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Volume One

Parul Singh Kanwar

Occasionally, we like to try something new. This first issue of Crossings: an OASIS Undergraduate Journal is one such thing. With a year of many trials and tribulations, the Organization of Arts Students and Interdisciplinary Studies (OASIS) embarked on undergraduate scholarly publication that encompassed the entire Faculty of Arts. Our first issue features provocative and insightful research by remarkable students working diligently in multiple fields within the Faculty. We enjoyed editing and compiling this issue and we hope that you enjoy this inspiring representation of undergraduate scholarship.

I want to express my deepest gratitude to all of the editorial staff for their dedication, passion, and hard work with this journal, as well as their continuous efforts to forge a strong foundation for this journal. As the journal found its bearings, our staff navigated various roles and responsibilities to ensure academic integrity and inspiring scholarship through a dedicated peer- review process. I am grateful for the many hours they have contributed to discussions over Zoom sessions this past year.

Additionally, I want to extend an immense amount of gratitude to all of the guidance and support that Sarah Severson, from the Library Publishing and Digital Production Services, and Christine Brown, our Faculty Advisor, shared with our team, including navigating system-related issues, training our new volunteers, and providing invaluable insight to the decision-making process throughout my term.

I am grateful to all my OASIS co-executives for their enthusiasm and support in taking on a new project. Especially Marissa and Chris, who have sacrificed many long hours going over logistics, design, and providing immense emotional support from the first day I embarked on this project.

Lastly, I also want to extend a special thanks to my Editorial Board members, Kael, Chloe, Hailey, and Nandini, for being extraordinarily critical in building this journal. Without your help in decision-making, facilitating the peer- review process, supervision and guidance for the editors, this journal would not have come to be.

Our Editorial Team depends on our authors to determine the actual content and quality of the Journal. Their enthusiasm to participate in the scholarly process was inspiring. I am confident that under the leadership of Kael Kropp, Crossings will continue to be an emblem of the Faculty of Arts' productivity and scholarly impact. I invite both established and budding undergraduate authors to continue submitting their work to the journal. I hope that you enjoy this publication as much as we enjoyed creating it.

Kael Kropp

The most rewarding parts of our lives are often the product of overcoming obstacles and navigating new waters. That being the case, Crossings' inaugural publication might be one of our most rewarding moments yet...

I was delighted to be invited to the Editorial Board by Parul in December, 2020. I did not know then what exciting and novel obstacles laid ahead. Already deep within my term as a Senior Section Editor for the Political Science Undergraduate Review, juggling my roles with both journals proved to be immensely thrilling. None of that would be possible without the support from many key people: Nancy Skorobohach, Maddie Dempsey, Chloe Dizon, Hailey Lothamer, Nandini Chandra, and (of course) Parul. Many thanks are also in order for our fabulous team of reviewers and copyeditors. To Ana, Angela, Ansh, Chynna, Gavriel, Hailey, Hannah, Hiba, Karen, Luke, and Madeleine: thank you for making this journal a reality. Without you all, there would be no Crossings.

All of our authors deserve a standing ovation. You endured countless rounds of review and copyediting, all in an effort to contribute to those scholarly discussions for which you are passionate. It is also important to recognize the ongoing support from our instructors, librarians, administrators, and support staff in the Faculty of Arts.

Looking towards the future: I am thrilled to be heading Crossings' second volume, with the help of an incredible team. We will be adding a third section to our second volume; so, our three sections will comprise Fine Arts, Humanities, and Social Sciences. This is in effort to include submissions from as many students in the Faculty of Arts as possible. All knowledge is important, valued, and worthy—we will work to build Crossings around that notion. Moreover, we are excited to incorporate visual media in our publication. It is important to understand that not all work produced in our Faculty is text-based. I wholeheartedly invite all Arts students to submit their work in the fall. Until then: happy writing, designing, and editing!

