionalization movement led to many psychiatric hospitals characterized by their unethical treatment of and conditions for patients

being shut down, especially in the 1980s, and left former patients suddenly stranded in a society they were not yet ready to integrate into. This often led to a relapse due to poor quality treatment, or the complete lack thereof. Consideration of this lack of quality treatment for mentally ill persons must be factored into an analysis of the continued, disproportionate incarceration of mentally ill people. Unfortunately, with the closing of psychiatric hospitals and societal aversion towards sending people to the few remaining open ones, mentally ill individuals who committed crimes, no matter how small, ended up in prison (Torrey et al. 11). It was during the deinstitutionalization movement that the number of prisoners being treated for an SMI increased by 60 to 70% from the 1980s until the end of the century (Torrey et al. 13).

Today, the mentally ill end up in prisons in a similar way. In society, a mental health crisis is treated largely like any other type of crisis, in that the first step is to call 911. A description of the situation usually leads the dispatcher to send out the police in an attempt to de-escalate the situation, rather than sending medical help (“Responding to Crises”). Unfortunately, our systems of policing are rooted in historical prejudice, including a lack of understanding of mental illness (“Responding to Crises”). Many of these police encounters are dangerous due to this misunderstanding, such as in the 2020 case of Ricardo Muñoz. Muñoz, a man diagnosed with bipolar disorder and schizophrenia, was in the middle of an episode when his sister decided to call for help (Sholtis). In her 911 call, she explained his mental illness and that he was acting aggressive because of it and asked for help to get him to a hospital. Police misunderstood the situation and, thinking they were responding to a domestic disturbance, showed up armed and fatally shot Muñoz when he appeared to be wielding a knife (Sholtis). Other times, those with an SMI who survive their encounters with the police are often arrested and sent to jail for an action perceived as a crime, though this perception might come as a result of biases against those with an SMI and the idea that they are “dangerous” because of it.

Eventually, the incarcerated, mentally ill individual becomes a victim of a repeating cycle (“Responding to Crises”). When a person with an SMI is released from prison, they now have a criminal record to deal with. This makes it harder to get a job and house in our society, which usually leads to poverty and houselessness (“Responding to Crises”). This also means the individual might forgo treatment for their SMI while they save

for other necessities. Whether it is simply for being houseless, or for committing a misdemeanor or felony during a mental health episode, these individuals get rearrested and go through the same system. As society has progressively gotten worse at handling SMI in prison, the question of how to respond to these injustices remains. Today, most potential solutions either want to reform what currently exists or to create something new entirely.

In seeking to reform systems that already exist, we must first look at the response to crises situations involving a mentally ill individual. One solution that already exists is that of Crisis Intervention Teams (CITs). The goal of a CIT is to educate police officers about mental illness to provide training in ways to properly address a situation in which a SMI is at the forefront. These specially trained officers are directed to handle reports of cases that have a higher probability of SMI involvement (Rogers et al.). While this is a good step in recognizing that a SMI can make situations more complex and need to be handled with special care, many argue that CITs are ineffective and in need of reform. One often identified problem is that many CITs are voluntary, so not all officers get trained (Rogers et al.). A basic change here would simply be to require such training for all police officers to increase awareness of SMIs and to combat any misconceived biases against them. Others argue that the training cannot be of high quality since it happens in just forty hours (Rogers et al.). This is also simple to fix—the curriculum can be reformed to be more in depth, as well as potentially have officers repeat training again five or ten years later in order to remain knowledgeable. Finally, some feel that CITs need to integrate within the larger mental health system, which could look like tapping into resources of those like psychiatrists or social workers who could move the case away from the criminal justice system and focus on what the individual truly needs (Westervelt). While all these reforms are doable, the question of why it has not been done earlier remains. CITs were first formed in 1987, so the fact that thirty-four years later, the methods and education are still mostly the same and the program has only spread to about 2,700 departments (15-17% of the nation's police departments) brings up questions of whether CIT reform would be too little too late to change anything.

Most activists also argue for reforming laws around mental illness, including those that regulate when someone can access certain government resources or laws like nuisance laws that can be interpreted and

applied unfairly against those who have a SMI. Many laws today prevent mentally ill individuals from being helped in inpatient care facilities unless their condition is threatening to others (“Criminalization of Mental Illness”). This is what happened in Ricardo Muñoz’s case. Even before Muñoz started showing signs of aggression, his older sister knew that he was in crisis and would soon need help. However, she also knew based on previous experiences that the judge would likely deny him immediate help since, at this time, Muñoz was not yet considered to be a threat to anyone, so they would have had to petition a judge to get him inpatient care. While she started the process with a call to the nonemergency line, Muñoz became violent and soon after, his sister called 911 (Sholtis). An easy reform here would be to lessen the requirements that an individual has to meet in order to receive treatment at an inpatient facility, which would hopefully prevent individuals from reaching this breaking point. Also, a policy implemented by the Federal Bureau of Prisons in 2014 actually made it harder to receive routine, quality care once in prison (Thompson and Eldridge). An easily attainable reform to address this is to allow those with SMIs in prison to continue any medical treatment that they had been receiving before, or that they could be eligible for (“Prison Conditions”). A difficulty here is that many prison officials do not take care to identify those with mental health needs, so individuals who were not already receiving treatment might remain untreated (“Prison Conditions”). Additionally, it would require expanding the mental health staff at prisons, which is not an easy task. In the current system, most prison psychologists and psychiatrists are overworked, often taking on the responsibilities of corrections officers as well as their own duties (Thompson and Eldridge).

While I agree that reforms are necessary, I believe that the better solution to this injustice lies in creating entirely new solutions. Instead of continuing CITs, some believe in creating a non-law enforcement intervention team that would be made of mental health specialists who would focus on listening to and de-escalating the problem at hand, as well as providing resources (Westervelt). The difficulty is determining what exactly this team would look like in terms of training, locations serviced, where the team would get the resources, etc. However, this idea is supported by the recent creation and implementation of 988, a specific hotline for mental health emergencies (“Responding to Crises”). The idea here is to reduce contact between the police and the public (Kaba). Some-

one experiencing a mental health crisis, or a bystander, could dial the number to contact the proper help and avoid possible police intervention altogether.

Other solutions that rethink the prison system relate to keeping those with a SMI out of jail entirely. One possible solution to this issue would be to provide a whole different court system through mental health courts (Torrey et al. 8). While some already exist throughout the U.S., it is on a smaller level, and so the creation of a nationwide system with national standards would be necessary. These mental health courts take on cases where SMI is a major factor, and work on getting the individual into treatment, as well as sometimes working to develop a more holistic plan with the goal of preventing future crimes—this looks at housing, education, and job opportunities for the person (“Mental Health Courts”). While this seems like a good idea, the biggest challenge here is lack of data supporting mental health courts. Only about 150 exist around the U.S., so it has not been determined how effective the program is: it keeps the people out of jail, but there is debate around whether the support provided by the system actually helps the person with their SMI (“Mental Health Courts”). Some activists also ask for the creation of more mental health units and centers in the U.S. These would be places for the individuals with SMI to go to receive treatment away from society, whether or not they are guilty of a crime. Another popular idea is the creation of laws regarding mandatory release planning in order to ensure the individual receives support in recovery and treatment, as well as help in returning to living in a community after returning from a mental health unit or from prison (Torrey et al. 8). The initial release can be challenging since that period of time in which they were away is usually one without income. Additionally, both being incarcerated and having a mental illness are conditions that are still stigmatized in society, so these individuals are more likely to face discrimination upon return. While there is no nationwide program for release-planning, legal aid programs such as Alabama’s Equal Justice Initiative create a re-entry program for its recently released that focuses on a variety of things: getting documentation, housing, a job, therapy, transportation, and educational programming (“PREP”). Another solution that might seem obvious is the creation of basic social programs that redirect money to essential things like healthcare, housing, education, and jobs (Kaba). With the aid of social support, whether by the government or by others in the community, many people do not feel

the desire or need to commit crimes (Colvin et al.). Investing money in communities and the people is a good way to lift them out of a dire situation. Investing money in communities and the people is a good way to lift them out of a dire situation.

There are many groups that are currently working with these types of issues. One of the most prominent groups is the National Alliance on Mental Illness, or NAMI. They have provided their own helpline that provides resources for those in a mental health crisis, as well as legal service referrals. Because of their familiarity with the work, they have also been critical in lobbying for the creation of the 988 number, a mental health hotline NAMI has also partnered with local law enforcements in the building and training of CITs. Another group that has worked on this issue is the Equal Justice Initiative, or EJI. They are based in Alabama and fight cases mostly related to the death penalty, but one of the core aspects of their work is related to prison conditions and included in that the right of people with an SMI to receive treatment. As mentioned before, EJI has also created their own successful release planning and education program for those moving out of jail, which could serve as a model for mandatory release-planning policies.

The problems of incarcerating those with mental illnesses are numerous. However, these problems do not stop at prisons—it starts with the police response to many mental health crises and continues after release into a society that discriminates against both those with mental illnesses and those who were formerly incarcerated. While the situation is horrifying, it is possible for things to be improved, as evidenced by the progress made in the early to mid-twentieth century. Though reforms might work, I believe that the better answer to the problem is to restart and build a new justice system that works for those who have a SMI. Justice can only be achieved if we meet people where they are at, and criminalizing people for a condition that they do not choose is not justice. The time to start over is now.

## Works Cited

---

- Colvin, Mark, Francis T. Cullen, and Vander V. Thomas. "Coercion, Social Support, and Crime: An Emerging Theoretical Consensus." *Criminology*, vol. 40, no. 1, 2002, ProQuest, doi:<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1745-9125.2002.tb00948.x>.
- "Criminalization of Mental Illness." *Treatment Advocacy Center*, 2018, <https://www.treatmentadvocacycenter.org/key-issues/criminalization-of-mental-illness>.
- Kaba, Mariame. "Yes, We Mean Literally Abolish the Police." *The New York Times*, The New York Times, 12 June 2020, <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/06/12/opinion/sunday/floyd-abolish-defund-police.html>.
- "Mental Health Courts Program: Overview." *Bureau of Justice Assistance*, United States Department of Justice, 19 Feb. 2012, <https://bja.ojp.gov/program/mental-health-courts-program/overview>.
- "Mental Illness." *National Institute of Mental Health*, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Jan. 2022, <https://www.nimh.nih.gov/health/statistics/mental-illness.shtml>.
- "Prep: Post-Release Education and Preparation." *Equal Justice Initiative*, 14 Nov. 2019, <https://eji.org/projects/prep-reentry-program/>.
- "Prison Conditions." *Equal Justice Initiative*, 10 Mar. 2021, <https://eji.org/issues/prison-conditions/>.
- "Responding to Crises." *NAMI*, 2023, <https://www.nami.org/Advocacy/Policy-Priorities/Divert-from-Justice-Involvement/Jailing-People-with-Mental-Illness>.
- Rice, Johnny. "Why We Must Improve Police Responses to Mental Illness." *NAMI*, 20 Mar. 2020, <https://www.nami.org/Blogs/NAMI-Blog/March-2020/Why-We-Must-Improve-Police-Responses-to-Mental-Illness>.
- Rogers, Michael S, et al. "Effectiveness of Police Crisis Intervention Training Programs." *Journal of the American Academy of Psychiatry and the Law*, Journal of the American Academy of Psychiatry and the Law Online, 24 Sept. 2019, <https://jaapl.org/content/early/2019/09/24/JAAPL.003863-19>.
- Sholtis, Brett. "Family Mourns Man with Mental Illness Killed by Police and Calls for Change." *Kaiser Health News*, 19 Nov. 2020, <https://khn.org/news/police-killing-mental-illness-emergency-crisis-care-pennsylvania/>.

- “South Carolina Judge Finds Mistreatment of Mentally Ill Prisoners Is Cruel and Unusual Punishment.” *Equal Justice Initiative*, 13 June 2014, <https://eji.org/news/south-carolina-judge-finds-cruel-treatment-of-mentally-ill-prisoners/>.
- Thompson, Christie, and Taylor Elizabeth Eldridge. “Why So Few Federal Prisoners Get the Mental Health Care They Need.” *The Marshall Project*, 21 Nov. 2018, <https://www.themarshallproject.org/2018/11/21/treatment-denied-the-mental-health-crisis-in-federal-prisons>.
- Torrey, E Fuller, et al. “The Treatment of Persons with Mental Illness in Prisons and Jails: A State Survey.” *National Institute of Corrections*, Treatment Advocacy Center, 8 Apr. 2014, <https://nicic.gov/treatment-persons-mental-illness-prisons-and-jails-state-survey>.
- Westervelt, Eric. “Mental Health and Police Violence: How Crisis Intervention Teams Are Failing.” *NPR*, NPR, 18 Sept. 2020, <https://www.npr.org/2020/09/18/913229469/mental-health-and-police-violence-how-crisis-intervention-teams-are-failing>.



# Leave Meeting<sup>1</sup>

---

JOVONNA GONZALEZ

At the start of the pandemic, schools pivoted. Many quickly closed as teachers and administrators scrambled to get a plan in place—some kind of strategy to navigate an unknown and unpredictable future. For students, this felt like spring break came early and for most teachers it felt like a nightmare.

Together, students and teachers attempted to make their way through this period while maintaining a shred of what school used to be—what is often overlooked, however, is “while the youth mental health crisis mounts, so does the toll for educators on the frontlines” (McMurdoch). In reality, “29% of public schools reported” an increase in staff seeking mental health services since the start of the pandemic (De Leon). Still, for many, these services did not do enough to combat the otherwise overwhelming workload.

---

*Start Meeting.*

*Admit All.*

“Cameras on please. Unless you have a camera waiver, I need to see your face. Not your forehead. Not your ceiling, although I love the lamp, Eric. There we go. Eyebrows do not a face make, Dan. Can you bring your screen down? There he is.”

**PRIVATE MESSAGE TO JENNY:** *Is your connection still weak? Do you want me to check with the school about getting you a hotspot?*

“Now, we’re ready. I’m going to take attendance really quickly and then we will dive in. While I’m doing that, please grab your text and wave it on camera so I know you’re ready to

---

1. A personal essay about teaching during the pandemic and how the experience changed my relationship with a profession I once loved. A heartbreaking, yet honest story of what we lost as educators and how hard it was to explain to others. This was my attempt.

go. Awesome. Mallory, I see you. Is Sabrina hiding out there? Got ya. Oh wait a minute, Nick is in the waiting room.”

The ping of notifications lack the same satisfaction of the sound of students rushing down the hallway to get to class on time or the shushing and hushing of classmates as the clickity-clack of your heels come closer to the door—signaling your imminent arrival. The feeling of crossing the threshold—from hallway to classroom, from your office to your playground—a mix of excitement, sometimes dread, but always anticipation. What will they have in store for you today? Will their desks barely be able to contain their mid-morning energy or will you watch their bodies slowly slump down in a post-lunch lull? Will you throw your head back and cackle at some unexpected comment or will you smirk at the gentle goading you’ve masterfully taught them? Will you enter into heavy negotiations about impending due dates or roll your eyes sarcastically at questions with well-known answers? Maybe you take the lesson to the roof or spill into the hall. Heck, maybe you’re tired too - you scrap the plan and do something else.

**PRIVATE MESSAGE TO JAY:** *I got your email. Let’s chat about your thesis statement right after class ends. Just stay on the call.*

---

Those organic moments, where a student could discreetly ask for help or a teacher could take note of something unusual about a student’s dress, behavior, or energy disappeared during remote instruction. The ability to accurately assess the holistic wellness of students deteriorated and teachers who found fulfillment in those small moments, saw their cups of motivation run dry.

The lack of connection, or community, that resulted from an inexperienced, untrained staff led to deep feelings of isolation for parties on both ends of the screen. The naive hope that just getting back on campus, back in the classroom, would be the remedy fails to accept the reality that the effects of the pandemic “are going to continue to reverberate throughout education for not only this year but future years” (Contreras).

---

“Ok, so I’m going to put you in breakout rooms and give you about ten minutes to chat about these questions based on the reading we did yesterday.”

**PRIVATE MESSAGE TO KURTIS:** *No book again? Do you want an extra copy to keep at your dad’s? Would that make it easier? For today, use the PDF to access the text.*

*Start Screen Share.*

“I’m dropping them in the chat so everyone should copy them down, screen shot them, or maybe even drop them on a Google doc. Kyle, I need you back on screen. Great. There we go.”

Gone are the days of big poster paper and scented markers—stalwarts of your youth and classroom alike. You’re old fashioned in that way. You call computers devices and your students know they don’t need them in your class. The once common scene of students working in groups scattered around the room, huddled together, discussing, debating, comparing the merits of their penmanship, and proudly putting their thoughts on display, is now obsolete. You won’t know them by their scrawl or neat cursive. You won’t see them push pen to paper or shake out their hands while they write furiously and with urgency. You won’t hold the paper they touched—they won’t see the tea stains and smears of chocolate residue that sustain you while you grade.

*Create Breakout Rooms.*

“Just a sec while I get these sorted. So, groups of 3. Use your time wisely and choose someone to share with the rest of the group.”

*Breakout Rooms Open.*

Breathe. Maybe time for a snack? Cashews like always with no risk of Michael’s nut allergy. At least time to stand up, that’s for sure. Let’s do another lap around the living room. Remember the days when you never got a chance to sit? Where your feet ached and blistered from even the most well-worn shoes from pacing, patrolling. You felt alive. Running circles around the room you built, bruising your thighs on ever-moving desks,

ceremoniously passing the white board marker like a baton to some lucky scribe to take notes for us all. Ok. Couple of quick squats. Stretch. Refill water.

*Breakout Room 3 is requesting assistance.*

“What’s up?”

“Interesting question but do we see that in this section? What lines can you take us to in order to support that thinking? Remember, you can argue whatever you want but you need to be able to prove it or support it. Try and figure that out now. You’ve got two more minutes.”

*Exit Breakout Room.*

**SEND BLAST:** *We are in the business of words! You need direct evidence to support your ideas. Find ‘em! Be ready to share ‘em! Two more minutes!*

*Breakout Room closing in 60 seconds.*

Check the fridge one more time. Still nothing. Check email. Still too many things. Ok, time’s up.

“Everybody back? Wonderful. Ok, let’s whip around. When I say your group number, somebody unmute yourself and share. If you have something to add, just pipe in there—no need to raise your hand or anything. Curveball: let’s start with group 6...still on mute, Jonathan. There we go.”

No whiteboard. No hands stained with rouge markers and pens. No big circle of sloppy desks, or students glancing at each other, desperately avoiding your eye contact. Instead, boxy images, looking down, up, at another screen entirely. Not here with you. You used to stand in that same messy circle on the first day, a ball of yellow yarn in hand and ask students to share. One by one they would offer something that bound you all together and as they did, they took hold of the yarn, passing it to the next person so that it zigzagged and jumped across the void in the middle to create a web. Each person connected. Attached. Tethered.

**PRIVATE MESSAGE TO JOSH:** *Are you comfortable with me sharing your pastiche with the class? I can do so anonymously if you’d prefer.*

“Actually, group 3 you were digging into the same issue—do you want to respond? Everyone else, feel free to drop other ideas in the chat. I’ll keep an eye on it as discussion progresses.”

*Chat pings.*

“Thanks to those who shared today—if you didn’t get involved in the convo today, expect to be called on tomorrow. Don’t panic, Meredith. Just a warning. We’re building dialogue, right? Requires many voices. Many perspectives. Just want to hear from all of you. Ok, only two minutes left, let’s quickly talk about async day. Luckily for all of you, you do not have to log on to see my stunning face on this screen tomorrow. Instead, I want you to read the next chapter and identify a key passage. This can be a passage that you think is significant for plot or maybe it has really evocative imagery—whatever really. Just read and note something. I’ll ask people to share next time.”

All you see are dim backlit faces. Expressionless and untethered.

“What questions do you have? None?”

Wait. Pause. The rustling of papers, books, and materials being violently and carelessly shoved into backpacks is no longer heard. The neat zip of a well organized folder or pencil pouch silenced by the icon with the large red line through the microphone.

“Ok party people, that’s it then. Click on over to your next class. Take care, thanks!”

*End Meeting for All.*

You used to walk out of class mid-conversation, chatting down the corridor, both you and your students taking that piece of yarn with you. It seemed to stretch out like magic to remind you both of how you belong and pull you back together.

Now, with a click of a button, class ends. Now, floating squares containing grainy images of your supposed students just quickly disappear from the screen.

Teachers didn't leave education because they fell out of love with the profession overnight. Instead, for many, it was a slow and painful realization. A truth long known, but ignored. The fact that their wellness, their health, didn't matter as "77.96% reported anxiety symptoms and 53.65% reported depressive symptoms" (Prouty). The expectation was that they continue to sacrifice for the good of the students—but who was taking care of them?

Many teachers who left the profession left broken—broken hearted, desperate, and depressed. In reality what they were experiencing "psychologists dub the phenomenon vicarious trauma or empathetic distress" (McMurdock). And there hasn't been much to support them and they have been demonized for that choice.

---

---

"Do you think you can be happy at work?"

You peer speechless into the screen, a year and a half has passed and the psychiatrist is blinking, staring blankly, waiting for a response. What a question. What an absolutely ridiculous question. You just told this woman you haven't slept through the night since August and she wants to know if you can be happy at work. You just told this woman you're not eating, or exercising—you are barely existing and she wants to know if you can be happy at work. You just told this woman you had a dream about your boss trying to shoot you and she wants to know if you can be happy at work.

"I don't know," you choke out. Tears well. Frustration builds.

"Ok, so I think the best thing to do is to extend your leave another month and then we can go from there. At that point, if you are still feeling this way and the same severity of symptoms, we might want to explore medication. But for now, I think...let's just see how this goes."

*Leave Meeting.*

---

## Works Cited

---

- Contreras, Gus. "COVID's Impact on Classrooms Will Linger and Must Be Addressed, According to Teachers." *NPR*, 2 Feb. 2023, [www.npr.org/2023/02/02/1153936515/covids-impact-on-classrooms-will-linger-and-must-be-addressed-according-to-teach](https://www.npr.org/2023/02/02/1153936515/covids-impact-on-classrooms-will-linger-and-must-be-addressed-according-to-teach).
- De Leon, Jasmine. "7 Things We Learned About COVID's Impact on Education From Survey of 800 Schools." *The 74*, 19 July 2022, [www.the74million.org/article/7-things-we-learned-about-covids-impact-on-education-from-survey-of-800-schools](https://www.the74million.org/article/7-things-we-learned-about-covids-impact-on-education-from-survey-of-800-schools).
- McMurdock, Marianna. "What One NYC Educator's Grief Reveals About Teachers' Mental Health Struggles." *The 74*, 4 Feb. 2023, [www.the74million.org/article/what-one-educators-grief-reveals-about-the-mental-health-challenges-facing-teachers-now](https://www.the74million.org/article/what-one-educators-grief-reveals-about-the-mental-health-challenges-facing-teachers-now).
- Prouty, Aly. "Study: The Pandemic Took a Toll on School Staff's Mental Health." *Spectrum News 1 Wisconsin*, 30 Jan. 2023, [spectrumnews1.com/wi/milwaukee/news/2023/01/30/how-did-the-pandemic-impact-teachers-school-staff-mental-health](https://spectrumnews1.com/wi/milwaukee/news/2023/01/30/how-did-the-pandemic-impact-teachers-school-staff-mental-health).

PART TWO

---

# Progress



# The Structural Creation of the Opioid Epidemic

with a Focus on Rural America

---

MADDY ROSE LENNON

Opioid use as a pain relief method can be traced back as far as the 1600s. As long as people have harvested poppy, opioids have been utilized in various methods (“Heroin, Morphine, and Opiates”). The last 100 years, however, have led to a sophistication of science and drug development. The class of pain relief drugs known as opioids are potent, and when utilized correctly, are incredibly effective. Particularly in the 1990’s, America saw a resurgence of research regarding the production of pharmaceutical opioids (Bryan). One of the most prolific opioid pharmaceutical company is Purdue Pharma, owned by the infamous Sackler family. What first started as a promise to “cure the world of pain” has descended into a nationwide substance abuse epidemic that steals roughly 50,000 lives a year (“Opioid Crisis Statistics”). Doctors write enough opioid prescriptions in a year for 46.7% of Americans to receive one, and “prescription opioid abuse costs \$78.5 billion annually in the form of healthcare, legal programs, and lost productivity” (“Opioid Crisis Statistics”). While America continues to lose money as a result of the opioid epidemic, pharmaceutical CEOs continue to gain profit. In 2022, Richard Sackler, the president of Purdue Pharma during the creation and selling of OxyContin, has an estimated net worth of \$1 billion (“Richard Sackler Net Worth”). These pharmaceutical giants stood to gain from mass opioid use. This resulted in aggressive marketing and promoted incorrect information regarding the addictiveness of the drugs (Meier). Rural, low-income communities were the initial victims of this devastating crisis. The opioid crisis was structurally and intentionally created by big pharmaceutical companies to generate an enormous profit at the expense of low income and rural communities.

The first wave of what we now know as the opioid crisis occurred in the 1990’s. In 1995, the rollout of a new drug, OxyContin, began. Unlike

prior opioids, Purdue Pharma marketed a new drug that provided pain relief for twelve hours, twice the amount of time of existing drugs on the market. This was possible due to a time-release system utilized in the drug, supposedly dispensing the drug throughout the body over twelve hours. As a result, Purdue Pharma claimed that OxyContin was “less addictive” than its counterparts because one could not get an immediate high. Throughout the late 1990’s, Purdue Pharma assured the medical community that OxyContin was non-addictive, resulting in increased prescribing by doctors (Assistant Secretary of Public Affairs). Quickly, two fundamental issues arose with OxyContin. The first struggle doctors reported was that pain relief was not lasting the full 12 hours promised by sales representatives. Scrambling to save their drug and make more money, Purdue Pharma utilized the term “breakthrough pain.” This pain was blamed on the patient’s body, rather than the drug’s inability to provide its promised relief. As a result, Purdue Pharma encouraged doctors to prescribe a higher dose of OxyContin, rather than taking it in more frequent intervals. OxyContin is an expensive drug, and its market success relied on the twelve-hour claim that differentiated it from other drugs in the same class (Harriet et. al). This claim was not tested for the safety and benefit of the patient, rather it was focused on maintaining the image of both the company and the FDA who had approved this drug. Additionally, Purdue Pharma coined the term “pseudo-addiction.” They claimed that the addiction-like behaviors patients were presenting with was not addiction to opioids, rather an indication of undertreatment of pain (Greene and Chambers). There is no empirical, scientific evidence that proves the legitimate existence of “pseudo-addiction,” yet it was quoted by Purdue Pharma to further push the prescribing of OxyContin. Purdue claimed that all their marketing was consistent with their FDA approved labels, however “the word ‘pseudo-addiction’ doesn’t appear on OxyContin’s label, and a spokesperson for the FDA said the labeling is not intended as a discussion of pseudo- addiction” (“Purdue Pharma”). Purdue Pharma purposefully engaged in deceitful marketing tactics to increase their sales because of their profit-driven, not patient-driven, motive.

Purdue Pharma set a precedent of misrepresentation and blatant lies early in the existence of OxyContin. They marketed ill-researched ideas of pseudo-addiction and breakthrough pain, as well as citing “three major studies to argue that in prescribing OxyContin, addiction-risk

was not significant. The most influential of those studies did not even mention OxyContin, because it was completed twenty-five years before OxyContin was sold” (Higgins). Years later the company finally admitted that there was not sufficient data to back up this claim, however the damage was already done. Purdue Pharma took two main approaches to their aggressive marketing of OxyContin, engaging in both structural influence regarding the perception of opioids, and individual incentives for sales representatives and even doctors. Structurally, Purdue sought to claim pain as the “fifth vital sign.” If they could convince the medical community of the importance and danger of chronic pain, they would be able to offer their drug as a solution. They were able to do this by funding associations such as the American Academy of Pain Medicine and the American Pain Society, and individual doctors like the anesthesiologist Russel Portnoy (Horwitz). Furthermore, “Between 1996 and 2002, Purdue funded more than 20,000 pain-related education programs and encouraged long-term use of opioids”, continuously citing research that even the authors claimed was “not strong enough to be included in a study” (Horwitz). This enormous level of disingenuity was also carried out on an individual basis. Former Purdue Pharma sales representatives have come forth saying they were given bonuses, which ranged from monetary incentives to Caribbean cruises, for convincing more doctors to prescribe OxyContin. Doctors also made six figure salaries on speaking engagements alone for companies like Purdue Pharma, which used “its speakers bureau of several thousand doctors to give promotional talks at hospital programs” (Ahari). A leaked Department of Justice document suggests that Purdue Pharma was aware of the significant abuse of OxyContin earlier than 2006 yet concealed this information until the leak in 2017. In this time, “The number of pills made with oxycodone—the main ingredient in OxyContin—rose from 2.5 billion in 2006 to 4.5 billion in 2012, an 80 percent increase” (Horwitz). Considering these facts, it is impossible to suggest that Purdue Pharma was unaware that they greatly profited from the abuse of OxyContin. From a sociological perspective, one would be remiss not to note how America’s capitalistic economy fueled this crisis. It is well known that capitalism is not a proponent of social justice, however it is clear in the example of Purdue Pharma that it incites some of the worst injustices in modern society. Prior to COVID-19, the opioid epidemic was the top public health concern. Unfortunately, many believe that COVID-19 will only increase addiction

to opioids like OxyContin, as thousands are left unemployed and suffering from chronic health conditions.

The opioid epidemic has disproportionately affected those living in rural areas. Opioid overdose rates per capita are 45% higher than those in cities (Mosel). Several factors contribute to this, including social determinants that predispose rural dwellers to substance abuse all the way to targeted marketing by Purdue Pharma. Rural communities harbor a host of risk factors for abuse, including “lack of parental supervision, initiating substance abuse at a younger age, easy access to drugs or alcohol, poverty, low levels of education, unemployment, lack of access to mental health services, social isolation, [and the] increased likelihood of high-risk behavior” (Mosel). Furthermore, the prevalence of hard labor jobs such as coal mining and farming are large contributors to chronic pain. When the shift occurred from opioids being used solely by cancer patients to general pain relief, those presenting with chronic pain and common injuries were also prescribed addictive levels of OxyContin. Additionally, the strong community ties of rural areas furthered the impact of opioid use. According to the National Institute of Drug Abuse, “people often share their unused pain relievers, unaware of the dangers of nonmedical opioid use. Most adolescents who misuse prescription pain relievers are given them by a friend or relative” (“Small Towns”). Adolescent use of opioids is a particular problem within rural communities. Roughly 9% of young adults living in rural communities misused prescription pain relievers in the past year, whereas only 8% of those in urban communities did. Moreover, opioids specifically are misused by 5% of those aged 12 or older in rural communities, while the rate in urban communities was only 3.2%. While these margins are not extraordinary, any opioid use before high school is found to be “independently associated with a 33% increase in the risk of future opioid misuse after high school” (“Opioid Crisis Statistics”). The results of this predisposition have absolutely devastated rural communities. Death rates from unintentional injuries including drug overdoses is 50% higher in rural areas than urban areas, and overdose rates in rural counties increased from 4.0 to 19.6 per 100,000 people from 1999-2019 (“Opioid Crisis Statistics”). The dates on that statistic are particularly important to note, as the uptick in opioid deaths directly correlates with the rollout and popularization of OxyContin. In fact, throughout the 1990’s and early 2000’s, OxyContin was referred to as “Hillbilly Heroin” (Humphreys).

A perfect storm of targeted marketing and increased disposition due to rural social determinants led to the catastrophe that is the opioid epidemic in rural Appalachia. The disproportionate effect that has taken place in Appalachia lends itself as a prime case study of the devastation Purdue Pharma has wreaked across America. Four states in the Appalachian region of America (West Virginia, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Kentucky) had the highest rates of opioid overdose in the country in 2017, with most Appalachian states experiencing a significant overdose increase in 2016-2017 ("Issue Brief"). In West Virginia alone, the opioid death rates are the highest in the country at roughly 190.4% or roughly three times above the national average. Furthermore, West Virginia also hold the title for highest rates of neonatal opioid withdrawal, and death rates per capita ("Opioid Crisis Statistics"). Appalachia has a poisoning mortality rate of 20.4 deaths per 100,000, while non-Appalachia America has a rate of 14.4 per 100,000. More shockingly, central Appalachia, home primarily to West Virginia and Kentucky, has a poisoning mortality rate of 36.6 per 100,000 deaths, over double the amount of non-Appalachia America ("Issue Brief"). Those aged 25-44 in this region have a mortality rate from overdose that is over 70% higher than the rest of the country, and those aged 15-64 have a mortality rate that is 65% higher than the rest of the United States. Many factors can be cited in explanation of these powerful and disheartening statistics, including "higher rates of injury-prone employment, aggressive marketing of prescription pain medications to physicians, and an insufficient supply of behavioral and public health services targeting opioid misuse" ("Issue Brief"). While the high rates of injury prone employment and social determinants of the region are far more complex issues to solve, it is abundantly clear that the deceitful dealings of Purdue Pharma have led to the outbreak of opioid abuse in rural Appalachia.

The aggressive marketing of OxyContin by Purdue Pharma can be linked to the excessive rates of addiction and mortality in rural Appalachia. It is generally considered fact that "Direct-to-physician marketing of opioids leads to doctors prescribing more opioids, which results in more overdoses and deaths" (Masterson). While one cannot draw direct causation from this, a strong association suggests that the 207 million dollars spent by Purdue Pharma on the rollout of OxyContin could be a significant factor. In the case of rural Appalachia, the visual evidence of this is stark. When analyzing statistical maps, areas of rural Appalachia

in which physicians were frequently marketed to resemble the same areas where poisoning mortality from opioids is prevalent. The geographical similarities corroborate the suggestion above that direct to physician marketing is associated with more overdoses and deaths. Furthermore, it makes even more sense as to why Purdue Pharma would conceal that they were aware of the addictiveness of the drug, to allow them to continue their marketing efforts. Multiple salespeople from Purdue have attested to the fact that the company continued their unethical marketing tactics even after the initial settlement regarding misbranding in 2007 ("Purdue Pharma"). Lawsuits and settlements have found their way into Appalachia as well. Two Ohio counties successfully sued Johnson and Johnson, another pharmaceutical company responsible for the distribution of opioids, for 20 million dollars distributed among the two ("Johnson & Johnson"). The settlement's finalization has drawn eyes away from the company's wrongdoing yet led people towards questioning the possibility of distributor involvement in the matter. In the case of West Virginia, The McKesson corporation agreed to pay 37 million dollars to the state. The settlement money was funneled directly into state initiatives including rehabilitation and mental health treatment, yet many were not satisfied with this deal. West Virginia senator Joe Manchin claimed the settlement was "horrific and inadequate" in the wake of the McKesson corporation claiming they "expressively [deny] any wrongdoing" (Sullivan).

Purdue Pharma's fate differed from these corporations as the lawsuits reached a federal level. The company plead guilty in 2020 to three felony counts, including "defrauding the federal government by misleading regulators about its efforts to restrict overprescribing of the drug and to violating anti-kickback laws by paying doctors to write more OxyContin prescriptions" (Williams). While the government could have sought up to 8.3 billion dollars from criminal and civil charges, they agreed to accept 225 million dollars if Purdue Pharma reorganized itself into a public benefit company. The Sackler family will have to pay an additional 225 million dollars of their personal money. Despite monetary justice being served, the Sackler family has largely wiped their names clean of the matter. The Sackler family settlement has freed them of any civil liabilities and protected them from personal lawsuits against them going forward (Williams). As part of their bankruptcy settlement, the family was granted release "from liability for harm caused by OxyContin and other opioids to the Sackler's, hundreds of their associates, as well

as their remaining empire of companies and trusts” (“Notable Opioid Settlements”). While Purdue Pharma plead guilty to federal charges, no member of the Sackler family has ever faced criminal charges, despite the bombshell release that company executives (largely Sackler executives) knew of the addictive nature of OxyContin and purposefully hid it. While they maintained their innocence in the eyes of the law- history will not be as kind. 48,006 people overdosed on opioids in 2020, and roughly 3.10 million people have abused opioids in the past month (“Opioid Crisis Statistics”). In total, overdose deaths involving an opioid have increased 519.38% from 1999-2019 (“Opioid Crisis Statistics”). What started as an issue in rural areas like Appalachia has exploded across the country, wreaking havoc in communities big and small. There are nationwide and community efforts to combat this epidemic, including rehabilitation centers, community education, and mental health services. Federal, state, and philanthropic funding have been poured into programs attempting to rehabilitate America’s devastated population. Ultimately, though, true justice will not be served until the social institutions such big pharma and governmental agencies that fueled this epidemic have been unraveled and exposed.

## Works Cited

---

- Ahari, Shahram. "Perspective | I Was a Drug Rep. I Know How Pharma Companies Pushed Opioids." *The Washington Post*, WP Company, 27 Nov. 2019, [https://www.washingtonpost.com/outlook/i-was-a-drug-rep-i-know-how-pharma-companies-pushed-opioids/2019/11/25/82b1da88-beb9-11e9-9b73-fd3c65ef8f9c\\_story.html](https://www.washingtonpost.com/outlook/i-was-a-drug-rep-i-know-how-pharma-companies-pushed-opioids/2019/11/25/82b1da88-beb9-11e9-9b73-fd3c65ef8f9c_story.html).
- Assistant Secretary of Public Affairs (ASPA). "What Is the U.S. Opioid Epidemic?" *HHS.gov*, 27 Oct. 2021, <https://www.hhs.gov/opioids/about-the-epidemic/index.html>.
- Bryan, Rebecca, editor. "The History of Opioids (Opiates): Where Do They Come From?" *Arete Recovery*, 7 Jan. 2022, <https://areterecovery.com/opioids/history/#:~:text=Many%20people%20point%20to%20loosened%20prescribing%20practices%20in,new%20prescription%20painkillers%20like%20OxyContin%2C%20Percocet%2C%20and%20Dilaudid>.
- Greene, Marion S, and Andrew R Chambers. "Pseudoaddiction: Fact or Fiction? an Investigation of the Medical Literature." *Current Addiction Reports*, U.S. National Library of Medicine, 2015, <https://pubmed.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/26550549/>.
- "Heroin, Morphine and Opiates - Definition, Examples & Effects - History." *History*, A&E Television Networks, 10 June 2019, <https://www.history.com/topics/crime/history-of-heroin-morphine-and-opiates>.
- Higgins, Tom. "Purdue Pharma and Promotional Products: Marketing the Opioid Crisis." *Promo Marketing*, 7 June 2018, <https://magazine.promo-marketing.com/longform/purdue-pharma-promotional-products-marketing-opioid-crisis/>.
- Horwitz, Sari, et al. "Sell Baby Sell!': Inside the Opioid Industry's Marketing Machine." *The Washington Post*, WP Company, 6 Dec. 2019, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/2019/investigations/opioid-marketing/>.
- Humphreys, Keith. "Analysis | Opioid Abuse Started as a Rural Epidemic. It's Now a National One." *The Washington Post*, WP Company, 24 Nov. 2021, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/wonk/wp/2017/07/31/opioid-abuse-started-as-a-rural-epidemic-its-now-a-national-one/>.
- "Issue Brief: Health Disparities Related to Opioid Misuse in Appalachia." *Creating a Culture of Health in Appalachia*, <https://healthinappalachia.org/issue-briefs/opioid-misuse/#:~:text=The%20Appalachian%20Region%20>



continues%20to%20experience%20higher%20rates,opioid%20overdose%20rates%20more%20than%20double%20national%20averages.

“Johnson & Johnson Settles with 2 Ohio Counties over Opioids.” *Los Angeles Times*, Los Angeles Times, 2 Oct. 2019, <https://www.latimes.com/world-nation/story/2019-10-01/johnson-johnson-opioids-settlement-ohio-counties>.

Masterson, Les. “Opioid Marketing Leads to More Prescriptions, Deaths, Says Jama Study.” *Healthcare Dive*, 18 Jan. 2019, <https://www.healthcaredive.com/news/opioid-marketing-leads-to-more-prescriptions-deaths-says-jama-study/546345/#:~:text=Direct-to-physician%20marketing%20of%20opioids%20leads%20to%20doctors%20prescribing,received%20more%20opioid-related%20marketing%20saw%20higher%20opioid-overdose%20deaths>.

Meier, Barry. “Origins of an Epidemic: Purdue Pharma Knew Its Opioids Were Widely Abused.” *The New York Times*, The New York Times, 29 May 2018, <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/05/29/health/purdue-opioids-oxycontin.html>.

Mosel, Stacy. “Substance Abuse in Rural Communities & Small Towns.” *American Addiction Centers*, 10 Nov. 2022, <https://americanaddictioncenters.org/rehab-guide/rural-small-town>.

“Notable Opioid Settlements.” *Addiction Center*, 9 Nov. 2021, <https://www.addictioncenter.com/opiates/opioid-epidemic/notable-opioid-settlements/#:~:text=Notable%20Opioid%20Settlements%201%20Department%20Of%20Justice%20v.,Ohio%20Counties%20v.%20Johnson%20%26%20Johnson%20%2810%2F1%2F19%29%20>.

“Opioid Crisis Statistics [2022]: Prescription Opioid Abuse.” *NCDAS*, 6 Apr. 2022, <https://drugabusestatistics.org/opioid-epidemic/>.

“Purdue Pharma Used Deceptive Sales Tactic for OxyContin after Settlement, Ex-Sales Rep Says.” *CBS News*, CBS Interactive, 21 June 2018, <https://www.cbsnews.com/news/oxycontin-purdue-pharma-former-sales-representative-deceptive-sales-psuedoaddiction/>.

“Richard Sackler Net Worth.” *Celebrity Net Worth*, 23 Dec. 2022, <https://www.celebritynetworth.com/richest-businessmen/business-executives/richard-sackler-net-worth/>.

“Small Towns and Rural Areas Hit Hard by Opioid Crisis.” *Columbia Basin Health Association*, <https://www.cbha.org/about-us/cbha-blog/2020/august/small-towns-and-rural-areas-hit-hard-by-opioid-c/>.

Sullivan, Thomas. “McKesson Settles West Virginia Opioid Distribution Lawsuit, but the Agreement Is Very Unpopular with Some.” *Policy & Medicine*,

2019, <https://www.policymed.com/2019/06/mckesson-settles-west-virginia-opioid-distribution-lawsuit-but-the-agreement-is-very-unpopular-with-some.html#:~:text=McKesson%20Corporation%20agreed%20to%20pay%20%2437%20million%20to,oxycodone%20into%20West%20Virginia%20between%202007%20and%202012>.

Williams, Pete. "Oxycontin Maker Purdue Pharma Pleads Guilty to Federal Criminal Charges." *NBCNews.com*, NBCUniversal News Group, 21 Oct. 2020, <https://www.nbcnews.com/news/us-news/oxycontin-drugmaker-purdue-pharma-pleads-guilty-federal-criminal-charges-n1244155>.

Physical Construction as Metaphysical Incarnation:

## **Infrastructure Projects and the Built Environment can Divide or Unite**

---

ANTONIO ROMAN CAMPOS

Civil engineering is quite possibly the most impactful and physical of all human pursuits. Civil engineers are ultimately responsible for the development of all design and construction projects in such varied fields as transportation, water resources, geotechnical, structural, construction, landscape, environmental, and ecological disciplines. Civil engineering's impact on global built and natural spaces is readily observed in statistical analyses, which indicate that more than 6% of worldwide available land has come under intensive urban development, and more than 35% of worldwide land has been put exclusively to human use thanks to engineering solutions and practices (Ritchie & Roser). From these percentages, it is obvious that engineers have manipulated their environment and commodified the world to fit humanity's perceived needs. Indeed, engineers have re-envisioned and reinterpreted the very purpose of the planet and modified it in both positive and negative ways. Now, in the contemporary context of a highly developed, planned, organized, and designed modern world, largely reliant upon engineering solutions, conceived using engineering paradigms, and constructed using engineering technologies, it is also evident that humanity's engineered habitat is re-envisioning what it means to be human, and infrastructure itself is modifying people's thoughts, actions, and beliefs. Thus, the world that people worked to design is now redesigning them with consequences that may have irrevocable impacts.

The philosophical history of the coevolution of civil engineering and society reveals that engineering practices, architectural visions, and the built environment combine to exercise an immense influence over social orders, customs, relationships, and thoughts. In this paper, a greater emphasis will be placed on the modern implications of large-scale infra-

structural works on social histories in the more recent past. Specifically, the power of civil engineering technologies to unite and heal society will be emphasized, and the potential for infrastructure to divide and harm society will be explored.

Although the practice of civil engineering has developed since the very dawn of human civilization, what scholars now properly recognize as civil engineering did not fully develop until the late eighteenth century works of the “fathers of civil engineering,” including John Smeaton, the builder of the Eddystone Lighthouse (ASCE). Meanwhile, most official engineering societies, like the British Institution of Civil Engineers, and the American Society of Civil Engineers, were not founded until the nineteenth century, when jobs for professional engineers grew in demand thanks to increased mechanization, commercialization, and urbanization, often rooted in the sudden influx of colonial raw goods and the industrial revolution. Specifically, the mid-nineteenth century inventions of modern Portland cement and Bessemer processed steel allowed for the development of truly industrial scale engineering works in transportation, geotechnical, structural, hydraulic, and even environmental fields.

While some will rightly point to civil engineering and heavy industry as major destructive factors of the nineteenth century, especially in industrial towns and heavy civil manufactories, it is also true that Victorian civil engineering projects improved lives in a variety of ways, leading to novel philosophical conundrums and considerations that continue to face humanity today. For one example, civil engineering processes have “historically advanced public health far more than medical care has,” since “sanitation, water supply, electrification, refrigeration, mass vaccine production, and public safety” all arose from Victorian engineering traditions (Madhavan). Another example of the benefits of civil engineering on society concerns life spans of Victorian and Edwardian Londoners, which almost doubled as a result of the installation of the first civic sewer system by civil engineers between 1866 and 1910 (ARCGis). Yet another example of civil engineering skills that benefitted society is the creation of overlayed Geographic Information Systems (GIS) maps, a distinct civil engineering and surveying skill, which were used even in their infancy to detect cholera outbreaks in urban cities, thus “saving lives and improving living conditions” for “the poorest and most needful” members of society (Snow). Again, in the present day, civil engineers are helping to fight off

diseases like the coronavirus by working to improve medical and tele-medical delivery infrastructure necessary to connect patients with the treatments they need (Madhavan), and the development of the massive transmissions and telecommunications systems needed to support tele-medicine, alone, are testaments to the invaluable work of civil engineers in modern times.

Yet, while many believe that these technological and epidemiological advancements are fantastic for human health, they have also introduced serious philosophical questions concerning the meaningfulness of extended life, transhumanism, and virtual immortality. Even as improved infrastructure continuously helps lifespans to grow and evolve, these philosophical conundrums have yet to be answered, and novel twenty-first century problems like ‘midlife crises,’ and depression amongst the elderly have emerged, even out of the seemingly good work of civil engineers improving public health.

Another “mixed bag” of civil engineering “progress” is the 1950s invention of the American Interstate Highway System, which allows millions of people and trillions of dollars of goods to travel across all fifty states, all 365 days a year, all without serious interruption or avoidable danger (Manning). Inspired by efficient German autobahn controlled-access routes during the Second World War, President Dwight D. Eisenhower established the Interstate system in 1956 as a tremendous expansion of the older patchwork of American interstate systems crowned by the “Lincoln Coast-to-Coast Highway” of 1914 (Manning). Since the Interstate was designed to connect all major United States cities in case of military attack or natural disaster, individual municipalities were given the ability to plan out highway routes through their own towns, and many local governments chose to use the act to redline “urban blight” districts and remove minorities that were considered undesirable. As a result of this Eisenhower-era legislation, a mass exodus of wealthy urbanites to neighboring communities and suburbs (i.e., “The White Flight”) occurred in the 1960s, and many impoverished individuals were unnecessarily displaced by eminent domain in urban centers. Thus, civil transportation engineering gave rise to moral and philosophical concerns about the treatment of the poor and marginalized in a developing society. Further conundrums arose as the purpose, value, and meaning making ability of urban centers slowly shifted once automobiles and roadways more easily

carried businesspeople away from traditional downtowns, and out, into sprawling American suburbs.

Nor are healthcare infrastructures and interstate constructions the only hotly debated topics in civil engineering, where the physical implementation of engineered solutions forces modern people to come to grips with their animality, if sometimes through obstruction and manipulation. The recent emphases on “sustainable solutions,” and “green certifications,” two terms only recently added to engineering standards (NSPE), have also reinvigorated questions of ecological morality and human development alongside the natural environment. The case of sustainability-minded civil engineering is particularly fascinating—and hopeful—from a philosophical perspective, because it demonstrates an instance where innovative technologies can actually help to reconnect human beings to their immediate surroundings, natural features, and traditional cultural identities.

Indeed, instances of current civil engineers using sustainability initiatives to draw on traditional cultures and native ecologies abound. In a recent issue of *Civil Engineering*, the magazine of the American Society of Civil Engineers, for example, one article recognizes that previous engineers have created a severe environmental “metropolitan problem” (Reid). This problem exists because steel and concrete-based cities “consume over 78% of the world’s energy, [produce] more than 60% of the world’s greenhouse gas emissions,” and create serious urban heat island effects that force people to live more sedentary lives, consuming yet more energy and water to maintain clean air and comfortable temperatures indoors (Reid). Amazingly, the solution to this urban problem is itself civil engineering, including massive overhauls of electrical grids and transportation networks to promote cleaner and more efficient energy delivery solutions (Reid). Of course, these systematic changes must also be combined with the reestablishment of functioning urban green spaces, and the development of “net zero” structural material alternatives, like ultra-high-performance concrete (UHPC) or even next generation cross laminated timber (CLT) to replace traditional building materials, like Portland cement concrete, which have high embodied carbon and embodied water contents, and create water run-off and heat absorption problems (Reid). Mirroring nature, sustainable cities of the future, constructed by present-day civil engineers, will also need diversification of

building materials and forms to encourage more positive human-to-nature interactions.

Countries like Canada, Japan, and the Netherlands are already leading the way with radical new environmental building techniques that reconnect human needs with local environments through the construction of ecologically minded infrastructural features even in the heart of urban zones. These countries are also encouraging a growing international community of environmental engineers through events like the



**FIGURE 17.** A massive vertical garden installed on a retrofitted building at the Floriade Exposition in the Netherlands. Note the expansive six level scope of this project (Image courtesy of the author, originally from Campos, *Green Roofing and Walling*).

2022 Floriade Exposition in Almere, Netherlands. At this event, thousands of designers, planners, agriculturalists, horticulturalists, and engineers from twenty-four countries came together to envision an environmentally connected future for humanity, where crop fields and canals would be designed to promote natural migration and pollination patterns, and the roofs and walls of industrial and residential buildings came to life as cultivated gardens and forests, like those shown in Figure 17 (Campos).

Culturally, civil engineers and architects are also seeking to reinvigorate traditional connections to “place” in their works by returning to both historic and natural forms in their constructions. As voters and

legislators make steps to restore sacred spaces for Indigenous peoples in the American West, engineers have been tasked with huge-budget orders to restore traditional salmon passage to dammed rivers in the Pacific Northwest, and to preserve long-forgotten Indigenous cultural treasures of the Desert Southwest through nondestructive engineering measures

mandated by laws like the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (Fedarko).

Meanwhile, cultural connection back to natural forms has also taken shape in once unconceivable ways thanks to a combination of the growing variety of tools available to civil engineers, and architectural movements like organic post-modernism. This is a style observed in buildings like the Sydney Opera House, which attempts to resituate humanity in nature through the use of organic forms, colors, and textures, rather than rectilinear constructions. Like the “birdlike TWA Terminal of the John F. Kennedy Airport in New York City or... the Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao, Spain, where showstopping organic architecture became a global calling card for up-and-coming cities,” the design of the Sydney Opera House is purposefully oriented towards its physical surroundings, including the Sydney Harbor (Witcher). The building also “demonstrates the power of collaboration between architects and engineers... plus an extraordinary collective act of the dreaming public” (Witcher). Indeed, the Sydney Opera House’s aesthetic is “monumental,” and extravagant, “endearing itself to the city and to countless visitors from around the world,” but it is the “supremely unnecessary grandeur” of the site that separates the construction, which was completed in 1973, from other buildings of its time (Witcher).

Like the Floriade exhibit buildings, where green roofs and walls contributed to the experience of the structures rather than their definite functions or structural stability, public works along the lines of the organically and historically inspired Sydney Opera House become places oriented toward nature, geography, and tradition, not because of their raw, modernist efficiency, but because of their excessive artistry and incarnational “presence” beyond mere usefulness. It is true that the purpose—and even physical existence—of large-scale public monuments, many of them designed or installed by civil engineers, has come into question recently with the removal of several public monuments that were considered socially objectionable. However, the draw of massive engineering artworks like the Sydney Opera House reminds humanity that works of beauty are significant in their own right, helping to center orientations to the world through the construction of apparently oxymoronic manmade natural wonders, or engineer-designed sacred landscapes.

Each of these case studies demonstrates how the physical embodiment of civil engineering can arouse philosophical debate and



controversy. Since every physical action can ultimately be understood as a carnal, hermeneutical activity of meaning making and discovery (Kearny), the placements, aesthetics, sizes, scopes, and expenses of all civil engineering projects lend themselves to moral, and even theological, consideration.