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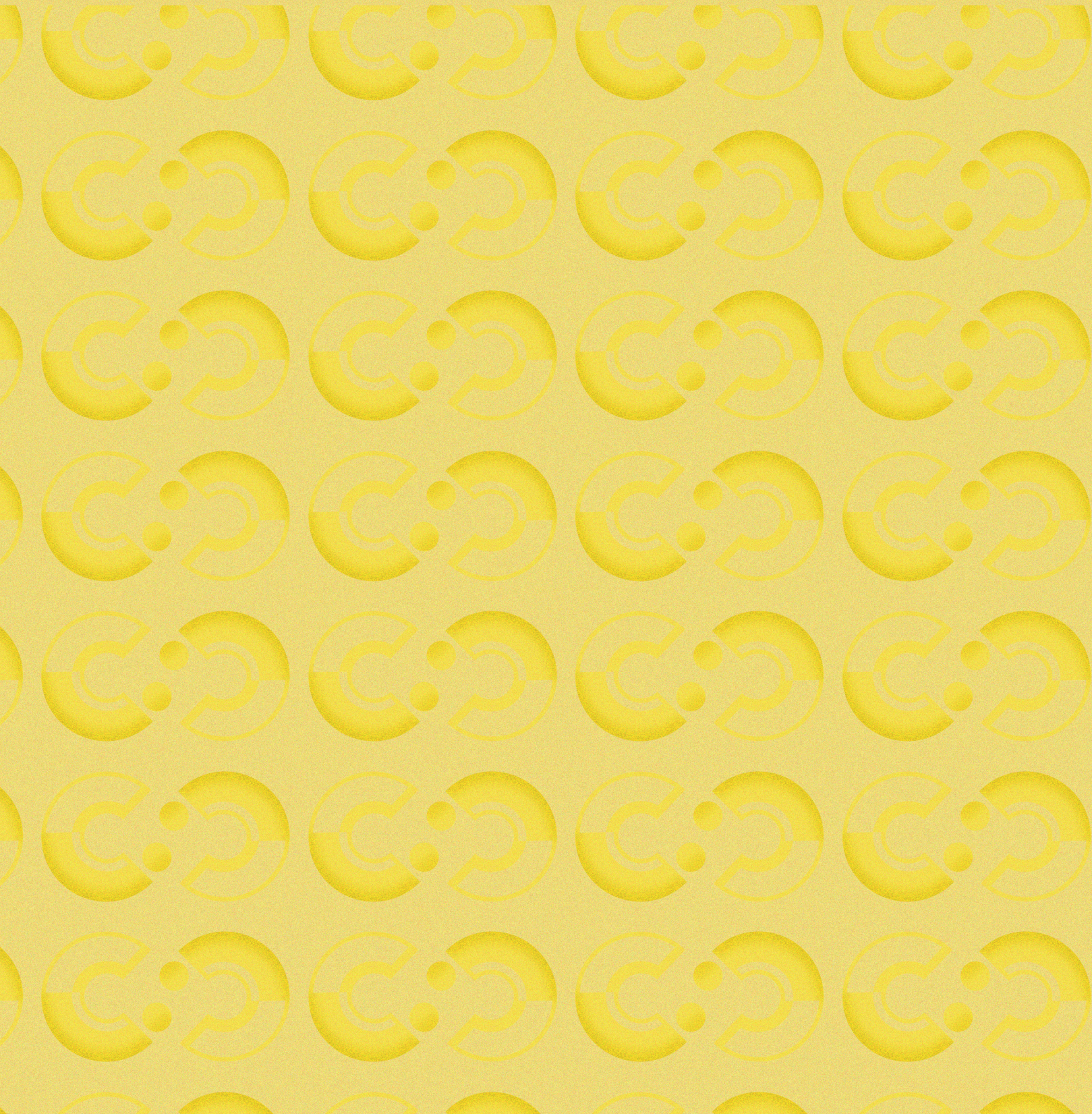
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The Bleary-Eyed (But Disciplined) Patient:

Late Night and Early Morning Awakenings and Foucault's Disciplinary Power in a Healthcare Panopticon

Author: Darren Choi
Program: Political Science (Honors)

ABSTRACT: It is an old adage that when one is staying at the hospital, a sleepless night will follow. Hospitals are notoriously difficult places to sleep in. This is due to a variety of factors, but one of the primary ones are the late night and early morning disturbances caused by nurses and other medical professionals who are taking measurements and vital signs from the patient. Explaining why this occurs requires an understanding of how the hospital is organized as an institution. To meaningfully talk about the nature of the hospital as an institution, we then must ask fundamentally political questions (with political answers). Thus, I draw upon a Foucauldian theoretical framework to critically examine the hospital as a disciplinary institution. Through this framework, we shall find that the hospital's organizational impetus for a "perpetual examination" is what drives hospital sleeplessness. While the perpetual examination is not borne out of malice and is usually vital to the health of the patient, understanding this process helps us understand why hospitals are so difficult to sleep in. Without rejecting the processes of hospitalization wholesale, this understanding of what drives hospitals as political institutions helps us begin to improve them; helping patients sleep is one place to start.

Introduction

There is an intuitive positive relationship between sleep, health, and healing. When we are sick and injured, we instinctively seek sleep and rest. Thus, it is a strange contradiction that hospitals – spaces dedicated specifically to health and healing – are notoriously difficult places to sleep in. While there are many reasons why a hospital patient might find it difficult to sleep, the most obvious are the late night and early morning awakenings by nurses and other medical staff. These awakenings are so common that one might resign themselves to thinking of them as an inevitable reality of hospitalization that can only be alleviated, not prevented. However, a closer examination reveals there is a political explanation for the interruption of patients' sleep, which lies in how we conceive of and organize the hospital as an institution. Late night and early morning awakenings are not just an unfortunate reality of hospitalization, but a direct consequence of medicine exerting disciplinary power through a "perpetual examination" of its patients.