Civil engineers help people to live longer through water treatment sciences and carefully designed distribution systems, but are there moral or psychological costs to a lengthy, transhumanist life? Civil engineers help to unite people by providing roadways, bridges, port accesses, protected harbors, bicycle paths, maintained trails, and walkways that are safe and reliable, but can the placement of these conveniences tear apart existing communities or even risk lives? Civil engineers have recently chosen to focus more efforts on sustainable solutions and environmentalism (ASCE), but how should this impact non-green, traditional, and existing public and private works that engineers build and maintain? Finally, how can civil engineers promote civic harmony, beauty, and pride through the establishment of monuments and the naming of great works, if all figures and names will eventually be considered objectionable, outdated, or unnecessary by some group of society?

These are only a few outstanding moral, philosophical, and theological questions concerning the technological implications of civil engineering in society, and, in the relatively small scope of this paper, the author will not attempt to answer these essential queries. Indeed, the elemental carnal problem of "Should this exist?" provides virtually limitless food for intellectual, philosophical, technological, and hermeneutical thought, and it is these very thoughts that demand the recombination and reconciliation of technical civil engineering leaders and philosophically critical thinkers in the modern era.

Engineered spaces, constructed without philosophical insight, can become, at best, aesthetic monstrosities that dissuade deeper experience. At worst, they can create physical barriers to human successes, communications, and relationships. On the other hand, philosophical meditation, devoid of engineering experience or physical implementation, is doomed to live a worthless half-life in the minds of philosophers and theologians who are utterly incapable of incarnating their visions in the real world.

Essentially, therefore, the civil engineer must become the philosopher, constantly and persistently considering the ethical value and phys-

ical experience of what he is creating! Likewise, the philosopher should be encouraged to act like a civil engineer, actively working in the fields of policy writing and public debate, to ensure that internal ideals for society are projected into physical reality! Only when these two masters of reality—the philosophical Mind and the practical Hand—come together can objective “devices” become subjective “things” (Borgmann), “spaces” become “places” (Augé), and the world progress to a teleological, idealized version of itself.

---

## Works Cited

---

- ARCGIS. "Map a Historic Cholera Outbreak." *Map a Historic Cholera Outbreak: Use GIS to Learn about a Historic Example of Geographic Problem-Solving*. ArcGIS Engineering, 25 Mar. 2022, <https://learn.arcgis.com/en/projects/map-a-historic-cholera-outbreak/#:~:text=In%201854%2C%20Dr.,the%20source%20of%20the%20outbreak>.
- ASCE. *American Society of Civil Engineers Code of Ethics*. American Society of Civil Engineers, 2022.
- Augé, Marc. *Non-Places: An Introduction to the Anthropology of Super-modernity*. Verso, 2008.
- Borgmann, Albert. "Enclosure and Disclosure on Content and Form in Architecture." *AI & Society*, vol. 25, no. 1, 2009, pp. 11–18., <https://doi.org/10.1007/s00146-009-0240-3>.
- Campos, Antonio R. "Gonzaga-in-Delft Program Final Report: The Feasibility of Green Roofing and Walling as a Sustainability Action Measure for the City of Spokane." *Report to the City of Spokane's Sustainability Action Committee*, 14 June 2022, [https://gonzaga.azureedge.net/-/media/Website/Documents/Academics/School-of-Engineering-and-Applied-Science/Student-Experiences/FinalReports/FinalReport\\_ACampos.ashx?rev=f018769732ad424eaf37e71995e419bc&hash=1245AA4F-6928284C15DF247D9DF42AB3](https://gonzaga.azureedge.net/-/media/Website/Documents/Academics/School-of-Engineering-and-Applied-Science/Student-Experiences/FinalReports/FinalReport_ACampos.ashx?rev=f018769732ad424eaf37e71995e419bc&hash=1245AA4F-6928284C15DF247D9DF42AB3).
- Fedarko, Kevin. *The Emerald Mile: The Epic Story of the Fastest Ride in History through the Heart of the Grand Canyon*. Simon & Schuster, 2013.
- Kearney, Richard. "The Wager of Carnal Hermeneutics." *Academia.edu*, 26 Sept. 2015, [https://www.academia.edu/16190897/The\\_Wager\\_of\\_Carnal\\_Hermeneutics](https://www.academia.edu/16190897/The_Wager_of_Carnal_Hermeneutics).
- Kruse, Kevin M. "How Segregation Caused Your Traffic Jam." *The New York Times*, The New York Times, 14 Aug. 2019, <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2019/08/14/magazine/traffic-atlanta-segregation.html>.
- Madhavan, G. "The Covid Recovery Comes Down to Engineering." *The Wall Street Journal*, Dow Jones & Company, 2020.
- Manning, Tom. "100 Years on the Lincoln Highway." *YouTube*, Wyoming Public Broadcasting Service (WyoPBS), 1 June 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SIW2-bH84u4>.

- NSPE. *National Society of Professional Engineers Code of Ethics*. National Society of Professional Engineers, 2022.
- Reid, Robert L. "Infrastructure Resilience: Engineering for Net Zero" *Civil Engineering: The Magazine of the American Society of Civil Engineers*, American Society of Civil Engineers, September/October, 2022.
- Ritchie, Hannah, and Max Roser. "Land Use Statistics Set." *Our World in Data*, Our World in Data, 13 Nov. 2013, <https://ourworldindata.org/land-use>.
- Snow, John. *On the Mode of Communication of Cholera*. 2nd ed., Much Enlarged, J. Churchill, 1855.
- Witcher, T.R. "History Lesson: Hitting All the Notes" *Civil Engineering: The Magazine of the American Society of Civil Engineers*, American Society of Civil Engineers, September/October, 2022.

# Music's Effect on Escapism Habits and Maladaptive Daydreaming

---

OLIVIA SANDVIK

Music has strong ties to thought processing in the brain and how brains categorize emotions, especially in regard to imagination and the feelings manifested from emotions. Imagination presents itself in many forms, but escapism is most prevalent to this study. Music is a popular mode by which individuals escape reality to relieve stress. A more severe form of escapism is Maladaptive Daydreaming (MD). Simply put, Maladaptive Daydreaming is a proposed mental disorder categorized by extreme daydreaming. MD is underrepresented and under-researched; not yet officially recognized by the medical community. Nevertheless, the evidence supporting it and its acknowledgement is steadily increasing. Maladaptive daydreamers use music to aid in manifesting desired feelings and facilitating daydreams. Music greatly influences escapism habits and Maladaptive Daydreams by creating a safe space, where only thoughts and feelings that have been called upon are present. This study analyzes four groupings: 1. Music, emotions, and feelings, 2. Music as it relates to escapism, 3. Music and Maladaptive Daydreaming, and 4. The significance of the intersections of music, escapism, and MD. Since music is a known contributor to an array of escapism habits, scientists need to research the topic more so that the psychology field expands and treatments can be available.

## Music, Emotions, and Feelings

Although interconnected and used interchangeably, emotions and feelings are not synonymous. Farnsworth writes, "Emotions are lower level responses occurring in the subcortical regions of the brain and the neocortex... Those responses create biochemical and electrical reactions in the body that alter its physical state—technically speaking, emotions are neurological reactions to an emotional stimulus." Essentially, emotions are the brain's initial response to outside forces, which create spe-

cific—neural and physical—reactions. The physical response aspect of emotions come in several noticeable forms. Since “emotions are physical and instinctive, instantly prompting bodily reactions to threat, reward, and everything in between,” these physical responses to emotions “can be measured objectively by pupil dilation, skin conductance, brain activity, heart rate, and facial expressions” (Farnsworth). All physical emotions occur because of the brain’s preliminary response to various events. Music has been proven to affect emotional responses, both neurologically and physically. In regard to music, there are a multitude of factors that can produce emotions in listeners. Formulaically, the impact of music on human emotions can be expressed as follows: “Experienced emotion = effect of structural features x performance features x listener features x contextual features” (qtd. in Cochrane). This formula is one of many ways music elicits emotions in listeners. Structural features include tones and melodies, to name a few. Performance comprises of the listener’s expression, current motivational state, interpretive skills, and more. Listener features include present motivational and mood state, musical expertise, and stable dispositions. Contextual refers to the location and event. As long as there is a multiplicative collaboration concerning the listed factors, such as the formula above, it is anticipated that one or more of these features can produce various affective states described above.

Unlike emotions, feelings are not associated with bodily reactions caused by brain functions. Rather, “feelings are the conscious experience of emotional reactions” (Farnsworth). Simply put, feelings are individual’s perceptions of the emotions elicited. Thus, there is no instinctual first reaction. “Originating in the neocortical regions of the brain, feelings are sparked by emotions and shaped by personal experiences, beliefs, memories, and thoughts linked to that particular emotion. Strictly speaking, a feeling is the side product of your brain perceiving an emotion and assigning a certain meaning to it” (Farnsworth). After the emotions are provoked, individuals form those emotions into feelings by reflecting on personal involvements. Feelings also have a link to music. “The feeling component could also be instrumental in language and music since it allows the organism to regulate and adjust its communication depending on its own emotional experience, which in turn can reflect that of others” (Cochrane). Whether it be musicians or listeners, music is a mode of interpersonal—and intrapersonal—communication. Distinguishing

emotions from feelings is critical to understanding their role in the realm of music as it transmits to disproportionate escapist habits.

## Music and Escapism

Listening to music can be used a mode for escapism. Escapism is the “habitual diversion of the mind to purely imaginative activity or entertainment as an escape from reality or routine” (“Escapism Definition and Meaning”). Individuals often listen to music when doing homework, exercising, or shopping. Individuals experiencing stress particularly utilize music to unwind. “People high in stress tended to listen to country, religious, and pop music (upbeat/conventional)” (Getz et al). Some music genres have precedence over others. This could be because those genres are best for soothing or distracting (qtd. in Getz et al). Truly, music means something different on the individual level, but there are instances that can be generalized. Too, music can be categorized as a manner of hedonic consumption. Hedonic behaviors can be categorized into four groups: problem projection, role projection, fantasy fulfillment purchasing, and escapism (qtd. in Lacher). The former three are escapism activities in action.

On that note, virtual reality stores use background music to aid in individual’s escapist habits. In the study, escapism is considered an “immersive and active experience, where consumers feel as if they are in a different place and enjoy participating in the experience” (qtd. in Loureiro). The music helped the customers feel more comfortable and engrossed in the VR experience. For the purposes of the study, escapism is defined as “the measure in which a user can temporarily forget the real world and dodge negative emotions that are caused by a stressful life” (qtd. in Loureiro). Definitions of escapism can be dependent on what area of escapism is being discussed, as mentioned above. However, they all encompass the same idea: evade undesirable emotions. Loureiro found that calm music appeared to be more appropriate than upbeat music in the context of a VR shoe store, which the study hyper focused on. “Calm music more than upbeat music will tend to amplify the association between the VR presence and the desire to visit the store again” (Loureiro). However, upbeat music improved the positive link between pleasure and arousal more so than calm music. Despite this, calm music was deemed the most effective type, due to it “[strengthening] the positive relationship between presence and behavioral intention more

than upbeat music,” which is more important than strengthening arousal and pleasure (Loureiro). Music tempo and volume were closely related to the calm and upbeat music. Calm music reflected slow tempo and low volume, as opposed to the fast tempo of upbeat music. This difference suggests that tempo and volume are as significant as the type of music both were a part of. Stimuli-organism-response, also known as SOR, is the framework for the study (Loureiro). The process is as follows: escapism (stimuli) influences cognitive and emotional variables (organism), determining behavioral intention (response). The combined escapism experience influenced how the Loureiro employed this model to reflect the study as accurately as possible. As demonstrated above, it is clear that escapist behaviors are equally dependent on the circumstance at hand, the music content present, and the emotions prompted by both.

### **Music and Maladaptive Daydreaming**

An extreme, diagnosed form of escapism is Maladaptive Daydreaming. “Maladaptive daydreaming (MD) is an excessive and vivid fantasy activity that interferes with individual's normal functioning and can result in severe distress” (Somer, “Maladaptive Daydreaming: Towards a Nosological Definition”). Interestingly enough, MDer's are aware of their daydreaming habits, and can distinguish the fantasies from reality like anyone without the diagnoses can. When an MDer experiences stress, they turn to daydreaming, neglecting commitments and social interaction, which then causes distress because they are missing out on real life activities. This distress only leads to more daydreaming. MDer's struggle with this vicious cycle on a daily basis. This is modeled thoroughly by Fig. 1 in “Different Cultures, Similar Daydream Addiction? an Examination of the Cross-Cultural Measurement Equivalence of the Maladaptive Daydreaming Scale” (Soffer-Dudek). Fig. 1 represents the sixteen-step Maladaptive Daydreaming Scale (MDS-16). Interestingly, music activating daydreams is the first step. Fifteen phases later, the progression ends with music. The sixteenth step emphasizes that “maintenance of daydreaming [is] dependent on [the] continued listening to music” (Soffer-Dudek). A MDer starts and prolongs daydreaming by listening to music.

Music clearly has a prominent role in most MDer's lives, and certainly more so than individuals without the diagnoses. “... with music-triggered maladaptive daydreamers, the dysfunction is not that music enhances the emotions of their daydreams, because this happens with most people.



Rather the dysfunction is that the music has *too much* effect, and that the effect can be sustained for longer periods of time” (Dorrell). It is common for most individuals’ daydreams to be affected by music playing, but with music sensitive MDer’s, this effect is much stronger and time consuming. It is challenging for MDer’s to prevent music’s effect on themselves, especially if hypersensitive to it. “For example, if music and movement are still experienced as potential triggers for daydreaming, these items may still be highly endorsed even if the respondent shows improved control over his actual daydreaming” (Somer, “Maladaptive daydreaming: Ontological analysis, treatment rationale; a pilot case report”). Even those who practice mindfulness meditation, which involves shifting one’s attention the present moment, cannot prevent daydreams from being activated by listening or hearing music and kinesthetic activities. Moreover, when examining media consumption as a whole, music was considerably the most common trigger:

... 87% of the respondents reported listening to music as a trigger... In contrast... 56% of the respondents mentioned that hearing music triggers daydreaming. This difference suggests that active engagement with music is more likely to trigger daydreaming than hearing music in the background. Furthermore, this difference may also suggest that the need to listen to music operate in tandem with the need to maladaptively daydream. (Uslu)

To understand this assessment, differentiating listening from hearing is essential. Hearing is merely the sense by which sounds are received as stimuli. Listening, however, is to pay thoughtful attention to sounds and tones and give them consideration. With this distinction in mind, most respondents testified that listening to music triggered daydreaming, as opposed to only half of the respondents replying that hearing music was a trigger. From these statistics, Uslu proposed that listening to music and maladaptively daydreaming might need to work jointly to produce preferred dream occurrences.

Maladaptive daydreamers recurrently use music to provoke imaginings. Also in Uslu’s study, Table 4 shows the participant’s frequency and percentage of partaking in various media consumptions as an accompaniment to daydreaming (Appendix A). Listening to music was the leading media consumed. 63% of participants answered that they listen to music as an accompaniment to daydreaming very often (Uslu). In con-

trast, just 4% of participants answered that they never listen to music to accompany daydreaming (Uslu). Evidently, music is prevalent to a majority of MDer's lives. In a separate study, "Parallel Lives: A Phenomenological Study of the Lived Experience of Maladaptive Daydreaming," the researchers asked the participants about different aspects of living as an MDer. Participant IJ said:

To induce daydreaming I just listen to music with my headphones on and it triggers it. When I am alone it just happens... Daydreaming is more visual, so I pick music that will help me express feelings and understand them. Sometimes the scenes are about the feeling the song makes me feel. It helps me just to feel. (Somer)

For this MDer, listening to music is an instantaneous trigger for maladaptive daydreaming. Not only that, but they also hand select songs that evoke certain emotions to produce desired feelings. Selection allowed them to match certain feeling to specific fantasy plots, which completes scenarios. The distinctive relationship between music and MD is one of the qualifying characteristics of the diagnoses. "Indeed, the use of music and movement to trigger and maintain daydreaming seems to be a unique feature of MD that distinguishes it from normal daydreaming or common mind-wandering" (Soffer-Dudek). Table 4 and participant IJ illustrate the intense influence music has on MDer's lives.

The demographics of MDer's are notable too. In the "Parallel Lives: A Phenomenological Study of the Lived Experience of Maladaptive Daydreaming," there were twenty-one participants. Table 1 charts the gender, age, marital status, occupation, and nationality of each participant (Appendix B). Most participants were female; only five identified as male (Somer). This could be that females are more prone to MD. It could also be that more females responded to their internet forums or received more invites. The age range was eighteen to forty-two (Somer). All participants had to of reached the age of consent at the time of the study, hence eighteen being the youngest age. Because of this, teenagers were excluded, which has the possibility of being an age group worth examination. Only four answered that they were married (Somer). This could be a similar case to gender; MD could interfere with marriage, or the researchers might have received more singles that met the requirements. The occupations varied, but a little over half were students (Somer). This might be due to the age range. As for nationality, many were citizens of

Israel or the USA, but other countries included the UK, India, Turkey, Austria, Indonesia, Argentina, Canada, and Ireland (Somer). This wide variety suggests that MD perhaps is not prone to or induced by culture. This study is comparatively small regarding the MD community, so additional research must be conducted in order to confirm any demographics that stand out.

It is important to note the limitations of the many studies cited. There is only a small selection of creditable, in-depth Maladaptive Daydreaming studies, many of which were used for this research into its relation to music. Since this is the case, little information is known about MD, and why outside forces, such as music, affect those with the disorder. This detail is the reason why examining emotion and feeling was imperative to this study; it is the gateway to the why. MD is a disorder where those with it habitually escape negative feelings and circumstances. Music primarily aids that process by replacing those feelings with positive ones and sets the mood for the fantasies called upon. The same goes for those using escapism for a short while, minus the complex, vivid unrealities. What is more, the Maladaptive Daydreaming diagnoses is relatively new. There is virtually no data before 2002, the year Eli Somer coined the term Maladaptive Daydreaming and published "Maladaptive Daydreaming: A Qualitative Inquiry." Since then, Somer has continued to be the chief researcher, hence the large quantity of his research referenced in this study. Somer discovered a possible correlation between MD, substance abusers, and those who experienced childhood trauma and dissociation. As for the music portion, preferences and its level of influence varies from person to person. Since this is the case, there is almost no generalization beyond what was covered in the studies. It is apparent that further research must be conducted on MD on various fronts. Especially in its relation to why music has such great influence; the connection between the two is clear.

## Conclusions

Music has a strong influence over escapism habits, specifically on those susceptible to excessive escapism tendencies and those diagnosed with Maladaptive Daydreaming. To come to this conclusion, research was conducted on music's relationships with emotions, feelings, escapism, and MD. Music's connection to emotion and feelings is the root cause of subsequent exhibited behaviors. When feelings are manifested

through listening to or hearing music, it can relieve stress, reduce negative emotions, as well as distract from undesirable situations. That is the core of what escapism is. MDer's use music for that very reason. It allows them to escape reality and create a world that they can wallow in. The interconnection between music, emotion and feelings, escapism, and MD needs to be studied more because it would expand our knowledge on how the brain functions—and on multiple levels at that. This is significant, as it could unravel longstanding questions, lead to interdisciplinary discoveries and act as evidence for new theories. More research would also help those struggling with extreme escapism habits or diagnose with MD to find clinical treatment, such as medication or therapy.

---

## Works Cited

---

- Cochrane, Tom, et al. "The Emotional Power of Music." *Google Books*, Google, 13 July 2013, <https://books.google.com/books?hl=en&lr=&id=S-ZJ7fR-4JEUC&oi=fnd&pg=PA121&dq=music%2Band%2Bemotion&ots=rlAco-c9ER0&sig=pvhxYDcFKDg6ZA0ygBZzE9XnUVM#v=onepage&q=music%20and%20emotion&f=false>.
- Dorrell, Philip. "Why Does Music Trigger Maladaptive Daydreaming?" *Why Does Music Trigger Maladaptive Daydreaming?*, What Is Music?, 14 June 2020, [whatismusic.info/blog/WhyDoesMusicTriggerMaladaptiveDaydreaming.html](http://whatismusic.info/blog/WhyDoesMusicTriggerMaladaptiveDaydreaming.html).
- "Escapism Definition & Meaning." *Merriam-Webster*, Merriam-Webster, <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/escapism>.
- Farnsworth, Bryn. "How to Measure Emotions and Feelings (and the Difference between Them)." *Imotions*, Imotions, 14 Apr. 2020, <https://imotions.com/blog/difference-feelings-emotions/>.
- Getz, Laura M., and Stephen Marks. "The Influence of Stress, Optimism, and Music Training on Music Uses and Preferences - Laura M. Getz, Stephen Marks, Michael Roy, 2014." *Psychology of Music*, Sage Journals, 9 Oct. 2021, <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.1177/0305735612456727>.
- Lacher, Kathleen T. "Hedonic Consumption: Music as a Product." *ACR North American Advances*, The Association for Consumer Research, 1 Jan. 1989, <https://www.acrwebsite.org/volumes/6932>.
- Loureiro, Sandra Maria Correia, et al. "How Escapism Leads to Behavioral Intention in a Virtual Reality Store with Background Music?" *Journal of Business Research*, Elsevier, 31 May 2021, [www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0148296321003647](http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0148296321003647).
- Soffer-Dudek, Nirit, et al. "Different Cultures, Similar Daydream Addiction? An Examination of the Cross-Cultural Measurement Equivalence of the Maladaptive Daydreaming Scale." *AKJournals*, Akadémiai Kiadó, 2 Nov. 2020, <https://akjournals.com/view/journals/2006/aop/article-10.1556-2006.2020.00080/article-10.1556-2006.2020.00080.xml>.
- Somer, Eli. "Maladaptive Daydreaming: A Qualitative Inquiry." *Journal of Contemporary Psychotherapy*, vol. 32, 2002, <https://www.somer.co.il/articles/2002Malaptdaydr.contemp.psych.pdf>.

- Somer, Eli. "Maladaptive daydreaming: Ontological analysis, treatment rationale; a pilot case report." *Frontiers in the Psychotherapy of Trauma and Dissociation*, 2018, [https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Eli-Somer/publication/322152657\\_Maladaptive\\_Daydreaming\\_Ontological\\_Analysis\\_Treatment\\_Rationale\\_a\\_Pilot\\_Case\\_Report/links/5a487f71a6fdcce1971c8750/Maladaptive-Daydreaming-Ontological-Analysis-Treatment-Rationale-a-Pilot-Case-Report](https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Eli-Somer/publication/322152657_Maladaptive_Daydreaming_Ontological_Analysis_Treatment_Rationale_a_Pilot_Case_Report/links/5a487f71a6fdcce1971c8750/Maladaptive-Daydreaming-Ontological-Analysis-Treatment-Rationale-a-Pilot-Case-Report).
- Somer, Eli, et al. "Maladaptive Daydreaming: Towards a Nosological Definition." *ResearchGate*, Annales Médico-Psychologiques Revue Psychiatrique, Sept. 2019, [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/335729909\\_Maladaptive\\_daydreaming\\_Towards\\_a\\_nosological\\_definition](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/335729909_Maladaptive_daydreaming_Towards_a_nosological_definition).
- Somer, Eli, et al. "Parallel Lives: A Phenomenological Study of the Lived Experience of Maladaptive Daydreaming." *Journal of Trauma & Dissociation*, Taylor and Francis Group, 2016, [https://www.academia.edu/26628363/Parallel\\_lives\\_A\\_phenomenological\\_study\\_of\\_the\\_lived\\_experience\\_of\\_maladaptive\\_daydreaming?from=cover\\_page](https://www.academia.edu/26628363/Parallel_lives_A_phenomenological_study_of_the_lived_experience_of_maladaptive_daydreaming?from=cover_page).
- Uslu, Handan. *UNDERSTANDING THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MEDIA USE AND MALADAPTIVE DAYDREAMING*, Georgetown University, 28 Apr. 2015, [repository.library.georgetown.edu/bitstream/handle/10822/760821/Uslu\\_georgetown\\_0076M\\_13033.pdf?sequence=1](https://repository.library.georgetown.edu/bitstream/handle/10822/760821/Uslu_georgetown_0076M_13033.pdf?sequence=1).

# Appendix

## APPENDIX A

|                        |            | Never | Rarely | Sometimes | Often | Very Often |
|------------------------|------------|-------|--------|-----------|-------|------------|
| Listening to music     | Frequency  | 4     | 20     | 3         | 13    | 69         |
|                        | Percentage | 3.7   | 18.3   | 2.8       | 11.9  | 63.3       |
| Watching television    | Frequency  | 15    | 24     | 22        | 28    | 12         |
|                        | Percentage | 14.9  | 23.8   | 21.8      | 27.7  | 11.9       |
| Watching videos online | Frequency  | 17    | 17     | 21        | 33    | 13         |
|                        | Percentage | 16.8  | 16.8   | 20.8      | 32.7  | 12.9       |
| Reading                | Frequency  | 12    | 29     | 18        | 27    | 15         |
|                        | Percentage | 11.9  | 28.7   | 17.8      | 26.7  | 14.9       |
| Browsing social media  | Frequency  | 32    | 6      | 27        | 25    | 9          |
|                        | Percentage | 32.3  | 6.1    | 27.3      | 25.3  | 9.1        |
| Surfing the Internet   | Frequency  | 19    | 15     | 22        | 30    | 12         |
|                        | Percentage | 19.4  | 15.3   | 22.4      | 30.6  | 12.2       |

**Table 4: Media Consumption as an Accompaniment of Daydreaming**

## APPENDIX B

**Table 1.** Demographic characteristics of the participants.

| Participant | Gender | Age | Marital status | Occupation                 | Country   |
|-------------|--------|-----|----------------|----------------------------|-----------|
| AB          | Male   | 20  | Single         | College/university student | India     |
| BC          | Female | 19  | Single         | College/university student | USA       |
| CD          | Female | 28  | Single         | Secretary/student          | Israel    |
| DE          | Female | 18  | Single         | High school student        | Israel    |
| EF          | Female | 27  | Married        | Social worker              | Israel    |
| FG          | Female | 34  | Single         | Disability                 | Israel    |
| GH          | Female | 25  | Single         | College/university student | USA       |
| HI          | Female | 38  | Married        | Field representative       | USA       |
| IJ          | Female | 25  | Single         | College/university student | USA       |
| JK          | Female | 20  | Single         | Unemployed                 | USA       |
| KL          | Female | 20  | Single         | College/university student | USA       |
| LM          | Female | 33  | Single         | Disability                 | USA       |
| MN          | Female | 25  | Single         | College/university student | Austria   |
| NO          | Female | 24  | Single         | Lawyer                     | Indonesia |
| OP          | Male   | 18  | Single         | College/university student | Turkey    |
| PQ          | Female | 42  | Married        | Homemaker                  | UK        |
| QR          | Male   | 28  | Single         | Unemployed                 | Argentina |
| RS          | Male   | 19  | Single         | Student                    | Turkey    |
| ST          | Male   | 35  | Single         | Musician                   | Canada    |
| TU          | Female | 18  | Single         | Student                    | Ireland   |
| UV          | Female | 25  | Married        | Writer                     | USA       |

Notes: USA = United States of America; UK = United Kingdom.

# Revealing Pragmatism Around Us

Intersections with Historical Methodology and  
Thoughts on Pragmatism as a Tool for Change

---

NATHANIEL SHAFFER

“Truth” is a contentious idea. Contentious might be too light a word; however, to describe the current prevailing climate where day in and day out there seems to be some controversy surrounding what we learn, what exactly is true, whose interpretation of anything is correct, what is the ultimate nature of truth? When basic facts and visible reality are constantly called into question, we must ask the question of how we have constructed the truths we so ardently defend while simultaneously investigating methods that present hope for change. Humans have bickered for millennia about what to actually classify as truth and how we can theorize and break down truth into its component parts. Many philosophers and other intellectuals have given us varying perspectives on the issue, but William James’s theory of truth presents a seemingly eternally relevant theory of *how we construct truth*.

His theory is consistent with his work on pragmatism as a philosophical concept. Therefore, the aim of this paper is to defend James’ pragmatism and theory of truth because each part of his theory—and the pragmatism which it is based upon—can be seen illustrated in real world applications within our fields of study. Further, as his theory does not fall into the trap of choosing between pure empiricism like Hume or rationalism based in God that Descartes argues, I argue that James sets a precedent toward forward moving change in how we discuss human nature. The application of pragmatism just described is further linked to the integration of pragmatism with history as methodology, both of which I argue can and should be used in conjunction with each other as tools for finding avenues of positive change in an unraveling world.

Defining pragmatism then is the first step in understanding James’s theory. Pragmatism is the notion of interpreting the world by understanding theory in terms of action, “tracing its respective practical



consequences” (James 26). Pragmatism as a theory is ultimately concerned with the practical, real-world outcomes of actions and theories. In this manner then it aims to bridge the gap between metaphysical disputes, where the real world is only considered in theory. Pragmatism then aims to ask: what is the actual outcome for two competing metaphysical theories, do they have purchase in reality instead of just the mind? James nails this point home, writing that the “whole function of philosophy ought to be to find out what definite difference it will make to you and me....” (27).

James goes on to write that there is something fundamentally subjective to truth as we define it; we can’t talk about truth without considering the self-interests and concerns of individuals as vehicles for our theories of truth. Following this conclusion, his theory starts with the assumption that for anything that we take to be true (because it works for us practically), our first reaction upon the appearance of counter evidence is to reject it. Upon hearing this contradiction, we try “to change first this opinion...until at last some new idea comes up which [we] can graft upon the ancient stock [of ideas] with a minimum of disturbance of the latter, some idea that mediates between the stock and the new experience and runs them into one another most felicitously and expediently” (31). We only modify our ideas in the most minimally disruptive way possible, as these new truths are “always a go-between, a smoother-over of transitions” (31). However, despite the premium we put on these old stock beliefs, only if pushed to the brink by necessity and overwhelming counters to our old theories do we give up these old stock beliefs. Deriving from all of this, the notion of “truth” that James argues for is a verifiable, leading, active process which helps us navigate the world pragmatically.

James sees pragmatism as an answer to solving real world problems, but he focuses primarily on the debates of metaphysics, and how those theories would play out in real life. And while metaphysical disputes are important, I want to defend his theory of truth because it reflects how we function in the world. The study of history provides an example, for anything in which our opinions are challenged, we follow James’s theory.

History as a field is predicated upon the critical analysis of evidence to create a reasoned reconstruction of the past, a formation of an argument about the past as to how it should be interpreted. The very process of changing views in the field reflects James’s theory. Historians are by nature and training skeptics, assessing evidence and arguments in complex ways which don’t make them easily swayed by new counter opinions.

History is, like other forms of academia and the sciences, a peer reviewed field, and consequently a large group of people who are reputed experts decide what is considered the 'standard' for a given topic. This leaves possible new arguments facing a near unanimous wall of evidence-based scholarship that judges them, and if deemed unacceptable by a general consensus, rejects them. All this reflects the first part of James' theory, where our first reaction to counter evidence is to reject it. To illustrate, for so long the academic as well as public consensus after the Civil War were aligned in the false but propagated—as—true claim that slavery was a benevolent, pre-industrial, economically stagnant system while reconstruction utterly failed. The minoritized vocal dissenters—including W.E.B DuBois—instead foisted upon the U.S a different vision, based upon different evidence counter to the white supremacist apologist view, propagated not only by the public but the academy as well. Of course, white America didn't start to see these opinions as valid until much later, and some still don't. Additionally, the slow acceptance of ideas that James espouses further reflects the field, where momentous change is rare, and instead it is the small increments he describes that occur. Further, investigate the historiography of slavery and there is clear support for this notion. Kenneth Stampp's *The Peculiar Institution* was a post-World War Two challenge to Ulrich B. Phillips 1918 *American Negro Slavery* (Stampp; Phillips). While still using mostly slaveowners as his sources and excluding accounts of those enslaved, Stampp changed the narrative slightly by offering a new opinion in a slightly more racially aware U.S.: slavery was bad for those enslaved. A notion radical indeed.

Not only does this example show how James' theory of truth has merit, but also emphasizes his point that there is something subjective about the truths we preach because there is always human interest and biased concern attached. In this case, first an extreme racism combined with slavery apologetics; subsequently someone responded who deemed those views insufficient, but still did not stray too far from the socially accepted consensus by not sufficiently recognizing the experiences and accounts of enslaved Black Americans. The final piece is the view changing under necessity and overwhelming counters, and history is no exception. Sticking with the slavery example, historians shifted away from older, racist viewpoints over time, with each increment building until something in the vein of Edward E. Baptist's *The Half Has Never Been Told: Slavery and the Making of American Capitalism*. Expanding his purview to more accurately emphasize the humanity and nuanced lives

of enslaved Africans previously excluded, Baptist also recognizes slavery constantly evolved into new and more terrifying forms that were predicated upon a continually increasing violent dehumanization of enslaved African Americans for the purpose extracting the maximum profits from them. Baptist posits that slavery was capitalistic in nature and aided the rise of the U.S through the economic power of a violently extractive labor system. This example illustrates just how defensible James' theory is. History becomes something verifiable and leading for both the public and the professional, a subject that lets us navigate the world from a practical point of view, because we are always influenced by our history. It is our 'truth' that is constantly changed, adapted, and modified as the evidence we are willing to rely upon changes over time.

James's pragmatism is indeed—as he aimed it to be—useful in determining those ideas and outcomes most useful for us which derive from metaphysical disputes. If we can use the pragmatic viewpoint to inform our own views of metaphysics, it lets the philosopher in all of us expand and use our knowledge and then the application of philosophical concepts to each of our lives becomes infinitely more useful. Prior to James's pragmatism, a lot of philosophical concepts may not seem to have a lot of applicable value. However, looking at the world through a pragmatic lens allows us to view the world more philosophically, to enlighten more people so they have the ability to see and use what lies around them in a practical sense. By this logic, pragmatism allows more people access to more philosophy, which allows more types of people the chance to talk about such questions that we tend to emphasize as a society: what it means to be human, what it means to be just, the existence of a God, and all the other questions we continue to ponder due to their perennial relevance. Pragmatism gives the idea of human nature a fuller body of knowledge derived from more people than before. It isn't pure empiricism, it isn't a rationalist perspective, it's what works. It allows us to explore more fully the range of thought and activity connected to being human, no matter the concept.

Returning briefly to the relevancy of pragmatism aligning with history, the comparison that is drawn between James' pragmatism and history shouldn't just be limited to mere theory, but—as pragmatism preaches—the practical as well. As historians have drawn upon increasingly various and previously silenced sources and voices, it offers those silenced and ignored a chance to join the conversation they'd been

previously excluded from. Therefore, the meeting and likeness the study of history shares with pragmatism is almost like a public forum, where the exchange of ideas is allowed to reverberate, bounce between perspectives to hopefully reach some manner of a conclusion. But inherent in this method is the assumed 'risk' of having to change one's mind, to contemplate and then construct a new truth. The interconnection between these two methods validates those striving to cultivate within our society a culture of change. Aiming to make a stand against how we've formed our beliefs, and "[confronting] our past..." instead of "...[waiting] for its resurgence" is precisely this intersection (Blight 29).

If we abide by this view and interpretation of pragmatism established previously as an application which facilitates greater interaction between people across the range of human thought, then being a pragmatist isn't just the surface level of looking for the practical answer to a question. It's allowing more and more people the opportunity to express and discuss what it means to be human no matter previous sets of beliefs. His theory of truth shows that our ideas are going to change and what better way to have our old stock beliefs challenged than by those who subscribe to pragmatism? We already see this, those who want change to subscribe to worldviews that work best for them to explain their experiences based on truths and evidence that they feel they reached. The challenging of traditionally held beliefs and theories is often supported by new thoughts based on sometimes new and sometimes old evidence under new scrutiny and interpretation. Therefore, it's so important to identify the usefulness of pragmatism because it provides us a framework of tools to do what we desire, which ultimately informs our understanding of ourselves as humans from the choices, actions, and theories we create. Greater understanding of ourselves through the historical-pragmatic lens allows us to see more fully the entire spectrum of human experience through a unique philosophy, the "definite difference [pragmatism] will make to you and me" (James 27) and then through this newly developed view put to action the necessary tools to cultivate positive, forward moving change.

## Works Cited

---

- Baptist, Edward E. *The Half Has Never Been Told: Slavery and the Making of American Capitalism*. New York, Basic Books, 2014.
- Blight, David W. "If You Don't Tell It Like it Was, It Can Never Be as It Ought to Be." *Slavery and Public History: The Tough Stuff of American Memory*, edited by James Oliver Horton and Lois E. Horton New York, The New York Press, 2006, pp.18-33.
- James, William. *Pragmatism: A New Name for Some Old Ways of Thinking*. edited by Bruce Kuklick, Indianapolis, Hackett Publishing Company, 1981.
- Philips, Ulrich B. *American Negro Slavery: A Survey of the Supply, Employment, and Control of Negro Labor as Determined by the Plantation Régime*. D Appleton and Company, 1918.
- Stampp, Kenneth M. *The Peculiar Institution: Slavery in the Ante-bellum South*, New York, Random House, Vintage Books, 1956.

# The Connections and Disintegrations Between the United Irishmen and the French in the Age of Revolution

---

NICHOLAS NOVOTNY

The growing discontent of the Irish under British rule in the latter half of the eighteenth century is clear across all classes and religions, both poor Catholics and well-off Presbyterians. Out of this period emerged reform and revolutionary-minded groups, one of the most influential of which was the United Irishmen. The United Irishmen made and maintained both an ideological and material connection with the French during the 1790s despite British suppression of such activities. The United Irishmen and French connection began with a similar foundational ideology which expanded to communication through embassies, weapons smuggling, and an attempted invasion. However, this invasion failed, leading to a diplomatic chasm between the French and the United Irishmen and dooming the Rebellion of 1798.

A group of mainly Presbyterian Irishmen built upon a legacy of frustration with the British government by forming the United Irishmen. The United Irishmen were founded in 1791 in order to push for further reforms in the Irish parliament. Initial parliamentary reform was accomplished in 1782 when Poynings' Law, which made the Irish parliament subservient to the British parliament, was repealed (Elliott 22-23). The Irish parliament had to send "heads of bills" to Westminster to amend or veto the bill. The bill was then sent back to the Irish parliament to vote on the bill. Further, any bill passed in Britain automatically became law in Ireland. In response to these restrictions, a group called the Irish Volunteers pressured the British government to repeal Poynings' Law, which they successfully did in 1782. This was seen as a new era where the Irish parliament was free from direct control by the British, as evidenced by the name "constitutional revolution of 1782" (Smyth 38).

Despite the newfound independence due to the repeal of Poynings' Law, this did not end the influence of Britain on the Irish parliament. Corruption dominated the Irish parliament, found particularly in the form of "government patronage" to members of parliament. Further, many boroughs had few or no people who could vote. These seats could then be "inherited or sold," which treated them as property instead of elected seats. The Ascendancy, the Anglican elite, continued to keep these seats within their own class (16-18). These factors combined to create an Irish parliament that was controlled by the British government indirectly and the Anglican upper class directly. Though there was a nominal shift in 1782 following the constitutional revolution, those outside of the Anglican elite experienced very little change.

In response, radicals such as the United Irishmen did not believe that the influence of the British over the Irish parliament nor Anglican domination should be perpetuated. Instead, they advocated for substantive reform including "universal manhood suffrage, annual parliaments, equal electoral districts, payment for M.P.s [Members of Parliament], and the abolition of property qualifications for parliamentary candidates" (Elliott 26). These reforms all show the desire of the United Irishmen to put the theories of the Enlightenment into practice in Ireland.

The Enlightenment flourished during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries when European thinkers began to develop new ideas about the relationship between the people and the government. One of the most influential of these thinkers was John Locke. John Dunn, summarizing what Locke put forward in his *Two Treatises of Government*, writes, "[it] is a work principally designed to assert a right of resistance to unjust authority, a right, in the last resort, of revolution" (5). Both of these ideas had a particular impact on the United Irishmen as they moved from reform against an exclusionary system to radical revolution over the course of the 1790s (Smyth 80, 88). These Lockean principles were the core ideological motives for the United Irishmen contrasting sharply with the conservative dominance of the Anglican elite.

Another reason for the move towards further radicalism was not just ideological but practical: the suppression of the United Irishmen. One way the United Irishmen were suppressed was the targeting of oath-taking in Ireland, which is the practice of taking vows to enter a secret society. Oaths became a common feature among other anti-authority groups such as the Whiteboys, who were discontented Catholic farmers

protesting the high rents and tithes demanded by Protestant landowners (44). During 1795, the United Irishmen began to move towards an "oath-bound society." In response, the British government made it a crime punishable by death or exile to take oaths (44). This suppression of oath-taking is one point in a set of restrictive actions to silence nationalistic Irish movements. The outlawing of oath-taking is an attempt to sever the communications of the United Irishmen while also discouraging new membership. However, the United Irishmen survived and expanded.

The British, through the leadership of Lord Camden, continued to put pressure on the United Irishmen in 1796. Camden worked to increase the strength of the military and suspended habeas corpus. These efforts culminated in the arrest of leaders of the Ulster United Irishmen for treason. The continued pressure from the British government pushed the United Irishmen to arm themselves and developed into a more militarized group (Elliott 106, 107).

As the United Irishmen began to separate themselves from the British, they sought French aid. Initially, radical Protestants disliked the Catholic and "backward" French. However, with the backing of a republic in America, the attitudes among radical Protestants began to shift which was solidified with the French Revolution throwing off the monarchy and the exclusion of the Catholic church from politics (228). With this sudden shift in France, the United Irishmen became open to French support. The flow of Enlightenment ideas was the first step in French-United Irishmen relations. One example of this growing relationship was Thomas Paine's *Rights of Man*. *Rights of Man* defended the French Revolution and continued the tradition of Locke's suspicions of authority carried to an anti-autocratic end. The United Irishmen and other organizations printed "lengthy extracts" from the *Rights of Man* to spread to the general public. With the audience created, *Northern Star*, the newspaper of the United Irishmen, covered events in France "encouraging radicals, reawakening lower-class Catholic hopes ... and democratizing public opinion." All of this moved the United Irishmen and the Irish public to feel strongly in favor of the French Revolution and created a sense of comradeship with the revolutionary forces (Smyth 91-93). Additional efforts in mass information campaigns were staged in order to build upon these thoughts and feelings in Ireland. These efforts included "handbills, songs, poetry, oaths, humor, public gatherings, sporting events and funerals" (Gillen 234). The use of many different me-



diums diffused the successes of the French Revolution across different counties and classes, demonstrating the possibility of rapid change. Due to these efforts, more people in Ireland were exposed to new ideas and to the feasibility of revolution. These people found a home in the United Irishmen. Moreover, the mass information campaigns contributed to the building of communication networks across Ireland that the United Irishmen would rely on for future coordination.

The United Irishmen further formed connections with the French through diplomatic missions. Wolfe Tone led the first mission in 1795 to Philadelphia where he encountered French ambassador Pierre Adet who was skeptical of the intentions of Tone, thinking he was a spy for the British. Tone, with the help of Irishmen in Philadelphia, convinced Adet of his legitimacy as a representative of the cause of Irish independence. With this assurance, Tone traveled to Paris in 1796 to meet with the French foreign minister, Charles Delacroix. In talks, Delacroix revealed that he wanted the Irish to rebel before the French would send aid. In contrast, Tone insisted that a French invasion should be the spark to start an uprising in Ireland. The French government, the Directory, decided to support the Irish as revenge for English support of the counter-revolution in Vendee (Elliott 79, 80, 83). This first diplomatic mission greatly increased the communications between the United Irishmen and the Directory, gaining trust for future ventures together.

A second mission was sent in 1796 led by Arthur O'Connor and Lord Edward Fitzgerald who traveled to Hamburg. In Hamburg, O'Connor laid out the argument for Irish independence to a French agent named Charles Frédéric Reinhard. This meeting opened the door for further meetings held in Switzerland to convince the French to provide greater support. The French once again wanted to back the Irish after they began to rebel, not before. O'Connor and Fitzgerald strongly rebuffed this idea because of the lack of arms in Ireland. This point was nonnegotiable: the French would land first and then the rebellion would begin. With the confidence of O'Connor and Fitzgerald along with the continued work of Tone in Paris, a French general named Lazare Hoche, a colleague of Napoleon Bonaparte, took on the project of invasion. In order to secure the details of such a plan, he met with O'Connor and decided that fifteen thousand French troops and eighty thousand guns would be landed as soon as possible (100-102). This discussion was a success for the United

Irishmen and formally bound the French and the United Irishmen together for this mission of revolution.

The most fundamental and significant connection between the French and the United Irishmen came in 1796 with the attempted invasion of Ireland. In December, despite doubts about the success of the invasion, Hoche set off on December 16, 1796, with forty-six ships carrying "14,450 troops, 41,644 stands of arms, a supply of national cocardes, and 5,000 uniforms" (111). However, the ship Hoche was in became separated from the fleet, leaving his subordinates to lead the main body of the fleet. The problem was that these subordinates did not have clear orders for the overall invasion. What orders they did receive told them to go to Bantry Bay and wait for Hoche for several days. The fleet, absent Hoche, waited in the bay not landing troops. They eventually decided to leave for home after a storm came, which scattered the fleet. Several days later Hoche finally made it to Bantry Bay only to discover his fleet went home, and he followed (111-13).

The magnitude of the expedition sent to Ireland was impressive and showed the French's support of this project. If such a force had landed, the British would have had a significant military invasion in their backyards. That is without considering any further Irish assistance which had been developed by previous arms shipments. The well-armed Irish wing of the rebellion would have increased the potency of the French army considerably. All these aspects combined to create an even more crushing loss for the United Irishmen who had their hopes for a free Ireland dashed in 1796.

With the failure of the expedition to Ireland, the Irish-French connection began to weaken immediately. The French promptly halted a follow-up expedition which would have further supported the initial invasion force. Instead, a small band made up of prisoners of war was sent to Wales. This force under the command of William Tate became uncontrollable and almost immediately surrendered (116-18). The French canceled large resource-heavy attacks while smaller operations continued unsupported, demonstrating the French abandonment of the United Irish.

The French continued to reverse its relationship with the United Irishmen because of losses acquired in the attempted invasion, the de-emphasis of naval power in the French government due to their poor perfor-

mance, and a focus on the army present in the leadership of the French government. The expedition created doubts about if the Irish were ready and willing to rebel because they had not shown strong support when the French arrived in Bantry Bay. Further, the ability of the French to do such an expedition in the future was weakened because of the loss of thirty thousand guns, several ships, and its reputation (116, 119). Taking these matters into consideration, the French neglected to support the United Irishmen after 1796 with meaningful diplomatic or material aid.

As the French were departing from the United Irishmen, the British also changed their relationship with Ireland as a result of the failed invasion. Throughout this period, the British had been taking troops from Ireland and using them in more important parts of the war effort against France, which weakened Ireland's defenses. With the possible invasion, the British began reorganizing and devoting more assets to the protection of Ireland (119-22).

In 1797, in a fit of rebellious fever, the United Irishmen prepared to rise up once more, however, the British began to crack down on the United Irishmen's activities. In February, the British confiscated weapons, arrested United Irishmen, and burned houses in Leinster. This policy soon spread to other parts of Ireland. The most impactful crackdown before the Rebellion happened in March 1798 when the British arrested the majority of the United Irish executive. This cut off the leadership of the movement and further paralyzed action and communication among the United Irishmen. Many leaders still waited for the French to arrive and start the revolution despite the protests of others who said their forces were whittled down by British suppression. One of the final triggers was the arrest of Fitzgerald on May nineteenth. Upon hearing of Fitzgerald's arrest, the executive of the United Irishmen decided to rebel. However, the previous waves of arrests had crippled the communication lines of the United Irishmen, which prevented a coordinated uprising. Instead, sporadic Irish resistance occurred (189-201).

The Rebellion of 1798 first flared up in Carlow, however, the army quickly terminated this uprising. Wexford then rose up in a more successful rebellion with twenty thousand men as part of an Irish force. Despite the large number of rebels, the force was disorganized, poorly led, and poorly armed. In fact, the rebels mostly had pikes and pitchforks. They faced a much more disciplined enemy who denied battle and with-

drew in good order, destroying arms depots along the way. This consolidation led to many early victories for the rebel forces.

When the rebellion finally broke out, however, it was quickly and brutally destroyed (201-6). The native efforts of the Rebellion of 1798 were centered around multiple smaller rebellions separated by geography and time. This separation gave the loyalist forces the ability to defeat the rebels in detail. The ultimate cause of the sporadic nature of the rebellion is centered around the lack of central authority and communication of the United Irishmen caused by British suppression. In the main, the extent of British suppression increased significantly in the aftermath of 1796. Therefore, the failure of the French invasion of 1796 in large part led to the failure of the Rebellion of 1798.

The lack of foreign aid also doomed the 1798 Rebellion. However, when the French invasion finally did arrive it was delayed, small, and weak. Therefore, when the French army landed at Killala in August of 1798, it was “too little, too late” (Curtin 277). By the time the fleet arrived, the rebellions across Ireland had been contained. The French force consisted of three frigates and around eight hundred men which was supplemented by quickly recruiting hundreds of Irishmen to fight. This force achieved a victory at the Battle of Castlebar. However, the French were facing a much larger force and at the Battle of Ballinamuck, the combined French and Irish armies lost. The French were able to surrender but the Irish were massacred after the battle which ended the French invasion (Elliott 201, 207, 224-29). When compared to the invasion force of 1796, the 1798 force was much smaller and poorly timed. The breaking down of Irish-French trust prior to 1798 with events like the failed invasion of 1796 resulted in the defeat and humiliation of both the United Irishmen and the French in Ireland.

The United Irishmen and the French strove to form bonds that would benefit both parties as the United Irishmen began to be more threatened by the British government. This bond was successfully achieved in 1796 culminating in the attempted invasion of 1796. However, after the failure of French involvement, the French and United Irishmen began to separate from each other. Additionally, British suppression of the United Irishmen slowed and prevented effective communication with both the French and United Irishmen across Ireland, leading to the failure of the Rebellion of 1798 and the binding of Ireland to Britain through the Act of Union. This Act cemented the relationship and continued domination of

the British over the Irish into the twentieth century. Further, it has partly defined the complicated relationship of Irelands, Northern Ireland, and Britian up to and including Brexit.

The United Irishmen's efforts to unite Ireland and create foreign allies was in opposition and competition to the desire from the Anglican elite and British interest. These interests sought Ireland to continue to be dominated and made profitable for these powers. The Angelicin elite and British forces worked to unravel the United Irishmen while the failure of foreign intervention left the United Irishmen isolated. This fragility of the united Irishmen's system shows not only the fragility of pre-industrial systems but extends to the fragility of modern systems.

---

## Works Cited

---

- Curtin, Nancy J. *The United Irishmen: Popular Politics in Ulster and Dublin 1791-1798*. New York, Oxford University Press, 1994.
- Dunn, John. *Locke: A Very Short Introduction*. New York, Oxford University Press, 1984.
- Elliott, Marianne. *Partners in Revolution: The United Irishmen and France*. Frome, Great Britain, Yale University, 1982.
- Gillen, Ultán. "Irish Revolutionaries and the French Revolution." In *The Routledge Companion to the French Revolution in World History*, edited by Alan Forrest and Matthias Middell, New York, Routledge, 2016, 225-239.
- Smyth, Jim. *The Men of No Property: Irish Radical and Popular Politics in the Late Eighteenth Century*. Hong Kong, MacMillan, 1992.

PART THREE

---

# Media

Excerpt from

## ***Crazy Ex-Girlfriend* and 'Whitefiltering'**

A Critical Cultural Analysis of Filipino/  
Filipino American Representation”

---

MARRIANE NACANAYNAY

Filipino American (FilAm) representation on mainstream media has largely consisted of FilAm actors portraying non-Filipino characters, and even non-Asian characters entirely. This indicates that FilAm representations are not visible ones, but rather, FilAms portraying some sort of “Other.” During its 2015-2019 run, the CW’s musical comedy *Crazy Ex-Girlfriend* (CXG) was lauded for being the first mainstream television show to explicitly showcase a Filipino American family, with FilAm character Josh Chan being the main love interest of the show. CXG’s first season highlighted Chan’s family with a Thanksgiving-themed episode, but through critical cultural analysis and performance criticism, it’s clear this episode falls flat in offering FilAm representation without whiteness present, exemplifying something akin to whitewashing: “whitefiltering.”

Whitewashing refers to “casting white actors as characters who are non-white or of indeterminate race” or the preference of “white actors, directors, cinematographers, and so on, over equally qualified people of color” (Merriam-Webster). It is proliferated by mass media and is ultimately a product of the underlying ideologies of racism that tiers white people as more desirable than people of color. White filtering, then, is a means of upholding those same ideologies, but in a far more latent way, often by telling the stories or expressing the experiences of people of color through a white body. CXG does exactly this. While Chan is the main love interest, the lead character remains Rebecca Bunch, a white, conventionally attractive, intelligent woman. Filipino experiences are recognized, but consistently through Bunch, the white, female lead. Representation’s barest bones are evident in that there are Filipino people with agency on screen, but when it comes to digging into the culture,



Filipino characters are never given the total agency to express their experiences without whiteness present.

While *Crazy Ex-Girlfriend* demonstrates a generally favorable perception of Filipino culture that is trademarked by its embrace of family, it also limits how Filipino culture is perceived by doing so. It further narrows a Western perception of Filipino culture by framing the entire view of it through Bunch, a white American woman. She idealizes what it means to be Filipino through fantastical perceptions of the culture, but still manages distance from the struggles of the culture because of her white privilege and other social positioning (Bunch is a Yale Law School graduate, wealthy and well-educated). Bunch picks and chooses what and how she wants to publicly/privately embrace Filipino culture, rifling through cultural practices like they're clothes. It is a blatant privilege those growing up in Filipino culture do not have. That being said, the show is about Bunch and how she sees the world, so representation is naturally demonstrated through her. In this way, Bunch acts as a lens for white Western audiences to (white) filter Filipino culture through. The show had an opportunity to showcase Filipino culture independent of Bunch, through cut scenes of Josh Chan with his family. Instead, all scenes that demonstrate Filipino culture have Bunch in them. The episode "My First Thanksgiving With Josh!" is the most overt example of Filipino culture being perceived entirely through Bunch. Overall, while Filipino and Filipino American representation is present in *CXG*, it is wholly filtered through the white title character, recontextualizing the Filipino experience through a white lens. This whitefiltering is particularly problematic as it perpetuates inauthentic portrayals of FilAm identities, continuing to subject FilAms to stereotyping and stigma, and reduction of their value through a white lens, as opposed to embracing FilAm culture as viewed and experienced by FilAms. White audiences are appeased by their media consumption of FilAm culture, but at the exploitation of FilAm representation for white viewership.

### **An Evaluation of Crazy Ex-Girlfriend Season 1, Ep. 6 "My First Thanksgiving With Josh!"**

The family is a top priority in Filipino culture. Professor Dr. Pauline Agbayani-Siewert writes that "cooperation among family members is stressed over individualism," and that driving this sense of family "is the dominant cultural value of smooth interpersonal relationships, which

permeates and guides the everyday lives and behaviors of Filipinos... Open displays of anger or aggression are discouraged, and passive and cooperative behaviors are encouraged" (429). In other words, the Filipino family is seen as nonaggressive, with a prioritizing of cooperation over individual benefit. Furthermore, Filipino families are large because they incorporate extended family as being just as important as immediate family, if not arguably more so. "The nuclear family is likely to be part of a larger extended family system, or clan, which plays an integral part in the life of the family. Extended family is not particularly defined along patrifocal or matrifocal lines and often includes members from both," researcher Dr. Rocco Cimmarusti writes regarding first-generation Filipino-American families (205). Because of this openness to the extent of what is considered "family," the "family" grows in number. It's these cultural values—close-knit, generally non-aggressive, large family—that Bunch is referring to when she says to a white side character,

**BUNCH:** I mean, would I like to go to the Chans' [Thanksgiving dinner]? Would I like to be surrounded by the unconditional love of a hundred Filipinos?

Not only is Bunch again referring to the nature of large Filipino families, but she's also referring to their tight-knit nature ("unconditional love"). The camera slowly zooms in towards her face as her eyebrows come together and she gathers a pensive look. She scoffs and smiles a little as she says,

**BUNCH:** Of course I would.

The camera quickly pans to the right and cuts to a dream vision, as denoted by desaturated color and a change in aspect ratio (from 16:9 to 1:1). Bunch sits in an armchair, dressed in an antiquated red blouse and skirt combo (the most colorful in the scene). She is centered among over a dozen Filipinos in a living room, most of them children. A voiceover with a Filipino accent asks for Bunch to tell them a story, and in a faux English accent, Bunch playfully resists, until all the children start chanting for her to read to them, with one of them moving to sit on Bunch's lap to hug her. The scene then shifts back to Bunch outside of her daydreaming.

**FAMILY MEMBER:** Tell us the story! The library book story! Again?

**BUNCH:** Well, no, I couldn't possibly.

**FAMILY, CHILDREN:** Library book story! Library book story!  
Library book story! Library book story!

**CHILD:** Please, Miss Rebecca, just one more time. The library book story.

**BUNCH:** But you know it by heart by now. Well, alright.

This scene in "My First Thanksgiving With Josh!" displays how Bunch acts as a filter for Filipino culture. Bunch is romanticizing Filipino values as a means of filling her lack of close family care, as demonstrated through a beginning scene in the episode when Bunch looks longingly at other families. While these ideas of large, tight-knit Filipino families are upheld by cultural values, Bunch's romanticization of it carries beyond her own personal perception.

Bunch acts as a stand-in for a Western audience. Her romanticization of a Filipino family demonstrates an idealization of those familial values to a Western audience through a Western eye—specifically, through an American eye to an audience in the United States. Bunch's idealization, which goes so far as to assume a daydream appearance, juxtaposes Western hegemonic perceptions of family against Filipino hegemonic perceptions of family and posits one as more desirable than another. While this may be seen as a favorable and accurate perception of Filipino culture, it still reduces the desirability of Filipino culture to the family dynamic—family is important and critical to Filipino culture, but it is not the only aspect of it. Bunch's romanticization completely fails to acknowledge her position within the familial context. When Bunch is imagining herself within the Chan family, she is literally and figuratively centering herself within them. She sees herself as highly desired by the family, equivalent to her desire to be with them. The glaring problem here is that Bunch is a white American. With this context, the scene can come off as Bunch, a white American, being desired by Filipinos. This is where starker problems arise.

After the Spanish-American War, the United States was "gifted" the Philippines from Spain as a new colonial territory through the Treaty of Paris. Filipinos fought back against the U.S. in order to assert independence, but the U.S. maintained control (Morley). A plethora of dehumanizing rhetoric about Filipinos emerged in U.S. media over this period, including an article by *The New York Times* entitled "Filipinos Unfit to

Rule Themselves.” The Philippines was seen as a strategic location for the U.S. to have an international stronghold due to its proximity to other Asian countries. Therefore, the U.S. invested in the Philippines through the economy, health, and education sectors, supplementing the idea of the Philippines “needing” the U.S. for civility as defined by U.S. standards (Sliwoski).

While Filipinos valued education before colonization, Spanish rule restricted access to it. When the U.S. annexed the Philippines, they instituted an education system with English as the language of instruction (Casambre 8). There was a degree of receptiveness and gratitude for this education system from the United States that continues to manifest today in the Philippines as an idealization and appreciation for U.S. values (Onorato 22). Overall, there is a long-standing American influence in the Philippines, but U.S. idealization in the Philippines is a product of colonization and imperialism.

In Bunch’s daydream, she is perpetuating her desirability as a white American to brown Filipinos. Though Bunch repeatedly asserts that she wants to fit within the Filipino family, the visuals in the scene still echo a harmful mentality of the white American wanting to be essential to Filipinos. There are no self-standing Filipinos with agency present in the scene. Non-Filipino viewers are left to wonder how the Chans might actually interact with each other, something that is not represented in the episode. Bunch’s idyllic representation of Filipinos is highlighted to the audience, for the audience. The representation of Filipino culture and individuals becomes merely a means to an end, to demonstrate Bunch’s character and desires. When white filtering is engaged, the representation in the piece of media is not meant for the marginalized communities viewing; it is for white viewers.

## Conclusion

From a Filipino/Filipino American critical cultural perspective, while there is representation of Filipinos in *Crazy Ex-Girlfriend* it is not without fault. To have such visible and centered Filipino representation on mainstream television is valuable, but there is still more work that can be done in terms of having Filipinos demonstrate their own cultures directly, instead of through white actors. While it might not be the white-washing that Filipino and other Asian populations have seen in media, it is “white filtering,” which can implicitly and explicitly reduce a perception

of a marginalized culture through a white lens. To “whitefilter” marginalized identities maintains a view of those marginalized identities that’s placated to whiteness, opting to fetishize and romanticize marginalized identities according to white desires. Thus, while Filipino representation is present and largely accurate in “My First Thanksgiving with Josh!”, it is not representation written for Filipino audiences. It is for white audiences to feel connected to Filipino culture at Filipinos’ expense.

---

## Works Cited

---

- Agbayani-Siewert, Pauline. "Filipino American culture and family: Guidelines for practitioners." *Families in Society*, vol. 75, no. 7, 1994, pp. 429. *ProQuest*, <https://doi.org/10.1177/104438949407500704>.
- Casambre, Napoleon J. "The Impact of American Education in the Philippines." *Educational Perspectives*, 1982, pp. 7–14.
- Cimmarusti, Rocco A. "Exploring aspects of Filipino-American families." *Journal of marital and family therapy*, vol. 22, no. 2, 1996, pp. 205. *ProQuest*, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1752-0606.1996.tb00199.x>.
- "Filipinos Unfit to Rule Themselves; so the Commission Reports to the President. American Control Essential on Its Withdrawal Other Powers Would Divide Islands. Dewey Says Independence Was Never Promised to Aguinaldo -- Many Natives Condemn Rebellion and Ask for Protection. Filipinos Unfit to Rule Themselves." *The New York Times*, The New York Times, 3 Nov. 1899, <https://www.nytimes.com/1899/11/03/archives/filipinos-unfit-to-rule-themselves-so-the-commission-reports-to-the.html>.
- Morley, I. "The cultural expansion of America: Imperialism, civic design and the Philippines in the early 1900s." *European Journal of American Culture* vol. 29, no. 3, 2010 pp.229–251, doi: 10.1386/ejac.29.3.229\_1.
- Onorato, Michael Paul. "UNITED STATES INFLUENCES IN THE PHILIPPINES." *Journal of Third World Studies*, vol. 4, no. 2, 1987, pp. 22–26, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/45197078>.
- Sliwoski, Kevin. *Sounds of Subic Bay: The U.S. Navy in the Philippines, 1950-1971*, University of California, Riverside, Ann Arbor, 2019. *ProQuest*, <https://escholarship.uc/item/20t1x85q>.
- "Whitewashing Definition & Meaning." *Merriam-Webster*, Merriam-Webster, <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/whitewashing>.

## "What's Done is Done"

### Comparative Relationships in *Macbeth* and *Breaking Bad*

---

MEAGAN GRAVES

The classic Shakespearean tragedy *Macbeth* and the popular television show *Breaking Bad* share many thematic and narrative commonalities, but one of the most significant is the centralization and subsequent unraveling of two complex partnerships that directly lead to both characters' moral downfalls. In *Macbeth*, the partnership in question is the romantic relationship between Macbeth, the Scottish Thane of Cawdor, and Lady Macbeth, his wife. In *Breaking Bad*, the partnership is between Walter White, a former high school chemistry teacher turned meth cook, and Jesse Pinkman, his former student and current drug dealer—a relationship that blurs the line between business and familial as the show progresses forward. *Breaking Bad*'s third season and *Macbeth* reveals a connection between these partnerships due to similar destructive cycles of shared blind determination and devotion. Walt and Lady Macbeth manipulate Jesse and Macbeth based on personal ambition and projected affection so that their partners will bend to their wills and carry out work that will advance their social positions or safety. Then, the manipulative pair console the other two over the harm that they have done and the toll it is taking on their psyches. Finally, Walt and Lady Macbeth admit their all-consuming guilt and subconscious wishes for death while under a sleep-addled psyche, the meaning of which is either lost upon their partners or never truly reaches them. Despite the strength of the relationships, the mental, physical, and moral unraveling of one half of each partnership leads to the subsequent unraveling of the other, instigating events that seemingly lead to their ends.

When reading *Macbeth*, it is easy to immediately draw correlations between Walter White and the titular character. After all, both are the protagonists of their respective stories, and both fit many of the same qualities that cause each tragedy to be distinctly Shakespearean. Both Macbeth and Walt have the same hamartia, as they are consumed by

blind ambition towards establishing their house statues excused as a dedication to their families, and both deal with questionably supernatural elements that forewarn them of their respective fates—Walt with his cancer diagnosis and running from death, and Macbeth with his encounters with the witches that prophesize his kingship and eventual death. Both are additionally obsessed with traditional masculinity and work to reaffirm it in the eyes of those around them, often using violence to highlight their gender identity. But while Walt famously grapples with many of the same thematic elements and narrative struggles as Macbeth, his propensity for manipulation and weaponizing those around him to carry out his will cements him more firmly as a foil to Lady Macbeth.

Lady Macbeth, while not being as predominant a player in the story at large, shares an enormous amount of the specified traits present in Walt and Macbeth. Moreover, Walt and Lady Macbeth differ from Macbeth in that they share a defining trait of immense intelligence, and successively use that intelligence to create schemes of dubious legality to accelerate their social positions. Like Lady Macbeth's yearning to become queen, Walt's desire for upward social and economic ability (in the name of protecting and aiding his family) is his first and only priority. Both characters undergo major transformations that allow them to commit immoral actions without (ideally) suffering any adverse psychological consequences. Walt's transformation from a mild-mannered high school chemistry teacher to a meth cook is concluded in Season Three, marked in "I.F.T." (*Breaking Bad* season 3, episode 3) after his attempted sexual assault of his boss to assert his masculinity that results in him losing his job. The actions he takes in this season are staggeringly different than those he took before his cancer diagnosis and decision to cook meth—his corporeal being and behaviors have drastically shifted as he pursues a newfound masculinity.

This echoes the physical transformation Lady Macbeth speaks of in Act 1, Scene 5: "Come, you spirits that tend on mortal thoughts, unsex me here, / and fill me from the crown to the toe top-full of direst cruelty. / Come to my woman's breasts, and take my milk for gall, you murdering ministers" (Shakespeare, 1.5.47-55). Lady Macbeth craves to divorce herself from her physical being in an attempt to delve further into moral bankruptcy. This line provides another linkage between Lady Macbeth and Walt, as it is reinvigoration and reclamation of masculinity that neither previously had a full claim to. It is this masculinity that proves



critical for their continued crimes throughout their respective shows and plays. While Lady Macbeth herself does not gain a prophecy about her future, she, like Walt, is the primary agent in pursuing the boons that destiny may bring to her family.

However, the most obvious linkage between Lady Macbeth and Walter White is how they are defined by their primary partnerships in the show: Lady Macbeth to her husband Macbeth, and Walt to his meth cooking partner, Jesse Pinkman. Jesse and Macbeth, on the surface, do not seem to share many characteristics in comparison to the abundance that Walt shares with both Macbeths. However, Jesse and Macbeth do have a few traits that define the course of their narratives, especially throughout Season Three. Both characters are predominantly isolated from the other characters around them, and thus are loyal to their sole partnerships with a dedication that borders on dependence. Because of this care, both begin to push the moral boundary of murder that neither of them would have previously dreamed of despite their morally dubious pasts—Jesse as a drug dealer, and Macbeth as a warrior. Their journey towards killing is predominantly due to a manipulation by Walt and Lady Macbeth that drives them towards violence, especially as their number of allies and friends dwindles even lower. But while Macbeth's reluctance for violence develops into a thirst for it, as evidenced by his decisions to assassinate Banquo, murder the house of MacDuff, and defend his ill-gotten kingship with more bloodshed, Jesse is defined by his hesitancy toward violence except when defending innocents, such as his attempted murder of the drug dealers in "Half Measures" to avenge Tomas, his girlfriend Andrea's younger brother.

The relationships between Macbeth and Lady Macbeth and between Walt and Jesse are fraught ones, plagued by equal parts manipulative pain and protective care. The parallel between Jesse and Walt is even more complicated due to the multiple, conflicting roles that Jesse and Walt attempt to fill for each other rather than that of exclusive romantic partners as with Macbeth and Lady Macbeth. Season Three sees Walt and Jesse in different states of isolation—Walt, with his separation from his wife Skylar and inability to be there for his children, and Jesse, in his loss of Jane, alienation from his parents, and distance from his friends Skinny Pete and Badger. The only dependable relationship maintained by either of them is with each other, even though those relationships are marked with consistent abuse by Walt toward Jesse. As such, we see Walt begin

to adopt Jesse more as part of his family, both as a replacement for his children (as we see in “Half Measures” (*Breaking Bad* season 3, episode 12) where Walt sacrifices the car he promised to his son as a vehicle for his driving test), and as a surrogate spouse (as we see in episodes like “Fly” (season 3, episode 10), where Walt opens up to Jesse about intimate information he has kept hidden from Skylar). Jesse is no longer simply a business partner, as Walt continually puts his safety and reputation on the line so that Jesse can continue to earn money and be protected. Macbeth and Lady Macbeth, on the other hand, have many external relationships at the start of the play that are abandoned as Lady Macbeth persuades her husband to turn towards treason and murder, and as Macbeth doubles down on it through his continued, unprompted acts of violence.

The first murders committed by Jesse and Macbeth serve as superlative examples that reveal the parallels in dynamics between each partnership and in Walt and Lady Macbeth’s manipulation. The murder of Gale Boetticher<sup>1</sup> by Jesse mirrors Macbeth’s murder of Duncan extremely well, as both are the direct results of manipulation by Walt and Lady Macbeth so that the other men may advance their status and secure their continued legacies moving forward. There are, of course, a few key differences—the murder of Gale was due to an immediate threat on Walt and Jesse’s lives, while the murder of Duncan was due to the Macbeths attempting to seize their fate.

As such, the tactics used by Walt and Lady Macbeth, though similar in both characters’ preference to create plans and have others act on them, reflect these different contexts. Lady Macbeth used manipulation tactics to question Macbeth’s masculinity and goad him into action, asking “What beast was it, then, / that made you break this enterprise to me? / When you durst do it, then you were a man” (Shakespeare 1.7.53-56). Walt used a similar approach to Lady Macbeth in the previous two seasons, but instead uses Jesse’s loneliness and emotional dependency on him in persuading him to follow Walt’s plans. For instance, in the

---

1. Gale Boetticher is a talented chemist and replaces Jesse as Walt’s meth-cooking assistant while the pair worked for Gustavo Fring, the head of a prominent meth empire, throughout much of Season Three. Gale’s intelligence, agreeableness, and passion for chemistry proved to be a disadvantage for him, as he was too unlike Jesse for Walt to continue working with him. This led to Gale being fired so that Jesse could be reinstated as Walt’s partner. After Jesse’s later attempt to avenge Tomas and Walt’s support of this move, Gus decided to have the pair killed and leave Gale as his primary meth cook. In response, Walt prompts Jesse to kill Gale, which would leave them as the only individuals capable of cooking their meth and subsequently secure their safety (*Breaking Bad*).

episode “One Minute” (*Breaking Bad* season 3, episode 7), Jesse refuses to work with Walt or for Gus any longer as it is ruining his life. Walt’s counterargument is that of providing security and money to Jesse before he transitions to a more comforting technique by giving Jesse a hard-earned compliment about the quality of his meth. Season Three sees Walt being much more considerate and caring towards Jesse, and though the genuineness of this performance is debatable, it proves to generally be a much stronger motivator for Jesse than Lady Macbeth’s challenges towards Macbeth’s masculinity. This practice, of course, is abandoned in “Full Measure”, where a captured Walt stresses the urgency of their situation and pressures Jesse into killing Gale, playing on their newfound closeness and Jesse’s loyalty by stating that his own life is at stake (season 3, episode 13). Even though the techniques used by Lady Macbeth and Walt are markedly different, both reflect a similar consciousness towards masculinity that encapsulates their distinctive relationships—Macbeth reaffirming his manhood to his wife, and Jesse being a better son figure to Walt’s masculine ideal.

The next stage of this pattern between the two relationships is that of Walt and Lady Macbeth, the original architects of violence, consoling Jesse and Macbeth about the crimes that they have committed and are suffering over. Because the first murder done by Jesse occurs in the final moments of Season Three’s finale, “Full Measure,” we do not fully experience a scene in which Walt consoles Jesse for the murder of Gale. However, we do see Walt comforting Jesse for another death that Jesse initially blames himself for—the death of his girlfriend, Jane, and the passengers onboard Flight 737, which occurs in the final episodes of Season Two. Throughout Season Three, Walt maintains his secrecy surrounding his role in Jane’s death and the subsequent cause of the plane crash but insists that both incidents were not Jesse’s fault, thereby attempting to free Jesse from lingering fears of culpability. This death draws the most straightforward parallel with Lady Macbeth consoling Macbeth over the death of Banquo, Macbeth’s longtime friend who he has killed to prevent Banquo’s descendants from supplanting his kingship, as the Weird Sisters’ prophecy foretold. Lady Macbeth uses similar soothing tactics to Walt in mitigating the sense of guilt that is torturing her husband, telling him, “You lack the season of all natures, sleep” (Shakespeare 3.4.173) after he witnesses Banquo’s ghost, and “Things without all remedy / should be without regard. What’s done is done” (3.2.13-14) after the death of Dun-

can. While Walt attempts to deny that either he or Jesse has any hand at all in the tragedies that their actions have led to, Lady Macbeth accepts their actions and attempts to move on past them.

In addition to this similarity between the murderers' guilt and the designers' soothing, we also see that the "ghosts" of Jane and Banquo similarly linger in the narrative long after their passings. As more supernatural themes are directly present in *Macbeth*, Banquo's presence in the play is that of a physical ghost that haunts Macbeth, driving him into a frenzy. Upon their first encounter, Macbeth says, "Avaunt, and quit my sight! Let the earth hide thee! / Thy bones are marrowless, thy blood is cold; / thou hast no speculation in those eyes / which thou dost glare with!" (3.4.113-116), revealing his deep panic and guilt over the murder of his friend – especially given the fact that he is now an active, willing component in the murders rather than exclusively someone manipulated into participation. Jane, on the other hand, manifests through multiple evocative objects through a singular flashback appearance that Jesse and Walt cling to. For Jesse, the primary objects are Jane's voice on her answering machine and her lipstick-stained cigarette – he is seen repeating the voicemail repeatedly throughout the episode "I.F.T" (*Breaking Bad* season 3, episode 3), and keeps the cigarette in his car where it was left after she smoked it during her flashback appearance in "Abiquiu" (season 3, episode 11). Unlike Macbeth's guilt manifesting towards externalizations of pain and anger, Jesse's guilt manifests internally as he further isolates himself before beginning to lift, the lessons he learned through his stint at rehab proving effective. While Jesse begins to move past his role in these deaths towards self-acceptance, Macbeth doubles down on his murders by causing even more death.

However, as Jesse and Macbeth begin to move past their guilt regarding the murders, Walt and Lady Macbeth become more and more consumed by it. Their overwhelming guilt completely takes over and unravels their psyches, manifesting in monologues delivered during moments in which their turmoil is at its highest points and their defenses are laid completely bare – moments when both are caught between sleep and wakefulness. Lady Macbeth's last onstage moment occurs in Act 5, Scene 1, in which she is having a bout of sleepwalking that has developed since the murders occurred. She begins to relive the different deaths that she and her husband have caused, speaking about the deaths of Duncan, MacDuff's family, and Banquo. She scrubs her hands of the recollected

blood that will not wash clean, saying “Out, damned spot! Out, I say! One—two— / why, then, ’tis time to do it. Hell is murky! Fie, my / lord, fie, a soldier and afeard?” (Shakespeare 5.1.137-139). The blood has become a physical embodiment of her guilt, serving as a reminder of the consequences of her actions that she cannot ever escape.

Similarly, Walt undergoes a significant moment of sleep-driven honesty in the episode “Fly,” which stems from his fly-driven insomnia and the sleeping pills Jesse slips him so that the younger man may continue with the cook (*Breaking Bad* season 3, episode 10). Walt, similarly to Lady Macbeth’s moments of reflection, begins dreamily speaking about when the perfect time for him to die would have been throughout the previous seasons, deciding eventually that the ideal moment would have been on the night of Jane’s death. He then begins alluding to his guilt towards Jane’s death, apologizing over and over to Jesse, who does not truly understand what Walt is speaking about. The titular fly of the episode has become a manifestation of Jane haunting Walt—try as he might alleviate the pain of what he’s done, he cannot personally kill nor escape it, as shown in the final moments of “Fly,” in which another fly returns to keep Walt from sleep. These scenes reveal that the extent of their guilt extends into wishing for death—a wish that is ultimately fulfilled by Lady Macbeth in Act 5, Scene 5, even while Walt continues living. These scenes also reveal the true extent of the care that both Jesse and Macbeth feel for their partners. While Jesse expresses concern for Walt’s cancer diagnosis and tucks him in after he finally succumbs to sleep, Macbeth mourns the loss of his wife, stating “She should have died hereafter: / there would have been a time for such a word” (Shakespeare 5.5.20-21). Both scenes, though in significantly different contexts, are moments of shocking clarity and honesty for two characters who exist in shades of secrecy and malice and reveal just how deeply their partners care for them despite the pain they have suffered because of them.

*Macbeth* is a story about how much corruption and cruelty can come about from a partnership marked by equal parts care and abuse, which is why it is so instrumental in understanding the classic play so as to fully comprehend the third season of *Breaking Bad*. Walt and Jesse’s relationship is incredibly similar to that of Lady Macbeth and Macbeth due to the frequent cycles of manipulation and violence, concern and comfort, and similar moments of guilt and emotional distress that are never truly addressed by the other. These relationships are defined by

antithetical devotion and malevolence that lead to the characters' greatest triumphs and their eventual doomed unraveling by the narrative at large. By observing how similar *Breaking Bad* protagonists are to Lady Macbeth and Macbeth, one can glean meaningful insight into the complex dynamics between and futures of Walt and Jesse, perhaps even to the point of prophesizing their ends.

---

## Works Cited

---

*Breaking Bad*. Created by Vince Gilligan, AMC, 2008-2013.

Shakespeare, William. *Macbeth*. Mr. William Shakespeare's Comedies, Histories, & Tragedies, 1623.

Unraveling Early Modern Texts:  
**An Interview with  
 Dr. Katey Roden**

---

INTERVIEW BY DELANEY SOUSA

**An Excerpt from “A Fruitless, Female Body: Disability and Devotion in An Collins’s *Divine Songs and Meditations* (1653)”  
 by Dr. Katey Roden**

In 1653, inspired by her own protracted experience of affliction, confinement, and vague but chronic pain, An Collins published a collection of devotional poetry and prose that places a disabled female body at the very forefront of readerly attention. Fashioned in the vein of spiritual autobiography, *Divine Songs and Meditations* centers on its author’s desire to reconstitute her broken body into a meaningful object of devotional contemplation, for herself as well as the godly community with whom she wished to be counted. Collins’s biographer, Sidney Gottlieb, describes her only extant literary work as giving “voice to the pains of her triple affliction—as a physically disabled person, one of the godly living ‘where profaneness did abound,’ and a woman traditionally constrained to silence and a limited range of activities.” Gottlieb thus identifies three separate, but overlapping communities Collins identifies with: she is a woman, a godly woman, and most significantly, a disabled, godly woman.

While *Divine Songs* provides ample evidence of Collins’s sex and belief in her election, the nature of her “disability” is less definite. Her verse is punctuated by stirring portrayals of unproductive gardens and bloomless Springs suggestive of struggles with infertility, and her prefatory materials gesture to a “desolate condicion” that left her “restrained from bodily employments” from the cradle onwards (“To the Christian Reader” 1). Her only joy is found in the composition of devotional verse she describes as “the offspring of my mind” (“The Preface” l. 79) and later juxtaposes against the frustrations of a female body graph-



ically described as experiencing “much scarcity” (Another Song I” l. 20). Given the intense pressure of gendered imperatives to reproduce, and in direct relation to the Christian tradition of interpreting physically different bodies as supranatural communiqués of God’s social, political, or religious judgment, it is not surprising that Collins would interpret infertility as indicative of her spiritual state. Indeed, her spiritual vitality interlocks with her ability to produce divinely-inspired verse and the bodily affliction that occasions their composition. As a result, *Divine Songs* is most often read as deliberately refashioning physical disability as spiritually enabling and creatively empowering.

This article proffers a new reading of An Collins, one that treats her assertions of bodily impairment as more than the average affliction topos. By applying contemporary disability constructs and current disability theory to Collins’s representation of the relation between her infertile body and soulful verse, I contend that Collins herself shapes not only an early modern disability subjectivity, but a subject who is both distinctly female and disabled. *Reading Divine Songs and Meditations* through the lens of Disability Studies, I argue, reveals the extent to which devotional writing might mediate between disabled women and religious communities deeply invested in cultural constructions of the godly female body as the normative female body.

---

### *What is your field of research and study?*

So many! My field of research and study is Early Modern literature with a specific emphasis on devotional prose and poetry, women’s writing, and representations of disability and gender.

### *What initially drew you to your field of study?*

Life experience. I was always going to be an English major because I always loved reading, but I was converted to Renaissance studies my sophomore year as an undergrad. I knew I wanted to go into Renaissance studies when I first read poems by John Donne. I was shocked and startled at how he manipulated and stretched language in ways that I had just never seen before. The Early Modern period is so strange and weird. It’s a time where we can see vestiges of classical and medieval ideologies as

well as a burgeoning modern discourse of the self and modern philosophy. It's an interesting melting pot period to study. It is also a period when women come into print for the first time. This was always exciting for me to think about, about what it means for women to come into public print as *part* of the social milieu and not as an outlier.

*You mention burgeoning expressions of identity in the Early Modern period. To an audience outside of your field, it seems to follow that you may get questions along the lines of "Why study literature from an older time?" and "Why does this matter?" How do you respond when you are faced with that question?*

The number of times that I encounter representations in popular culture and media that are straight out of the Medieval and Renaissance eras is beyond counting. We might feel like we've transcended and moved past many representational strategies that existed in those periods, but they have become part of a collective unconscious in Western culture, and they just get reproduced over again. I think that there's a lot of value in looking at those sources as they were constructed in that moment. Doing so allows us to recognize that we share not only the flaws of Early Modern individuals and their representational strategies, but also the same sorts of struggles.

I think there's a lot of value in reading old literature in helping understand why we have certain kinds of discursive modes of representation today. If you want to think about representations of race, for example, in pop culture in the United States, you would do well to look at histories of discourse around representing Othello<sup>1</sup> and blackness on the Early Modern stage. Folks like Shakespeare are so much part of our accepted norm of cultural heroes (or maybe villains, depending on your perspective) that being conversant in those texts is, I think, really important to changing the type of narratives that we draw from those periods and how influential they are today.

*With that, our theme for this year's edition of Charter is "Unravel." Could you speak about how you encounter this theme in your field and your relationship with the idea of unraveling?*

I think "Unravel" is a great theme. I chuckled when you asked what my field of study was because it's so inherently interdisciplinary. English

studies as a field is a big tent encompassing a wide range of different theoretical discourses and approaches.

Unraveling to me feels like the kind of work that I've been doing all my professional career, which is unraveling the standard bearers of what constitutes literature and what doesn't constitute literature, and whose voices we should and shouldn't hear. Much of my academic work and pedagogical interest comes in thinking about approaching my work through both an explicitly feminist lens, as well as an even more explicitly feminist disabilities studies lens. Much of that approach demands that I think about how I should unravel concepts of the norm and concepts of power that have been inherited over time. That might come from breaking apart a canon of literature that's been accepted, whose voices we hear. It might come by re-reading classical texts through new theoretical lenses that unravel the prescribed way of reading them.

I think that unraveling accepted modes of reading and teaching and scholarship have always been at the heart of what I've been interested in. As a graduate student, I got in a pretty vigorous debate with a member of my dissertation committee over whether Early Modern women's radical religious writing was literature or whether it was history. (He didn't remain a member of my committee after that discussion.) I recognize that in that moment I felt as though my dissertation was unraveling—becoming out of control and problematic because it didn't fit a form. I also realized that I took issue with the narrow bands of what constituted literature, especially in relation to the kinds of forms that were available to lower class women in the period who might not have training in classic Petrarchan sonnets. It was literary, and I knew it. I think this is a good example of the ways in which sometimes unraveling feels like, because you're pressing the boundaries, you're getting a little bit out of control, out of shape, and out of form, but also how valuable that kind of tension can be in shaping your own sense of a scholarly identity and ethic of your work.

*Let's turn to your piece "A Fruitless, Female Body: Disability and Devotion in An Collins's Divine Songs and Meditations (1653)." How did you see and navigate unraveling in the course of studying the work of An Collins?*

An Collins was this fantastic 17th century religious poet. We only have one extant copy of her collection of devotional poetry and prose,

*Divine Songs and Meditations*. An Collins was discovered in the 20th century, so she's a relatively new voice, and we know nothing about her biography other than her name. There has been much debate about whether she was actually female, which seems absurd because there was no benefit to publish under a woman's name in the 17th century. She writes beautiful, emotionally engaging spiritual poetry from a Calvinist perspective that is engaging with a deep spiritual discourse over whether she is elect and chosen by God, or reprobate and damned by God. There was nothing anyone could do about their status in that particular devotional perspective.

My work with An Collins builds upon earlier readings of Collins by other feminist scholars that seeks to reclaim Collins not just a feminist discourse, but a disability identity. An Collins's poetry features breathtaking images of gardens and vegetation; she writes not only of flowering gardens, but also of dried springs and cold winters and seasons that are unraveled out of order. She uses lots of seasonal conceits and metaphors throughout her poetry. This was a popular metaphor in the time period, but An Collins's work invites us to think about how discourses around good, holy Christian women were very much tied to reproductive capacity. My work with An Collins seeks to think about the ways in which she deploys traditional garden conceits and metaphors to think about what it means to be an unproductive woman and to suffer from infertility or reproductive disability in the Early Modern period, when being a productive woman meant being a godly woman. As a result, I think of An Collins as really advancing this particular theoretical agenda of mine, which is to think of Early Modern women's devotional writing as a kind of spiritual prosthesis, as a performance for an English godly community to prove the ability of their souls despite the disabilities of their bodies.

*You discuss disability studies intertwining with your work in Early Modern literature. What does disability studies entail? Could you describe your interactions with and insights into disability studies from studying Early Modern literature?*

Disability studies is a relatively new field in academia, coming into its own as a theoretical discourse and an academic discipline in the 1980s. It is an interdisciplinary field, which means that it might range from social scientists to humanities folk. Disability studies informs my work in Early Modern literature and literary culture more broadly in that

it invites me to think about the ways in which many of our discourses around norms and bodies and behaviors reproduce hierarchies of bodies and hierarchies of sameness and difference. This especially informs the kinds of readings that I do. I might think about representations of race on the Early Modern stage, but we so infrequently talk about representations of disability or illness. In many respects, thinking about disability studies invites us to think about the ways that disability is as socially constructed an identity category as other identity categories, like gender and sexuality and race and ethnicity. These are socially constructed in ways that do or do not give us access to privilege in the world around us, the privilege of just representation. I do see my work in Early Modern literature as what I like to think of as narrative retrieval or academic archaeology. I see a lot of my work as looking at what we might have thought of as pure metaphor or pure symbolism in Early Modern writing as the only means by which individuals who lived in nonnormative bodies or experienced a social construction of their body as problematic, deviant, or disabled, before they even had that language, that this was the way they were trying to fashion the self. The ethic of my work is absolutely informed by thinking about how we can go back to literary texts and look for expressions of difference and identity in order to demonstrate that rather than viewing disability as an anomaly, it's a norm that has always been part of the human condition. If we think about disability as diversity, as opposed to difference, we would probably be a much more inclusive community.

*That's really powerful, that you work toward building a more inclusive community through literary archaeology. Informed by this experience, if you could give an undergraduate audience a piece of advice when encountering this kind of literature, what would it be?*

Remember that metaphor doesn't exist in the world of abstracts. That metaphor we talk about in literature classes as a technique, symbolism as a technique, but when we're doing the work of tracing out and recovering identities that have been historically marginalized, we must always work the tension between metaphor and text and lived reality of peoples. That means that someone like An Collins might use metaphors of flowers that don't blossom and streams that run dry, and those are really effective metaphors to describe and embodied position. While we can celebrate the effectiveness of those metaphors, we have to remember that those lived conditions met with lived consequences. I think it's really important to remind students that if we are going to unravel hierarchi-

cal systems of power through our work in literary studies, which maybe ought to be part of our mission as well as to celebrate beautiful words, then we need to account for how words have been used to hurt, harm, and contain people over the years. So, celebrate the beautiful metaphors, identify them and unpack them in a paper for my class or in a conversation with your parents, please. But remember how these pieces of culture that we study, these artifacts of culture, are reflections of real people's struggles that continue to struggle today.

I think that, to the theme of unraveling, the best experiences as a teacher and a scholar that I can think of happening are the moments that my classes unravel from my hands. I might come into a classroom with a yellow notepad in my hands and a blocked-out time agenda (twenty minutes on one topic, then fifteen minutes on the next topic), and a student question can unravel my agenda. I find myself wading in murky waters and trudging through dark and bleary forests, unsure where the class will go, but the fact that my plan unraveled because of student curiosity allows me to constantly also be a student and rediscover and reapproach texts with different kinds of questions. I would encourage students in an undergraduate audience to ask the question, even if it seems like the professor has an agenda and a plan, don't be afraid to unravel that plan. There are times when a professor might need to pull you back into the plan to prepare you for an assignment or to prepare your for some particular kind of knowledge, but the best days are when my plans unravel. Those are the best days.

---

# Dentistry as a Civilizing Force in Norris's *McTeague*: *A Story of San Francisco*<sup>1</sup>

---

CLAIRE ENGLE

In the novel *McTeague*, author Frank Norris explores the tensions between refined, civilized natures and brutish ones, using naturalism and the unique setting of the American frontier to analyze this relationship. The novel follows a man named McTeague who practices as a dentist despite receiving no formal education and analyzes the complexities in his relationship with a young woman named Trina. My focus within this essay is to analyze the way dentistry functions in the novel as an emblem of civilization, applying this as the central framework for further analysis of the text. I will argue that professions, specifically dentistry, indicate a society that is well-developed and sophisticated, further defining the land as civilized. However, this framework can be directed beyond the land and community itself. McTeague, the main character in Norris's novel, also turns to dentistry and uses it as a tool to resolve the main inner conflict in the novel: the battle between his rational and irrational self. I will examine how he uses his practice as a means to assert the rational self over the irrational one, lurking just underneath the surface of his character. However, because McTeague is unable to successfully practice dentistry, he loses his grasp of civility and completely reverts to the animalistic figure which overrides the rational, thinking self.

## Dentistry as a Symbol of Civilization

Within *McTeague*, the setting plays a crucial role in analyzing how dentistry functions within the text. It takes place in San Francisco in

---

1. This is my senior thesis for my English literature concentration. Our central topic for the semester was the American Frontier with an emphasis on borderlands, so I focused on how professions, specifically dentistry, functioned within the novel as a way for the main character to maintain control over his more beastly and savage desires and instead, turn towards a more civilized nature. However, McTeague is not able to fully tamper down his inner instincts as he is not a true professional, which allows his more villainous tendencies to slip out. In the novel, McTeague's battling inner self represents a similar kind of borderland that can be found in the changing nature of society during the time of American westward expansion.

1899, a time when borders were undefined due to the expanding nature of the American frontier. A historian during this period, Frederick Jackson Turner, explains the American viewpoint and its purpose to expand west, writing,

The peculiarity of American institutions is, the fact that they have been compelled to adapt themselves to the changes of an expanding people—to the changes involved in crossing a continent, in winning a wilderness, and in developing at each area of this progress out of the primitive economic and political conditions of the frontier into the complexity of city life. (2)

This viewpoint defines the common sentiment at the time: Western Indigenous lands need to be developed and improved upon by American settlers. The language “winning a wilderness” articulates what the settlers believed their role was in battling and being victorious over a land that is simplistic, savage, and beastly. This outlines the common sentiment that settlers needed to save the land by changing the preexisting culture until it is overridden by a favorable and more refined one. The setting of Norris’s *McTeague* is a product of this expansion and ideology that Turner highlights, as certain elements of the community, such as the professional practices in the town, demonstrate the tensions between the civilized and uncivilized forces operating in San Francisco.

Turner’s analysis of the frontier however is not a holistic examination of these communities, as it draws a distinct line that separates “savagery and civilization” and neglects further study of how a new culture can be created through the mixing of the different communities (3). While his ideology was popular at the time *McTeague* was written, Gloria Anzaldúa complicates the argument by defining places where this mixing of communities occurs as borderlands, specifically detailing how these spaces are “a vague and undetermined place created by the emotional residue of an unnatural boundary. It is in a constant state of transition. The prohibited and forbidden are its inhabitants” (17). While American settlers sought to override and triumph over what they deemed uncivilized lands, what they created was not a replica of their civilization as they might have expected. Instead of the complete erasure of the preexisting culture, what resulted in the settling of Americans along the frontier was a blending of cultures that were new and distinct. Despite attempts to faithfully replicate the society present in the East, western towns such as San Francisco signified a departure from clear structures designed by the



colonies, as the frontier presented a space less regulated than its eastern counterparts.

San Francisco as described within *McTeague* is a clear product of both of these ideologies, as the town's desperation to cultivate the land presents professions as a border that defines civility, while its vague and undetermined nature also allows a space in which unqualified men such as McTeague can practice occupations that require specialized knowledge. First, the emphasis placed on professions within the frontier draws a clear border between the modern and cultivated American influences as opposed to the savage preexisting ones. The presence of these professionals invokes a connotation of values that promote the agenda described by Turner.

Scholar Burton Bledstein outlines these values that are suggested alongside the presence of modern practitioners in the frontier. He explains how a model professional in the nineteenth century "emerged as an emulated example of leadership in American society. He was self-reliant, independent, ambitious, and mentally organized. He structured a life and career around noble aims and purposes, including the idea of moral obligation" (92). These same characteristics can be found in Turner's analysis, as he describes certain traits a traveler on the frontier would need to have to be successful. These traits include "coarseness and strength combined with acuteness and inquisitiveness; that practical, inventive turn of mind, quick to find expedients; that masterful grasp of material things, lacking in the artistic but powerful to effect great ends; that restless, nervous energy [and] dominant individualism" (37). The similarities between these two figures, the professional and the frontiersman, demonstrate how a model professional can be a predominant actor in Turner's ideology. The professional, with their ambition, leadership, and independence, promotes the agenda of exploration and opportunity which Turner defines as a main American goal. In this way, dentistry is an extension of the professional figure and their goal of cultivation. The work of dentistry reflects both values of the professional figure and the frontiersman as the dentist with their higher education and expertise shows dominance and control over an otherwise uncivilized mouth. The existence of dentistry as a profession on the frontier further distinguishes the American leader, defining them as a civilized, powerful, and individualistic professional, which draws a line between this type of leader and the civilization and

people who existed before. Therefore, dentistry can be seen as a civilizing force, as it promotes the type of character that furthers these ideals.

Specifically turning to the novel, the reader sees this actor of Turner's ideology through the character of the Other Dentist. Every time the Other Dentist is mentioned within the text, he is listed among defining qualities that match the types of figures both Turner and Bledstein describe. This professional is described as a man of high class, wearing "salmon-pink neckties" and "astonishing waistcoats" (Norris 42). He has a respectable clientele comprised mostly of the younger women on Polk Street and demonstrates his ambitious nature by immediately opening his practice after just graduating from college (23). Through this description, the reader sees a figure who is educated, ambitious, noble, and respectable. As such, the Other Dentist and his practice can be viewed as an emblem of civilization. As a model professional, the Other Dentist signifies a figure that people of the frontier should aspire to be. His presence in the novel continues to draw the line between the civilized, ideal man as opposed to the brute animal Turner frowns upon. Further, this characterization of the Other Dentist was only made possible because of his ability to use his opportunities with education to open an established practice along the frontier.

Anzaldúa's analysis of borderlands can also be used to complicate the inquiry of how dentistry operates as a civilizing force in San Francisco. Norris's titular character is allowed to be a model professional despite not having these qualifications and attributes defined by Turner, Bledstein, and the Other Dentist. This demonstrates how the distinct line between civilization and savagery might not be as clear as Turner believes, instead presenting a land that has a mix of both forces. The nature of the frontier and its lack of quick regulation meant that it was common to see two drastically different physicians like McTeague and the Other Dentist, thus presenting a problem in detailing specifically which professionals are allowed to faithfully promote the American agenda of expansion and cultivation. Scholar Deidre Dallas Hall details how, in the late nineteenth century, the professional landscape was a "chaotic, unregulated medical marketplace in which trained doctors competed with untrained charlatans" (175). With the Gold Rush pushing Americans to continue heading west, the influx of settlers further contributed to the variety of practitioners in the area, creating an unregulated mixture of model professionals and charlatans (177). Hall further highlights how

despite organizations coming together to form more widely held and enforced rules regarding the practitioners in the frontier, governmental action often lagged behind these groups' efforts, meaning that unqualified "quacks" were allowed to practice alongside licensed professionals (177). Due to the unique nature of the frontier, those unfit to practice a specific profession were not initially punished to do so, allowing those individuals to practice despite being unqualified. Thus, the frontier as described in Norris's novel may more closely resemble Anzaldúa's definition of borderlands, as the line between civilization and what Turner qualifies as savagery is instead mixed within the setting.

### **Dentistry's Role in the Inner Battle of the Self: The Civilized vs. Beastly Identities**

The role of dentistry as a civilizing force extends past San Francisco itself, as it takes on a key role in one of the main conflicts in the novel: McTeague's inner battle between his two identities. Throughout the text, Norris explores the breaking down of humanity to its most basic form, as he uses his work to investigate naturalist theory. Scholar Richard Lehan defines the type of literary naturalism found in Norris's work as highly revolving around the individual and their instincts, writing how literary naturalism involves an "individual struggling for realization in a hostile world of natural forces" (22). This overview provides insight into one of the main challenges in the book, as Norris's title character struggles with powerful inner forces which are in constant conflict. Throughout the novel, McTeague grapples with these two opposing powers: his innate and "monstrous" instincts and the rational self, the two forces fighting over control of his actions (Norris 26). Specifically, when McTeague is courting his future wife Trina, Norris writes how "within him, a certain second self, another better McTeague rose with the brute; both were strong, with the huge crude strength of the man himself" (26). The inner conflict within McTeague mirrors the dispute of settlers overriding indigenous land and culture, as we see similar forces, the civilized and the savage, at battle with each other, the only difference being that this is an internal struggle. This allows us to apply the same framework of dentistry as a symbol of civilization to McTeague himself, as he uses his profession as a strategy to channel his brutish nature.

Dentistry is McTeague's attempt to keep his nature and actions civilized, using his practice as a means to draw lines between his rational and

bestly self and to keep the rational one in power of his emotions and acts. He does so by channeling one of his main characteristics, his strength, into his work with teeth. Norris constructs his protagonist to have a vast amount of physical power, with McTeague constantly being described as a large man with “immense limbs, heavy with ropes of muscle” and hands that “were hard as wooden mallets, strong as vises, the hands of the old-time car boy” (6). This description of McTeague is nearly inhuman, his physicality hinting at the animalistic nature residing just under the surface of McTeague’s character. However, despite the strong implication of the tension between man and beast, McTeague can successfully suppress the other nature because of the way he uses dentistry as an outlet for his physical strength. Several times throughout the text, characters remark on how instead of using tools to do the work for him, McTeague pulls out teeth with his bare hands (18). By using dentistry as a profession with which to enact physical exertion, McTeague’s rational self maintains power as the physical pulling out of the teeth creates an outlet for his overwhelming strength. While an outlet alone is important to quelling innate, beastly instincts, it is also critical to acknowledge the type of outlet dentistry creates as opposed to other methods. The author’s use of a profession operates as a civilized outlet, one that acts on morals as it provides a direct service for the community instead of inflicting harm. By using dentistry as opposed to other occupations or activities, McTeague is able to channel the brutish side of his behavior into a profession that is refined, civil, and favorable for the community within the frontier.

Another way McTeague is able to use his profession to keep the rational man in power is by using it as a distraction from his darker desires. Norris displays McTeague’s immersion into his work: “[he] worked slowly, mechanically, turning the foil between his fingers with the manual dexterity that one sometimes sees in stupid persons. His head was quite empty of all thought, and he did not whistle over his work as another man might have done” (17). Norris continues to demonstrate how consuming McTeague’s work is, as he floods the reader with information about the specific processes involved with dentistry that McTeague has to perform. This emphasizes how McTeague’s hands and mind are always in motion, which provides a necessary distraction to keep the innate battle at bay. Specifically, Norris details how McTeague’s hands are constantly busy making mats, fillings of gold, and at work physically pulling teeth out of his clients’ mouths. Again, the reader sees how this occupation takes on a

positive role for McTeague and the community, not only distracting McTeague from his problematic desires, but also allowing him to serve the townsfolk in San Francisco, demonstrating dentistry as a moral practice of service. As McTeague accustoms to a mundane, routine lifestyle where his only thoughts revolve around the work and his brutish large hands are kept occupied making materials for his clients, he enters almost a tranquil state, temporarily halting the fight against his brute self along while actively and positively contributing to the civilization he is a part of.

While McTeague uses dentistry as a physical and mental outlet, dentistry also provides him with a position of power in which he unquestionably remains dominant over others despite the instability caused by his inner turmoil. A power dynamic exists between practitioners and their clients, as the former have specialized knowledge and experience that sets them apart from those that are seeking their services. This lopsided relationship is even more unique when it comes to dentistry; “as the professional who deals with the teeth, the dentist is associated with pain, whether as therapy or torture” (Paulson 137). Ultimately, by being a dentist, McTeague can exert power over others through this dynamic which stabilizes the inner conflict in himself. Not only does he stand apart from the other members of his society through his specialized experiences, but dentistry is also a profession that may invoke fear, further playing towards this imbalance of power. This gives McTeague the freedom to exercise control over other people, having complete agency to shape their mouths the way he sees fit, as he is the expert compared to the other residents of the town.

McTeague can construct a carefully built lattice of control over both himself and others through dentistry, as he uses his profession to provide him with stability over his strength, mind, and the other townsfolk. This power imbalance, as it is weighted heavily towards the rational McTeague, is reminiscent of how civilization operates as opposed to the uncultivated and as Turner describes, primitive land. Civilization is the dominant force in this relationship, eventually overriding the savage and wild lands. Similarly, as McTeague turns to dentistry, he is able to attain this dominance, operate as a moral actor, and keep his unfavorable qualities at bay. McTeague is able to become, at least superficially, a master of dentistry, which in turn, allows him to be a master of civilization. However, this natural relationship of dominance between the civilized and the untamed falls out of balance within McTeague, resulting in the beastly side

overtaking the rational one because of McTeague's inability to practice dentistry adequately.

## Conclusion

Norris demonstrates the importance of dentistry as an emblem of this civilization, as without it, McTeague can no longer function as a rational character. Dentistry provides the one means by which McTeague can regulate this struggle, as it brings him closer to the ideals of the predominant expansionist ideology at the time. Practicing dentistry allows McTeague to play at being the model professional, which despite his lack of qualifications, permits him for a time to access civilization and thus, civilize his inner self. Therefore, dentistry was able to act as a civilizing force, predominantly for McTeague and his struggle against the chaotic, inner force pressing to be released, allowing him the opportunity to exercise control over others which tamed the beastly self. This analysis of dentistry as an indicator of civilization both in the frontier and the inner battle between natural and unnatural instincts thus provides a framework in which the reader can analyze the line between savagery and civilization, ultimately demonstrating how one can utilize a profession to have mastery over this borderline.

---

## Works Cited

---

- Anzaldúa, Gloria. *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza*. Aunt Lute Books, 1987.
- Bledstein, Burton J. *The Culture of Professionalism*. New York: Norton, 1976.
- Hall, Deidre Dallas. "‘Thoroughly Original and Thoroughly Natural’: Redefining Professional Fitness in McTeague and Blix." *Arizona Quarterly: A Journal of American Literature, Culture, and Theory*, vol. 74, no. 4, 2018, pp. 175–203., <https://doi.org/10.1353/arq.2018.0026>.
- Heddendorf, David. "The ‘Octopus’ In McTeague’: Frank Norris and Professionalism." *Modern Fiction Studies*, vol. 37, no. 4, 1991, pp. 677–88. JSTOR, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/26284487>.
- Lehan, Richard. "Naturalism and the Realms of the Text: The Problem Restated." *Studies in American Naturalism*, vol. 1, no. 1/2, Summer/Winter 2006 2006, pp. 15–29. EBSCOhost, <https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=a9h&AN=23074540&site=ehost-live&scope=site>.
- Norris, Frank, and Jerome MacNeill Loving. *McTeague: A Story of San Francisco*. Oxford University Press, 1995.
- Paulson, Ronald. "The Perfect Teeth: Dental Aesthetics and Morals." *Critical Inquiry*, vol. 34, no. S2, 2008, pp. S130–45. JSTOR, <https://doi.org/10.1086/529093>.
- Turner, Frederick Jackson. *The Frontier in American History*. 22994th version, Henry Holt and Company, 1921, Gutenberg, <https://www.gutenberg.org/cache/epub/22994/pg22994-images.html>.

# "Fortune and Glory"<sup>1</sup> in the Rearview Mirror

Ronald Reagan, Imperialism, and Nostalgia  
in *Indiana Jones*

---

ANTONIO ROMAN CAMPOS

While popular historians like Jeff Wallenfeldt have made careers writing decadal histories based in the concept that each decade has its own, unique *zeitgeist*, it is also evident that many pieces of literature transcend the decade in which they were created, drawing upon older cultural mores and historical traditions. Thus, while this paper seeks to demonstrate the ways in which the three original *Indiana Jones* films represent and define important motifs and sentiments of the 1980s, it also situates the broader themes of *Indiana Jones* within the imperialistic traditions of the Victorian Era, and the radio serial storytelling traditions of the 1930s-1950s. Furthermore, this paper investigates connections between the three original films of the franchise and nostalgic, conservative Reaganite politics. In making these connections, this paper neither suggests that *Indiana Jones* themes came from the politics of President Reagan, nor vice versa. Instead, this paper argues that both Reaganite politics and the *Indiana Jones* franchise are based in older cultural traditions, representing a nostalgia for both 1930s-1950s wartime American politics, and a celebration of nineteenth century American and European imperialism.

## Setting the Stage: The Origins of *Indiana Jones* and the Age of Reagan

Originally appearing in the now-famous film *Raiders of the Lost Ark*, Indiana Jones made his national debut in June of 1981, when Reagan's presidency was gaining unprecedented popularity and an approval rating over 68% (Newport). A "dignified professor and intrepid adventurer," Indiana Jones's character and the first film of his franchise quickly rose to extreme popularity, and it became clear that something about the dashing

---

1. "Willie: You're gonna get killed chasing after your damn fortune and glory!  
*Indiana Jones: Maybe. But not today*" (Spielberg, *Indiana Jones and the Temple of Doom*).



archeologist, with his iconic bullwhip, revolver, and fedora registered with filmgoers of the day (Barkman and Sanna 236). The first film of the original trilogy was an unquestionable blockbuster, grossing almost 400 million dollars in theatres, and its tremendous popularity led to the release of multiple sequels, including *The Temple of Doom* in 1984 and *The Last Crusade* in 1989, which frame the Reagan presidency.

1981 was a marked year in American history, not only because it witnessed the transition between the liberal, Democratic Presidency of Jimmy Carter and the conservative, Republican one of Ronald Reagan, but also because this suggested broader transitions in American social politics both domestically and internationally. Following the radically liberal 1960s and 1970s, a time filled with countercultural lifestyles, Watergate, the Vietnam War, the loss of the Panama Canal, and the Iran hostage incidents (Skow), many American audiences perceived “America as a nation on the wane,” losing strength to smaller foreign powers, just as it had lost the patriotism and community of the World Wars era (Simpson 2). In a “rapidly globalizing world, the [idea] of the incommensurability with otherness became both more visible and more contested” (6), and many Americans gained a “quasi-ideological” hatred of the liberal and liberation countercultures that they perceived as having brought the nation to a lowly and debauched state (8). Thus, the 1980s became “a period of general and institutional conservatism” (11) in which President Reagan was able to “win the White House with a margin that surprised all pollsters” against a liberal incumbent, thus perpetuating a massive national shift towards “the Republican party... the so-called Moral Majority... and a strong, traditional Christian Right” (Wilcox and Robinson 6). Dissatisfied conservative, Christian, and nativist American activists “flocked to the Republican Party in 1980,” mobilizing for Ronald Reagan and the GOP Presidential Nomination (12). By Reagan’s inauguration in 1981, more than “30% of Americans were positively oriented to the conservative Reagan platform, and another 42% were Moral Majority supporters” (Simpson 28). This growing audience craved new heroes who shared their visions of “honor, tradition, and character conventions” (Hoberman 127). In this setting, filled with international political concerns and nostalgia for older American heroism, wherewithal, and global power, *Raiders* hit box offices. Evidently meeting the needs of the conservative American audiences who had joined the Reagan platform, the film has been called the “first real Reagan movie” (Hoberman 125) or even the “quintessence... of

Reaganite entertainment" (Morris, *Companion* 444). It was the unique hero of this film that made it a booming success.

The character of Indiana Jones had been conceived by George Lucas and directed for his production company by Steven Spielberg (Hoberman 126). As a former actor, President Reagan dreamt of the "return of traditional, Hollywood freedom fighters... [like] John Wayne from *The Alamo*, [or] Kirk Douglas from *Spartacus*," and it was evident that Lucas and Spielberg shared in this vision (127). As they told *People* in 1981, both Lucas and Spielberg "raided Hollywood lore and their childhood fantasies" (127) in dreaming up the character of Indiana Jones, relying primarily on their favorite serial radio and novella classics of the 1930s and 1940s for their inspiration, as well as historic action-adventure pictures, like Boris Karloff's *The Mummy* from 1932 (Barkman and Sanna 236). In turn, Spielberg admitted that many of these childhood classics harkened back to popular Victorian Era adventure pulps and journals, featuring both fictional characters like Alan Quartermain and Phileas Fogg, and actual explorers like Wallis Budge, Richard Burton, and Henry Morton Stanley who inspired the character of Indiana Jones (239). Indeed, "the Victorian Era seems to provide the true milieu that frames the *Indiana Jones* series," (238) providing an imperialistic undertone and an overtly orientalist flavor that pervades the films.

Additionally, Jones's characterization features distinctive American flares. While Jones's background in the Boy Scouts and his upbringing in a small, rural town position the character towards twentieth century Americana, his role as a globetrotting professor references the older American ideal of the "free agent," and Jones's tendency toward fisticuffs and his "tough guy" mannerisms harken back to the protagonists of many American Westerns (239). "Quick with his wit...and faithful towards country, capitalism, and God, Indiana Jones becomes...a quintessential, if skeptical, American hero," (240). An unlikely mixture of the old west cowboy, the suave midcentury American, and the Victorian adventurer, Jones's interesting character equally seems to belong to the American frontier, classic wartime films such as *Lawrence of Arabia*, and *African Queen*, and the Victorian world of Jules Verne's Phileas Fogg and Captain Nemo (Morris, *Empire* 76). Armed with a bullwhip and six-shooter, both indicative of cowboy Westerns, and "adorning the same leather jacket and fedora that Reagan [himself] wore in 1952's *Hong Kong*," (Hoberman 131) Jones becomes the kind of nostalgic American protagonist that Reagan

supporters longed for, revitalizing the idealized “Golden Age of the Hollywood freedom fighter” (129) and the nation at large.

### Imperialism and International Policy

Similar to their protagonist, the plotlines of the three original *Indiana Jones* films are thoroughly saturated with American conservative messages. Like the heroes of the pulp novellas and radio programs upon which his character is based, Jones frequently travels to foreign lands where he acts as an “imperial free agent” under the auspices of the federal government; he primarily meets danger or defeat at the hands of “savage locals,” and he combats alternative imperial interests—like those of the Nazis—for control over the resources and treasures of a given region, (Morris, *Empire* 76). Still, it is worth pointing out that Jones never directly acts as an imperial agent hoping to acquire land or power from himself. Rather, his ultimate search for “fortune and glory,” as expressed numerous times in the films, more closely aligns with Spanish conquistadors’ quests for “glory, God, and gold,” or Theodore Roosevelt’s quest for national foreign influence (Longenecker 2). In this regard, Jones’s “rugged individualism not only recalls the pioneering spirit enshrined in Manifest Destiny and the conquering of the wilderness, [but also] a zeal [that] permeates United States expansionism since the Monroe Doctrine<sup>2</sup>” (Morris, *Empire* 75). “Explicitly echoing imperialist African... jungle explorers” like Livingstone and Stanley, one excellent example of Jones’s Victorian and Rooseveltian tendencies, deeply “rooted in the Monroe Doctrine and the White Man’s Burden<sup>3</sup>,” comes directly from the famous first moments of the original trilogy (76), where audiences see Jones as an American agent abroad, clashing with foreign powers over the fate of primitive jungle natives.

*Raiders* begins in 1936 in the jungles of South America where Jones attempts to purloin a sacred golden idol from the Hovitos Indians, who have allied themselves with rival archeologist Dr. René Belloq, a corrupt Frenchman with Nazi ties. After journeying through the rainforest, Jones

---

2. Presented by President James Monroe in 1823, this doctrine warns European empires that the United States will not tolerate further colonization in the Western Hemisphere because the Americas ought to be the political and commercial domain of the United States.

3. From Rudyard Kipling’s 1899 poem of the same name, “The White Man’s Burden” exhorts the United States to assume colonial control of the Filipino people and their country, based on the concept of Social Darwinism.

succeeds in reaching the Hovitos sacred temple where he must brave booby traps in order to locate the idol. Despite the traps, Jones succeeds in stealing the relic, only to have Belloq and the Hovitos reclaim it by force. To conclude the famous scene, Jones narrowly escapes from the jungle by boarding a seaplane and returning to the United States. In this illegal attempted acquisition of resources (the Hovitos idol), Indiana Jones certainly operates as an imperialist agent in the Rooseveltian vein. In attempting to steal sacred objects from their proper owners and use such relics in order to satiate museum interests in exotic curios, Jones seems to be a shameless colonialist. However, there may also be deeper Reaganite influences accentuated in this brazen scene. Some scholars assert that Jones's "ominous, looming, and powerful" features in the opening shot are instead intended to represent American power and durability abroad, rather than straightforward imperialistic tendencies (Morris, *Empire* 77). This opening could also be seen as supporting broader Reaganite policies concerning Latin America. Like Jones's attempted thievery, Reagan's political strategies also acted as "forceful reassertions [of] national power and prestige" in foreign lands, accomplished through Rooseveltian "big stick" or "gunboat" diplomacy (Welsh 3). In particular, the events in the famous opening sequence mirror President Reagan's contemporary visits to Latin America, where he "became embroiled in quasi-military actions in El Salvador and Nicaragua" (Morris, *Empire* 79). Much like Jones in the film, Reagan felt that Americans had the right to take valuables from Latin America under the Monroe Doctrine. However, just like the film's protagonist, he "faced confusion and opposition in the region, [leading] to the United States' undeclared 'Contra' war against the Nicaraguan Sandinista regime" (Welsh 2). Thus, from its first scene, "the film becomes classic Reaganite entertainment," (Morris, *Empire*, 83), filled with serious and complex "allusions to contemporary problems" (133).

Imperialistic undertones continue to develop in *Raiders* as Jones arrives in British Egypt on the trail of the Ark of the Covenant. The "environment in which [Jones] operates in Egypt is straight out of stories from the British Empire," with the sudden, violent ambush in Cairo's medina coming "with a heavy dose of imperialistic imagery" (Barkman and Sanna 240). In these scenes, Marion Ravenwood, representing the classic figure of a damsel in distress despite her valiant self-defense, is kidnapped by khaki-uniformed Nazi henchmen and trapped in a basket, which Jones attempts to recover via a mad race through the marketplace. In these scenes, Jones's willful murder of locals and his violent escapades evidence the

imperialist drive of the film to celebrate American dominance over foreign bodies. The scenes exemplify the fact that “during the Age of Empire, there was a common, and even popular image, of the White, male hero as a free agent wherever imperial flags flew” (241). While it is clear that “Lucas and Spielberg poke a bit of fun at these overwhelming imperialist images when Marion shouts to her abductors ‘You can’t do this to me! I’m an American!’” (242), recent critics have called these scenes “inordinately and overtly racist and sexist” (Hoberman 199) reflecting some darker undertones of Reagan’s conservatism. The idea of American superiority and infallibility abroad, though comedized, is also clearly articulated.

Connecting the Cairo “basket game” scenes with Reaganite politics and policies, some have argued that Jones’s disregard for human life in the choreographed fight scene is permissible because the Ark, the object for which he is searching, is symbolic of a nuclear warhead. In this reading, the Ark’s destructive capabilities, demonstrated towards the end of the film, are associated with those of an atomic bomb being released, and Jones’s destruction in the medina is sanctioned under the context of the overwhelming anxiety that 1980s audiences expressed towards the Cold War (Morris, *Empire* 81). Thus, Jones is allowed to do anything necessary to prevent ultrapowerful weapons from falling into the wrong hands. In this reading, although Jones ultimately fails in his quest to study the Ark, he is still a successful hero in that he brings the “weapon” back to the United States, thus giving America the power of its future use. Although it is something of a stretch to fit the Ark into such a 1980s Cold War nuclear message, several characters in the film easily fit into the conservative patterns that defined the Reagan coalition. Certainly, the deep respect that Jones’s friend Marcus Brody holds for the Ark and its divine powers is indicative of broader conservative Christian treatments of religious subjects (Wilcox and Robinson 45). Moreover, “the warm, smiling and gregarious Sallah, the Egyptian digger, who is friendly and cooperative to Americans,” demonstrates how many Reaganite conservatives believed “foreigners, especially Middle Easterners, should be attentive and docile” (Hoberman 129). However, all of these potentially imperialistic themes pale in comparison to those developed in the second film of the franchise, *Temple of Doom*, which has received mixed reviews from audiences and critics alike.

In its portrayal of Jones saving enslaved Indian children from the monstrous Thuggee cult, *Temple of Doom* certainly possesses imperialis-

tic overtures. The story seems to harken back to “various popular Victorian magazines and Edwardian novels” (Morris, *Empire* 74), especially Jules Verne’s *Around the World in Eighty Days*, wherein Phileas Fogg saves a maharani from Thuggee fanatics in Allahabad in 1872. In addition to these older, more overtly imperialistic works, the film also possesses several Reaganite and Monrovia qualities, including an obvious portrayal of the “great American savior” archetype (238). However, the necessary way in which Jones is ultimately rescued by British Indian forces under Captain Phillip Blumburt lends itself to a broader imperialistic tone, rather than a directly pro-American sentiment. This portrayal is certainly in line with Jones’s Victorian origins, which understood “imperialism as heroism” (Barkman and Sanna 238).

As in *Raiders*, the images presented in *Temple of Doom* also mingled with Reaganite policies and headlines of the day. Coinciding with an Ethiopian famine that brought images of starving villages and bound children to American newspapers, *Temple of Doom* was seen by many audiences as a valid representation of a way Americans might help developing nations, and this sentiment was supported by certain members of the Reagan administration (Morris, *Empire* 147). Moreover, many nostalgic, older conservatives valued the ways in which Jones single-handedly enacted alliances in the film, and they favored his use of hefty, Rooseveltian “big stick” policies indicative of earlier twentieth century international strategies, wherein American “big men” could single-handedly improve the fate of destitute natives (148).

As a slight variation from these trends, the third and final film of the original trilogy, *The Last Crusade* returns to the Middle East, reintroduces the original characters of Brody and Sallah, and redefines Jones’s character as a more faithful, conservative American rather than a mere imperialist. However, in keeping with the Victorian background of the earlier films, in *The Last Crusade*, Jones receives his call to adventure from a wealthy American industrialist, Dr. Walter Donovan, who mirrors several dubious imperial antiquarians and collectors from the nineteenth century. Donovan also continues Belloq’s characterization of the intelligent villain from *Raiders*, thus furthering the idea of competing imperial interests (Barkman and Sanna 244). Similar to the violence perpetrated against the Egyptians in *Raiders*, Jones continues to show aggressive tendencies in *The Last Crusade* as he “skips to violent chase scenes” in Italy, Germany, and the Middle East (Morris, *Empire* 151). Importantly,

Jones's imperialistic tone is reduced in *The Last Crusade* because, in these scenes, he more commonly combats the Nazis themselves rather than their impoverished native henchmen. Thus, Jones is portrayed as a patriotic American, directly facing Axis powers, Nazism, and even Adolf Hitler himself in a definitive World War II setting. The result of this change is a less imperialistic and more traditional American tone, palatable to a wider audience.

### **Traditional Americana and Domestic Policy**

Just like President Reagan and his coalition, the *Indiana Jones* films of the 1980s also spend some time emphasizing conservative nostalgia for domestic policies of the 1940s and 1950s in contrast to violent and complex foreign relations. While Reagan's administration attempted to present America as a peaceful land of opportunity, operating with a definite Christian and moralistic majority, it also attempted to emphasize the international dangers associated with the prolonged Cold War, the unstable Soviet Union, and the dangerous Third World (Hoberman 126). Similarly, the *Indiana Jones* franchise always presents its protagonist's American place of work, the University of Chicago, as a peaceful and protected region, in contrast to virtually all foreign destinations. The domestic Jones, like his surroundings, expresses a "simplistic nostalgia... for midcentury America," that markedly differs from the complexities and violence of foreign conquest (Morris, *Empire* 77). This is especially exemplified in the first and third films, which spend multiple scenes at domestic locales.

*Raiders* follows Indiana Jones home to the United States where the protagonist must hang up his bullwhip in order to teach an ordinary class filled with images of simplicity and nostalgia, from well-dressed pupils who lay apples on their professor's desk to a comely young student with "Love You" written across her eyelids. All of a sudden, "intrepid adventurer Indiana Jones has transformed into Professor Henry Jones, Jr., sporting little, round spectacles and a nerdy tweed suit rather than his fedora, bullwhip, pistol or leather jacket" (Barkman and Sanna 239). "Like Batman and Bruce Wayne or Superman and Clark Kent, Indy's dichotomy of personality is common among adventure heroes" and, in this case, his dichotomy may also represent a deeper duality of the Reagan era (240). Whereas Dr. Henry Jones Jr., an esteemed university professor, is a hero of the mundane Midwestern American heartland, his alter ego, Indiana Jones, is more tenacious, shrewd, and violent, willing to do whatever it takes to

attain “fortune and glory.” This parallels the Reagan era’s treatment of domestic and foreign policies. While internal governance remained rooted in World War II patriotism and peaceful 1950s nostalgia, international policy grew increasingly heavy-handed and sometimes violent during the 1980s (Hoberman 126). “Not since 1945 had America had a unifying purpose” (Welsh 3), and foreign affairs, just like the international actions of Indiana Jones, began to reflect corrosive American engagements abroad.

At the university, Jones and Brody are called upon by representatives of the United States government who describe a worrisome situation developing in Egypt where Nazi forces are attempting to locate and claim the fabled Ark of the Covenant. As Jones later admits, the government representatives are “bureaucratic fools,” as evidenced by their ignorance concerning both the Ark and the Staff of Ra. However, notwithstanding this fact, Jones and Brody patiently speak with the officials, respectfully discussing their upcoming tasks. This respect for government figures, and its reciprocated respect for university scholars, fits into nostalgia-based 1950s stereotypes of professional, but fairly unsophisticated, postwar policies (Hoberman 126). The combined trend of respect and nostalgia is also visualized in the next scene, travelling to Jones’ white-fenced, green-lawned, suburban clapboard house, where he talks to Brody in an old-fashioned housecoat and slippers. In these few quiet, domestic scenes, nostalgia for the conservative 1950s and patriotic 1930s-1940s is clearly seen. Instead of “an impenetrable and powerful, imperialistic force abroad,” the Americans, in these scenes, are shown as docile gentlemen and model patriotic citizens, equally willing to live in quiet suburbs or go out of their way to help government officials on dangerous missions (Barkman and Sanna 247).

Similarly, in *Raiders*, while Marion Ravenwood’s character is often considered plucky and tomboyish, she also resembles certain domestic stereotypes from midcentury suburban Americana (Morris, *Empire* 74). Despite her initial introduction as a prize drinker at her bar in Nepal, once Ravenwood is in Jones’s company, she begins to revert to a more subservient characterization. In Cairo, she is enthralled by the “cuteness of a monkey in a scene that definitely marks her as soft, maternal, and surrounded by children. [Furthermore,] her weapon of choice against pursuing villains is a frying pan, a metonym for domesticity... [she] thus becomes a mere distressed damsel, abducted and screaming for Jones’s help” (75). By the end of the movie, Jones and Ravenwood appear as a



quintessential American couple, and Ravenwood survives her escapades by “always accepting Jones’s authority, inseparable from his nationality and gender” (81). In his romantic relationship with Ravenwood, “Jones, as an American, is cool, knowledgeable, skillful and self-reliant,” effectively bringing domesticity and civilization wherever he goes (81).

Nostalgia for traditional gender roles is seen to an even greater degree in *Temple of Doom* wherein Willie Scott, another initially capable woman, becomes incapable, foolish, and danger-prone around Jones. *Temple of Doom* begins in Shanghai in 1935, where Scott is introduced as a nightclub singer, dancer, and love interest. She dramatically opens the film by emerging from the mouth of a Chinese dragon, performing a rendition of Cole Porter’s “Anything Goes!” which mocks modernity while tout-ing old-fashioned morals. “In a sparkling red sheath dress, [Scott] adopts the static and objectified *femme fatale* pose, framed by the film’s stylized logo,” as Jones enters the scene, preparing to do business with Chinese gangster Lao Che and his henchmen (112). From this initial scene, Scott is continuously presented as the beauty, rather than the brain of the movie. In fact, Scott goes on to prove herself even less capable than Ravenwood at keeping up with Jones. In the course of the film, she mounts an elephant backwards, complains about a broken nail when faced with a life-or-death situation, and is even domestically consigned to, in Jones’s words, “watch the kid [Short Round]” whenever more important business must be attended to. In *Temple of Doom*, as the only meaningful female character, Scott suggests a broader sense of American female domesticity as she asserts that she belongs in “Missouri, where they never feed you snake before ripping your heart out or lowering you into hot pits.” Scott showcases several stereotypes of incapable and shallow midcentury American females despite her initial demonstrations of success. Her character would clearly seem more at home in a domestic 1950s American suburb than in Indian palaces or Chinese nightclubs.

*Temple of Doom* is the only *Indiana Jones* film not to have any scenes set in the United States, instead featuring China and India as its primary locations. However, a wealth of domestic Americana abounds in *The Last Crusade*, making the concept of American domesticity a definite theme of the trilogy. With intense “nostalgia flavors” coinciding with the reintroduction of characters like Brody and Sallah, *The Last Crusade* focuses on Americana, rather than imperialism, especially in its opening sequence (157). In sticking with original Raiders themes of “simplistic American

nostalgia" (79), *The Last Crusade* opens in 1912 in Arches National Park, Utah. There, a young Jones—garbed as an American Boy Scout—discovers an illegal archeological dig for the fabled "Cross of Coronado." Claiming that the artifact "belongs in a museum," Jones pilfers the cross from the digging bandits, and he escapes from them first via a horse chase and then via a circus train bound for Colorado. Finally arriving at a peaceful and quiet home in a small Western town, the young Jones respectfully—if impatiently—waits for his father's permission to reveal his discovery of the cross, but instead the relic is confiscated from him by the local sheriff and his posse. Within this opening sequence, several elements of Reaganite entertainment, as well as American nostalgia for older and simpler times, are evident. His Western setting and equestrian skills situate the young Jones as a cowboy hero (Barkman and Sanna 244), and his clean-cut Boy Scout uniform and filial piety demonstrate Jones to be a member of the Reaganite moral majority (243). Thus, "in contrast to [*Temple of Doom*], both *Raiders* and *The Last Crusade* work in recognizably Western [spaces] and definite, Christian and American themes" (247).

As *The Last Crusade* continues, an adult Jones is once again found at work at the peaceful University of Chicago where "Spielberg captures many of the political and cultural observations [later] attributed to the Reagan years" (Morris, *Companion* 440). As in *Raiders*, scenes of the conservative establishment and peaceful images similar to those of Reagan's ordinary "Morning in America" contrast markedly with virtually all other scenes of the film (440). These scenes develop Brody as a respected—if pedantic—member of the conservative establishment, and they present Chicago not as a metropolis, but as a land of smalltown clapboard houses, clean apartments, and mundane avenues. Because of the marked contrast of these images with virtually all other scenes of the film, the notion is made obvious that the United States is tranquil, peaceful, and safe, while most foreign countries and foreigners are dangerous and vindictive.

In *The Last Crusade*, love interest and duplicitous Nazi agent Dr. Elsa Schneider also helps to develop Reaganite claims of American simplicity, comfort, trustworthiness, and nostalgia. As Jones's only foreign love interest, Schneider proves herself to be a capable and intelligent woman, able to match both wits and derring-do with the film's protagonist in the subterranean catacombs of Campo San Barnaba Church in Venice. In the film, Elsa "actively and skillfully pilots speedboats... and, contrary to Scott, she is neither more nor less victimized than Jones when confronted by

thousands of rats and a conflagration" (Morris, *Empire* 153). Therefore, the fact that Schneider is the only woman to betray Jones is meaningful, pointing to the international and educated elements of her personality as dangerous character traits, each contrasting with the domestic, maternal, and subservient characteristics of Ravenwood and Scott. As "the only central female in [*The Last Crusade*, Schneider] is a betrayer... a *femme fatale* and [a literal Nazi], ultimately punished for her treachery" as much as for her courage and wit (154).

With its return to topics like Christianity, cowboys, and smalltown America, as well as its recognizable villains, like Nazis, *The Last Crusade* became yet another Reaganite blockbuster in the franchise (158). Many, including Spielberg himself, even considered it to be the "best and clearest" film of the entire series (Morris, *Companion* 440). One Reagan supporter called *The Last Crusade*, an "epic of memory and nostalgia for the past," and another noted the film as a "conservative, ideological war machine" (446). Clearly, *The Last Crusade* possessed lasting value and "overt [political] and intellectual arguments" that "deftly tied" World War II nostalgia into contemporary conservative movements (446).

## Conclusions

Following two decades of rapid global decolonization and liberalization, the 1980s "Age of Reagan" represented a conservative and retrospective period of American history. The decade recalled both the "glories of empire" and nostalgia for more traditional times (Barkman and Sanna 233). The films of the *Indiana Jones* trilogy clearly drew upon the same nostalgia, memories, fears, and hopes of President Reagan himself, praising traditional American values and powers while remembering the past. Beloved by audiences both then and now, it is clear that the films of the *Indiana Jones* franchise captured national tendencies of their era exceptionally well. On both international and domestic scales, they effectively and meaningfully drew connections between World War II, the Victorian Age, and the contemporary times. These films have cast long shadows to the present day, and they continue to inform younger audiences about America's place in the world, with heavy-handed policies abroad intended to protect internal peace and domesticity.

## Works Cited

---

- Barkman, Adam, and Antonio Sanna. *A Critical Companion to Steven Spielberg*. Lexington Books, 2019.
- Hoberman, J. *Make My Day: Movie Culture in the Age of Reagan*. The New Press, 2019.
- Longenecker, Dwight. "The Theological Theory of Indiana Jones." *The Imaginative Conservative*, Oxford University, 13 Feb. 2016, [www.theimaginativeconservative.org/2016/01/the-theological-theory-of-indiana-jones.html](http://www.theimaginativeconservative.org/2016/01/the-theological-theory-of-indiana-jones.html).
- Morris, Nigel. *A Companion to Steven Spielberg*. Wiley Blackwell Publishing House, 2017.
- Morris, Nigel. *The Cinema of Steven Spielberg: An Empire of Light*. Wallflower Press, 2007.
- Newport, Frank, et al. "Ronald Reagan from the People's Perspective: A Gallup Poll Statistics Review." *Gallup*, 8 June 2017, [www.news.gallup.com/poll/11887/ronald-reagan-from-peoples-perspective-gallup-poll-review.aspx](http://www.news.gallup.com/poll/11887/ronald-reagan-from-peoples-perspective-gallup-poll-review.aspx).
- Simpson, John H. "The Mood of America in the 1980s: Some Further Observations on Sociomoral Issues." *Sociology of Religion*, vol. 55, no. 3, pp. 291–324. Pro Quest Research Library, 1994.
- Skow, John. "The Long Ordeal of the Hostages." *Time*, Time Archives, 1980.
- Spielberg, Steven, director. *Indiana Jones and the Last Crusade*. Paramount Pictures Corporation, 24 May 1989.
- Spielberg, Steven, director. *Indiana Jones and the Raiders of the Lost Ark*. Paramount Pictures Corporation, 12 June 1981.
- Spielberg, Steven, director. *Indiana Jones and the Temple of Doom*. Paramount Pictures Corporation, 23 May 1984.
- Wallenfeldt, Jeff. "Decade-Defining Events in United States History." *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc., 2020, [www.britannica.com/list/25-decade-defining-events-in-us-history](http://www.britannica.com/list/25-decade-defining-events-in-us-history).
- Welsh, Jim. "Periodically Yours: The Movie Generation." *Salisbury Press: Literature and Film Quarterly*, vol. 13, no. 4, pp. 277–287. Pro Quest Research Library, 1985.
- Wilcox, Clyde, and Carin Robinson. *Onward Christian Soldiers? The Religious Right in American Politics (1980-2008)*. 4th ed., Westview Press, 2011.

# Contemporary Native American Art

---

BRI COVERT

Misrepresentations of Native Americans have permeated pop culture media, relaying unrealistic tales rooted in historical accounts from the arrival of Europeans in the Americas about Native American history, lifestyles, and aesthetics. Due to common misrepresentations, Native American culture is often misappropriated and as a response to this, many Native American artists use their work to reclaim their identity by contextualizing their heritage. While there are a number of ways contemporary artists have confronted this, this paper will focus on the ways historical accounts are being retold, how Native American artists are situating themselves as part of a living culture, and the ways in which artists and cultural institutions are avoiding monolithic teachings of Native American life.

While there have been countless reactions to Native American misrepresentation in the art world, Wendy Red Star has astonished critics with her work, particularly with her exhibit, *A Scratch on the Earth*, a continuation of Red Star's project *Four Seasons* from 2006 (see Reproduction 1).<sup>1</sup> The piece depicts the Montana reservation she grew up in, with particular focus on Crow Fair, a cultural revival festival (Cheng). Sherry Cheng, a writer for *Arts and Culture Texas*, describes Red Star's work as being deeply rooted in her identity and culture: "the importance of family, the Indigenous roots of feminism, Crow mythology, the history of the Montana landscape, and the pageantry of Crow Fest are among the subjects that Red Star brings to life in this exhibit." The title of the exhibit, *A Scratch on the Earth*, is poignant as well, derived from a translation of the Apsáalooke word "Annúkaxua," referring to the borders of the reservation initially imposed in the 1880s (Cheng).

Red Star's recent exhibit is a continuation of her project *Four Seasons* from 2006 (see Reproduction 2). While studying at UCLA, Red Star was struck with a bout of homesickness and visited the Natural History Mu-

---

1. Also known as the Apsáalooke Tribe.

seum to find cultural objects from the Crow Nation. While visiting the exhibit, she noticed the visitors around her observing her “living cultural heritage” the same way they observed the dinosaur bones (Cheng). This moment inspired her work and exploration of “boundaries between cultural, racial, social, and gender lines are reinforced in America, and how these lines blur across time and place” (Cheng). But what is particularly unique about Red Star’s work is the historical lens she uses as visual storyteller. Part of Red Star’s exhibit, *A Scratch on the Earth*, utilizes archival and personal photographs to create a photographic timeline of the history of Crow Fair. Using a red pen or graphite pencil, Red Star isolates areas of photographs by circling, pointing, and outlining sections that she then takes handwritten notes on. These notes are both on the images themselves, but also written directly onto the wall. Due to her experience at the Natural History Museum, Red Star aimed to provide context for her work, inspiring her to include her notes with the photographs.

Crow Fair was started by the Indian Agent in 1904 as a way to encourage the Crow people to adapt to the farming lifestyle, Red Star explains in her Artist Talk with Hammer Museum. The Fair was modeled after popular midwestern fairs and was originally a method of assimilating the Crow people into Western culture. When the people of the Crow Nation had their rights removed, they were not allowed to practice traditional ceremonies—which included singing, dancing, and horse parading—or speak their native language. But as the Crow Fair became a tourist destination, these restrictions were lifted. The Tipi Capitol of the World attracted both the general American public and Native American groups from around the United States and Canada. Red Star describes the event as “very magical” when she was a child (“Artist Talk” 13:23): “I have just some of my best memories attending Crow Fair” (13:30). The government eventually lost interest in the fair during WWII, but the festival continued as a form of cultural revival.

Aware of the history and importance of Crow Fair to the Apsáalooke people, Red Star designed an exhibit documenting the festival through the decades. Her documentation—through the combination of creating a visual timeline and notetaking—allowed her to tell the history of her people from the perspective of her people. She provided context to the festival by not just explaining its origins, but also through labeling actions and clothing and relating their meaning to the viewer. In one of these instances, Red Star describes the Elk Tooth Dress in her work, “Our traditional dress is the elk tooth dress... decorated with beautiful eye teeth of

an elk and it represents the hunting abilities or training abilities of men in that family... Most of these teeth are synthetic [today]... but they still hold that symbolic meaning” (“Artist Talk” 23:37). Many of the Crow women along the visual timeline are photographed in the Elk Tooth Dress. Red Star helps draw connections for the viewer by telling you who is wearing the dress and why they are wearing it. The combination of archival and personal photographs develops even more meaning as viewers learn about the tradition of the dress. Not only does the dress hold a lot of symbolic meaning, but it is also a source of pride and connection to the past.

Within the same exhibit, Red Star also retells the story of chief Medicine Crow. His image has been reappropriated by non-Native culture onto book covers, posters, and most notably, as the logo of Honest Tea.<sup>2</sup> Red Star noticed first began questioning the origin of the photo while attending Montana State University: “I started to ask myself, wait a minute, what happened that day when he sat down to take that photo?” (“Artist Talk” 37:47). She then explored the origins of the photograph, learning that five Crow Chiefs had attended a delegation trip to Washington DC in 1880 to meet with the President to discuss plans of running a train through a large area of hunting territory in Montana. Charles Milton photographed the chiefs together, both with the President and separately. During Red Star’s investigation, she discovered that Medicine Crow’s clothing relayed meaning about his coming into chiefdom. In her exhibition, she included the famous photograph, adding handwritten notes about what his wardrobe represented, and his journey to becoming a chief (see Reproduction 3).

In addition, Red Star portions a section of her exhibit to photographs by Edward Curtis, a photographer from the early 1900s whose main subjects were Native Americans. Red Star utilizes popular images of Crow men, but instead of her usual annotations, she removes the figures from the photograph by cutting them out and placing them against white backgrounds.<sup>3</sup> Her intentions are similar for her Delegation exhibit, referencing the commercialization of the Crow men. “I just wanted to give them their power back because when they’re reproduced so many times things get lost in translation” (Portland Art Museum 1:06). Red Star’s de-

---

2. This logo has been discontinued.

3. I was unable to find a picture of the exhibit to include in the “Reproductions” section, but you can view the exhibit in the video, Wendy Red Star - *Contemporary Native Photographers and the Edward Curtis Legacy*. The citation is below in the “Works Cited” section.

commercialization of people from the Crow tribe is another example of how she chooses to respond to the misrepresentation of her culture. Her approach necessitates correcting history by retelling Crow stories from the Crow perspective. One of the ways Native American artists challenge the misconstrued perception of their identity is by avoiding monolithic presentations. In other words, they present stories specific to their own experiences and their own heritage such as Wendy Red Star's artwork in which she doesn't just retell Native American stories, but those specific to her tribe and culture. But it is also vital that institutions take responsibility in their presentations of Native American culture by contextualizing the exhibit and the individual artifacts. This includes properly labeling the origins of an object and the purpose of the object.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art (MET) faced backlash in 2018 for improperly exhibiting Native American artifacts from *The Charles and Valerie Diker Collection of Native American Art*.<sup>4</sup> (Angeleti). While a spokesperson for The MET claims regular and repeated engagement with “leaders in many Native communities throughout the country” (Angeleti), critics are not convinced. The controversy is notable, however, because it is in light of The MET's decision to move their Native American exhibit into their American wing (“Historian Ted BlackHawk”). While this decision was initially made as a way to recognize Native American history as a part of American history (“Historian Ted BlackHawk”), referring to non-aesthetic objects as artwork<sup>4</sup> may be incorrectly exhibiting the Native American experience.

Although The MET represents over fifty Indigenous groups in the Diker Collection, their broad categorization affects the overall success of the exhibit as a representation of Native American culture and history. In fact, the Diker Collection itself serves as an area of concern, as the artifacts were bought by White collectors. Therefore, even though The MET may have consulted with a variety of Native American tribes and nations, the exhibit demonstrates the harm of presenting a monolithic Native American experience through a non-Native perspective. O'Loughlin comments on this, saying, “We're past the time where institutions and archaeologists tell our story—museums should give us the basic respect to tell our own stories” (qtd. In Angeleti). Despite the criticism however, The MET has

---

4. Individual objects are labeled more literally—bowl, dress, shoulder bag—but the exhibit refers to all of the objects as “artwork.” Shannon O'Loughlin refers to this as The MET's “first mistake” (Angeleti).



made no comments on moving forward with any changes to *The Art of Native America* exhibit.

Regarding O'Loughlin's point, it is valuable to consider who is telling Native American stories. As contemporary Native American artists continue to respond to misrepresentation, cultural institutions will continue to present Indigenous artwork and artifacts as well. In some cases, these institutions may provide spaces for contemporary artists to display their work, but in others, it will continue to be a presentation of historical artifacts. But for museums to properly represent Native Americans, they must work closely with the populations and reorient their view of history—and The Smithsonian Institute: National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI) was able to do just that.

NMAI describes themselves as “the first national museum in the country dedicated exclusively to Native Americans and the first to present all exhibitions from a Native viewpoint” (NMAI). In their 2018 exhibit, *Americans*, NMAI displayed pop culture images, spanning over a century, depicting Native Americans as a static and uniform community (“Americans”). The exhibit is intended to highlight “the ways in which American Indians have been part of the nation's identity since before the country began” (“Americans”). The pervasiveness of these images, even into the present day, showcase the harm of misrepresenting an ethnic group as monolithic and not taking into account the diversity within and between Native American nations. By acknowledging this history, NMAI fosters a space for dialogue about this “phenomenon,” and the unexpected ways it has imbedded itself into American culture (“Americans”).

NMAI is “dedicated to advancing knowledge and understanding of the life, languages, literature, history, and arts of the Native peoples of the Western Hemisphere” (NMAI). Their commitment to recognizing Native Americans as diverse peoples of “living culture” encourages healthy dialogue about identifying and addressing issues surrounding misrepresentation. NMAI is a leading role model for other cultural institutions attempting to pursue similar conversations but translating these types of exhibits may pose challenges for institutes who do not have the same access to resources.

The Minneapolis Institute of Arts was able to craft a show in 2019, which, similar to The MET's intentions and NMAI's mission, drives to tell the stories of specific Native American women as a way to construct an inclusive analysis of American history. The exhibit, *Hearts of Our People*:

*Native Women Artists*, is the “first ever exhibition devoted solely to the works of Native American women” (“Groundbreaking”). The pieces in the exhibit range from traditional artifacts dating back 1,000 years, to artwork by contemporary artists. Over 50 Native American nations from across Canada and the United States are represented. The curatorial team also made an effort to name the creators of the objects and artworks whenever possible to emphasize the individual creator rather than generic craftspeople. This gesture returns to the theme of avoiding monolithic presentations of Native Americans by being deliberate with the intention to recognize the individual rather than just the tribe.

Not only do *Hearts of Our People* present a new perspective on a long-standing issue, but they also present an active story, rooted in the understanding that Native Americans and Native American culture is alive and present. In doing this, The Minneapolis Institute of Arts positions contemporary artworks beside traditional artworks of their ancestors, drawing connections between similar material, aesthetics, or stories. Rose Simpson, a Tewa Native American from the Santa Clara Pueblos in New Mexico, was able to use her work to connect to her Tewa ancestors. Simpson applied her passions for mechanics and art into restoring a 1985 Chevrolet El Camino, which she called *Maria* (see Reproduction 4). “Sitting at the show’s entrance, it’s paired with a large vase by the car’s namesake, Maria Martinez, the celebrated pioneer of the black-on-black Pueblo pottery style emulated in the car’s paint job” (“Groundbreaking”). The juxtaposition between Simpson’s contemporary artwork and Martinez’s traditional artwork highlights “the way Native women’s art has adapted, while remaining connected to generations past” (“Groundbreaking”).

Another exhibit motivated by the desire to reflect contemporary Native American perspectives is *Cross Currents*, a show which traveled Colorado in 2014. The curator, Cecily Cullen, notes the importance of defying labels and breaking stereotypes, notably rejecting the Hollywood interpretation of what it means to be indigenous. “These artists are really standing up to say these cultures are growing and changing and they’re alive today” (“Breaking Stereotypes” 4:23). Because of the historic misrepresentation of Indigeneity, many non-native viewers struggle with identifying Native American art when the typical patterns and materials are not present in the artworks. “People hear contemporary Native art and think, ‘beads and feathers,’” says artist Merritt Johnson (1:03). It is then both through material and content that contemporary Native American artists

are challenging preconceived notions of their identity, initiating a positive change in thinking.

Frank Buffalo Hyde, another artist in the *Cross Currents* exhibit, talks about the inspiration behind his works:

“The work that I wanted to see that described my experience and my life wasn’t being made. So, I sort of subconsciously, then consciously, decided to make that work that was speaking about the contemporary Native existence and experience in life at the beginning of the 21st Century, with all of our sort of complex issues.” (“Breaking Stereotypes” 2:10)

Hyde is informed by historical and contemporary issues facing Native American communities, and uses this to expand his experience, connecting his personal life with larger issues in the world. He believes as an artist, it is his responsibility to comment on society as a storyteller (“Breaking Stereotypes”).

The acknowledgement and support of contemporary Native American artists by cultural institutions is a necessary step in recognizing that Native American cultures and Native American people are living, present, and participating in today’s world. These institutions are responsible for continuing to provide space for Native Americans to comment on their lives, cultures, and worlds, where they can then make artwork which situates themselves in the present. In addition to providing space for contemporary artists, cultural institutions must also be aware of the ways they may be misrepresenting or appropriating Native American cultures and working towards an environment which not only denounces such behaviors but cultivates a space for dialogue and promotes inclusive, diverse, and honest exhibits.

As discussed with The MET’s exhibit of the Diker Collection, this isn’t necessarily easy to navigate. Although the curatorial team was excited to present Native American history as American history, there were fallbacks with a possible lack of consultation. By referring to nonaesthetic objects as “artwork,” the MET was not properly representing an accurate account of Native American objects. Conversely, The National Museum of the Native American Indian was able to create a compelling exhibit questioning the perceived identity of Native Americans. This exhibit was successful because it was designed and exhibited from a Native American point of view, unlike The MET. Additionally, NMIA did not just incorporate Indigenous

history into American history but corrected it—working to address the harms of misrepresentation.

On a smaller scale, we are seeing other art spaces, such as the places which exhibited the *Hearts of Our People* and *Cross Currents* exhibits, embracing Native American artists by curating exhibits which speak to the Native American experience. These teams are made up of Native Americans from different nations and communities which helps appropriately define the space. While the team members are an important aspect within institutional responsibilities, the artists themselves are even more important, as it is their artwork which drives the conversation.

Having reviewed the artwork of Wendy Red Star, Rose Simpson, and Frank Buffalo Hyde, it is evident that there are a variety of approaches to responding to one's experience as a contemporary Native American person. Red Star approached her work through a corrective historical lens, giving power back to the Crow Nation by presenting an untold history. Her research is a key component to her storytelling. For Simpson, the relationship to her culture lies more closely with the connection between the contemporary modes of her materials and how they relate to traditional forms. By referencing Martinez's pottery in the paintjob of her car, the connection is clear. Hyde approaches his artwork from a completely different perspective, instead making work which represented his Indigeneity and experience in a way he felt hadn't been explored. These are only three prominent examples of how Native American artists have responded to historical and contemporary misrepresentations of their cultures and identities, but there exists a diverse and plentiful array of approaches in the community.

For centuries, Native Americans have had to face oppressive actions from the American government and non-native community in general. Today, the Native American identity is still often misrepresented and appropriated because of the pervasiveness of media which suggests a monolithic indigeneity, static or dead culture, and damaging false historical accounts. Native American artists fight these misconceptions by demonstrating individuality, a presentness and active practice of their adapting culture, and a retelling or correcting of Native American history. Further action and cooperation between artists and institutions can help alleviate some of the injustices caused by these types of misrepresentations by giving voices to Native Americans.

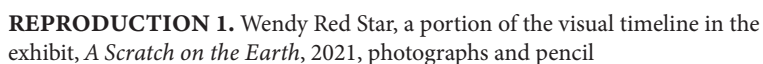
## Works Cited

---

- "Americans." *Americans*, <https://americanindian.si.edu/americans/>.
- Angeleti, Gabriella. "Native American Group Denounces Met's Exhibition of Indigenous Objects." *The Art Newspaper - International Art News and Events*, 28 Sept. 2021, <https://www.theartnewspaper.com/2018/11/06/native-american-group-denounces-metsexhibition-of-indigenous-objects>.
- "Art of Native America: The Charles and Valerie Diker Collection." *Metmuseum.org*, The MET, <https://www.metmuseum.org/exhibitions/listings/2018/art-of-native-america-dikercollection>.
- "Artist Talk: Wendy Red Star." *YouTube*, Hammer Museum, 2021, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=afFEsLaS480>.
- "Breaking Stereotypes of Native American Artists." *YouTube*, PBS News Hours, 2014. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=O3eS29YMe-I&t=2s>.
- Cheng, Sherry. "Crossing the Scratch on the Earth: Wendy Red Star at San Antonio Museum of Art." *Arts & Culture Texas*, 3 Jan. 2022, [http://artsandculturetx.com/crossing-the-scratch-on-the-earth-wendy-red-star-at-san-antonio-museum-of-art/?utm\\_source=rss&utm\\_medium=rss&utm\\_campaign=crossing-the-scratchon-the-earth-wendy-red-star-at-san-antonio-museum-of-art](http://artsandculturetx.com/crossing-the-scratch-on-the-earth-wendy-red-star-at-san-antonio-museum-of-art/?utm_source=rss&utm_medium=rss&utm_campaign=crossing-the-scratchon-the-earth-wendy-red-star-at-san-antonio-museum-of-art).
- "Counternarratives: Native American Artists in Our Own Words." *YouTube*, Penn Museum, 2014. [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Y5JiqS\\_eAME](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Y5JiqS_eAME).
- Curtis, Ariana. "Museums Should Honor the Everyday, Not Just the Extraordinary." *Ariana Curtis: Museums Should Honor the Everyday, Not Just the Extraordinary* | *TED Talk*, 2018, [https://www.ted.com/talks/ariana\\_curtis\\_museums\\_should\\_honor\\_the\\_everyday\\_not\\_just\\_the\\_extraordinary](https://www.ted.com/talks/ariana_curtis_museums_should_honor_the_everyday_not_just_the_extraordinary).
- "A Groundbreaking Exhibition Finally Tells the Stories of Native Women Artists." *YouTube*, PBS News Channel, 2019, [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=D5\\_wBkIkM\](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=D5_wBkIkM\).
- "Historian Ned BlackHawk on Native American Artworks | MetCollects." *YouTube*, The Met, 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zW7yjW-m8Q9I&t=122s>.

“National Museum of the American Indian.” *Smithsonian Institution*, <https://www.si.edu/unit/american-indian-museum>.

“Native Art Now!” *PBS*, Public Broadcasting Service, 14 Dec. 2017, <https://www.pbs.org/video/native-art-now-vbtkzs/#:~:text=Native%20Art%20Now!%20is%20a,American%20Indians%20and%20Western%20Art>.





**REPRODUCTION 2.** Wendy Red Star, *Four Seasons*, 2006, multimedia/photographs



# Author Biographies

---

## **JAMELLA GOW, Ph.D.**

Jamella N. Gow is an Assistant Professor of Sociology and Criminology at Gonzaga University where she teaches courses on race, immigration, and globalization. Her research explores how im/migration status, race, and the Blackness intersect for Black Caribbean migrants in the United States.

## **KEVIN PINKELMAN**

Kevin Pinkelman is a first-year student at Gonzaga University. He is a Political Science and Sociology major and currently minoring in Leadership Studies. He plans on going to law school in the future and focusing on social justice, environmental rights, and human rights law.

## **ANGELA BRUNS, Ph.D.**

Angela Bruns is an Assistant Professor in the Department of Sociology & Criminology at Gonzaga University. Her research focuses on how families' interactions with two social institutions—mass incarceration and the low-wage labor market—impact their health and economic well-being. She teaches courses on gender, family, mass incarceration, and social statistics.

## **JACK STEHR**

My name is Jack Stehr. I am a junior at Gonzaga University majoring in Sociology and Criminology and minoring in Critical Race and Ethnic Studies. I am from Oakland, California and attended Saint Joseph Notre Dame High School. Through my education at Gonzaga and personal learning outside school, I have become interested in left-wing, working-class politics and social justice. In my spare time, I enjoy playing pickup basketball in the Rudolph Fitness Center on campus, participating in intramurals, and spending time with my friends.

## **BRIDGET WILSON**

Bridget is a current junior majoring in history with minors in political science and solidarity and social justice at Gonzaga, where she is also part of the honors program. This piece was inspired by work done for her solidarity and social justice minor and partly by current events, as she wrote the first draft during the trial of Derek Chauvin, a time when many people were questioning and waiting to see if the criminal justice system in the United States works for those on the margins of society. Outside of school, Bridget can be found exploring coffee shops around Spokane, rooting for the GU basketball teams with the rest of the clarinet section in the Bulldog Band, curled up reading a new book, or testing out a new recipe.

## **JOVANNA GONZALEZ**

Born and raised in the San Francisco Bay Area, a true sun-loving Californian who chased the warm weather to the University of San Diego where she studied English and Education. After graduation, she started a career overseas first as part of the United States Peace Corps in Turkmenistan then later as a teacher in places like England, Colombia, and Tanzania. A once passionate educator, an ever-present friend, and a staunch advocate for the disability community, Jovonna is finishing her M.A. in Organizational Leadership and embracing the ever-evolving narratives of her own life. She hopes to transition into the social impact sector to work at the intersection of tech and nonprofits to help communities in need with her characteristic wit, ambition, and deepened compassion. When she is not studying, you can find her traveling to new and familiar places, practicing pilates, eating all the non-dairy treats, and embracing new experiences.

## **MADDY ROSE LENNON**

Maddy Rose Lennon is a sophomore at Gonzaga University, majoring in sociology and minoring in both health equity and solidarity and social justice. Originally from Snohomish, Washington, Maddy Rose has a demonstrated interest in public health and health equity, hoping to pursue a career in this field after college.

## **ANTONIO ROMAN CAMPOS**

Antonio Roman Campos is a Gonzaga University Honors College senior currently pursuing a major in civil engineering along with minors in English, writing, Catholic studies, and philosophy. In addition to being a student researcher investigating transportation engineering technologies, he is also president of Gonzaga University's chapter of the American Society of Civil Engineers; he is a member of Alpha Sigma Nu, the Jesuit International Honor Society; and he is the vice president of Tau Beta Pi, the Engineering International Honor Society. Though pursuing a career in STEM, in his free time Mr. Campos enjoys reading and writing, with an emphasis on the styles and topics of late nineteenth and early twentieth century literature. A highly decorated Eagle Scout from Colorado, Mr. Campos also considers himself to be an outdoorsman, and he enjoys hiking, backpacking, and horseback riding. He has won awards for speechwriting, visual, and performing arts. He enjoys volunteering at local charities, and he believes that all people have the capacity to become great men and women. He is a committed environmentalist, an active member of the Catholic community, and he hopes to become a rancher one day.

## **OLIVIA SANDVIK**

Olivia Sandvik, a native of Spokane, Washington, uses her curious spirit to cultivate her poetic nature. As a writer, she aims to explore the depths of the human psyche and experience.

## **NICHOLAS NOVOTNY**

Nicholas Novotny is a History Major and Classics Minor from Castle Pines, CO. He is passionate about history, learning, and skiing. After his time at Gonzaga, he hopes to pursue a law degree.

## **MARIANNE NACANAYNAY**

Marianne Nacanaynay is a senior Communication Studies major with an English minor in Writing. She is a content intern with Walker Sands and a graphic designer for Spires Yearbook. Outside of school and work, she spends her time baking (she's currently trying to perfect a focaccia recipe, so if anyone has any ideas, please let her know).

## **NATHANIEL SHAFFER**

Nathaniel Shaffer is a history major from Portland, Oregon, with an additional interest in philosophy. He enjoys cooking, exploring and fishing the little-known parts of Oregon, and reading a good book while trapped under a cat. After graduation he aims to further pursue the field of history and become a professor, teaching, and conducting research on slavery, the Antebellum United States, Civil War, and Reconstruction.

## **MEAGAN GRAVES**

Meagan Graves is a writer from Portland, Oregon, and is a senior completing a degree in English Writing and Communication Studies. She is the Editor in Chief of Gonzaga's Reflection Journal, and she explores the themes of home and connection through poetry, prose, and playwriting. In her free time, Meagan performs in Discantus Treble Choir, the GUTS improv troupe, and the Boone Street sketch comedy troupe.

## **KATEY RODEN, Ph.D.**

I've always loved reading. From an early age, I was exposed to the world of fantastic possibilities found in the pages of a good book. At Coastal Carolina University, I double majored in English and History. I studied seventeenth-century sermons and sermon culture in my Master's program at Washington State University and then representations of gender, class, and disability in early modern devotional writing during my doctoral studies at University of Massachusetts Amherst. Today, I teach classes in English and Women & Gender Studies at Gonzaga.

## **CLAIRE ENGLE**

Claire is a senior at Gonzaga majoring in English with a literature concentration and minoring in Biology and Women's and Gender Studies. She is on the pre-law track and is currently applying and looking to study law in the Pacific Northwest. Aside from her studies, Claire is also the president of Mock Trial, and enjoys working on her current writing projects, reading, singing, drawing, and spending time with her friends.

## **BRIANNA COVERT**

Bri Covert is a senior studying English (writing) and Art.

# Staff Biographies

---

Delaney Sousa

**EDITOR-IN-CHIEF**

Delaney is a junior majoring in English Literature and Writing. She is from sunny San Diego, but the beautiful mountains and trees Pacific Northwest has caught her heart. She enjoys road trips, hiking, baking, and reading Early Modern literature. One of her life goals is to visit as many National Parks as humanly possible, Glacier National Park being her favorite one so far. She hopes you enjoy this edition of *Charter*!

Olivia Rollman

**COPY EDITOR**

Olivia is a Senior majoring in English. She enjoys being outside.

Ben Gonzales

**ASSISTANT EDITOR**

Ben is a junior majoring in Criminology and English. They grew up in Evergreen, Colorado, a suburb of Denver. In their free time, they enjoy books, film, cooking, biking, skiing, and playing with their cat. This last year they were a Senator for the College of Arts & Sciences in the GSBA Senate, and they founded the Zags for Reproductive Justice Club on campus.

Emily Grygar

**GRAPHIC DESIGNER**

Emily Grygar is a junior student of business administration with concentrations in marketing and operations and supply chain management. She is a part of Gonzaga's Honors Program and a proud member of the Kennel Club. In her free time, Emily enjoys crafting, trying local restaurants, and devotedly following college basketball.

# Acknowledgments

---

Words cannot express my gratitude for all of those who made this year's edition a success. I'd like to especially thank my stellar team—Olivia, Ben, and Emily. You all made creating this volume an absolute joy, and I sincerely appreciate your hard work to make this vision a reality. I'd also like to thank Dr. Dave Oosterhuis for his meaningful support and Joanne Shiosaki for her insightful mentorship; your thoughtful comments and guidance were invaluable during times of uncertainty.

It has been my honor to work with you all. From the bottom of my heart, thank you.