As can be seen from the term "disciplinary power," I will be drawing from the concepts of Michel Foucault, and specifically the concepts outlined in his work, Discipline and Punish: *The Birth of the Prison*. Foucault (1977) was concerned with how the modern-day prison exerts power on individuals and how that power is utilized in the name of "reform." From this, he drew broad conclusions about how power is exerted throughout our society. Among the many key concepts that I will draw from is Foucault's "panopticon" (a famous prison concept that I will explore in detail later). This panopticon is represented in hospital organization, reflecting medicine's impetus to constantly observe and surveil every one of its patients. While the perpetual examination is not born out of malice and is often to the benefit of seriously ill patients, having a greater awareness of how hospitals are organized will allow us to understand why we cannot sleep there; when conscious of the disciplinary impetuses created by the hospital, individuals within the institution can adjust hospital processes and individual behaviours to reduce patient awakenings. With such an understanding in mind, we will assuredly be able to improve the health and wellbeing of hospital patients.

Hospitals' Sleep Problem

> "O sleep, O gentle sleep, Nature's soft nurse, how have I frightened thee…"
> King Henry IV, Henry IV, Part 2

Shakespeare, in his history, King Henry IV, Part 2, writes of the lamentations of a sleepless King. The Bard of Avon's claim that sleep is "Nature's soft nurse," reveals that he, like us all, knows of sleep's healing nature and the negative effects sleeplessness has on our health and wellbeing. While claims such as "sleep is the best medicine," "I'll sleep it off," and "you'll feel better in the morning" are clichés, they are natural assertions to make. When we are sick, we gravitate towards our beds in search of rest. If we are injured, well-wishers and doctors alike encourage us to "get some rest." Although this connection seems somewhat intuitive, there are also numerous studies within the medical literature that demonstrate the direct benefits of sleep on our health and healing (see Alvarez and Ayas (2004); Evans and French (1995) for a couple of examples).

Given sleep's importance to health and healing, one might think that within the hospital, where the most serious illnesses and injuries are treated, ensuring patients get sufficient, high-quality sleep is of utmost importance. Unfortunately, most hospital patients find themselves in a similar situation as King Henry: bleary-eyed and wondering why sleep "no more wilt my eyelids down." Hospital sleeplessness is not some oft-repeated myth; medical discourse is acutely aware that the "[q]uality and quantity of sleep in hospitalized patients may be sub-optimal and negatively associated with many hospital-related factors…" (Wesselius et al. 2018, 1202).

The possible causes of sleep disruption are numerous and well documented by medical literature. Two good examples of these medical analyses are Grossman et al. (2017) and Wesselius et al. (2018). Sources like these cite numerous factors present within the hospital that contribute towards hospital sleeplessness. Various external lights and noises are obvious potential causes of sleep disruption. Medical reasons are another potential factor: certain medications, pain, or discomfort can keep a patient awake, for example (Wesselius et al. 2018, 1204). One of the most significant factors, however, are the nocturnal and early morning awakenings by nurses and other medical staff. Wesselius et al. (2018), in their study of various hospital-related factors contributing towards patient sleeplessness, found that twenty percent of patients surveyed cited awakenings by hospital staff as a disturbing factor (1204). Medical tests, vital sign measurements, and responding to alarms are the most prevalent reasons for late night or early morning awakenings by hospital staff (Grossman et al. 2017, 303–4). Regardless of its prevalence within these surveys, these awakenings by staff are certainly the most infamous and widely disliked source of sleep disruption as nurse Theresa Brown (2011) notes. Brown laments that, due to hospital practices surrounding the

aforementioned tests and measurements, "[f]or hospital patients, the nurse is often the dreaded voice crying 'Sleep no more!'" (Brown 2011). Given the role sleep plays in promoting healing, hospital sleeplessness is an obvious problem. One common solution offered by hospitals is sedation and medication (Schumacher et al. 2017). The ubiquity of this approach is somewhat unsurprising. As Matthew Wolf-Myer (2012) notes, disordered sleep is usually dealt with by a medical, pharmaceutical approach in our modern era (156). When one is in the house of medicine, one might expect that any disorder, even if it is iatrogenic (i.e., related to the course of medical examination or treatment), will come with a pharmaceutical solution. This is not to say that medicine is fully beholden to pharmaceuticals when tackling hospital sleeplessness. For example, Birdja and Ozcan (2019), within the context of medical literature, recognize the problematic nature of the overuse of pharmaceutical solutions to hospital sleeplessness; they explore how redesigning soundscapes in a hospital can be conducive towards patients' sleep.

While approaches such as Birdja and Ozcan (2019) may acknowledge that hospitals are "sonically covered, noisy environment[s]," and attempt to find non-pharmaceutical solutions, they do not answer the more fundamental question of the cause of patient awakenings (4). Sedating a patient or redesigning hospital soundscapes alleviates sleeplessness; they do not address the imperative for nurses or other medical staff to wake up their patients in the first place. Explaining these awakenings requires an institutional analysis of how our society conceives of and organizes the "hospital." To analyze the fundamental bases of one of the key institutions of our society is a fundamentally political question. Why is the hospital organized the way it is? How have political forces – governments, institutions, beliefs and ideologies – shaped our modern conception of the hospital. It is only after we address these wider political questions that we are able to return to our specific question of sleeplessness and hospital awakenings.

Foucauldian Discipline and the Hospital

To find our explanation, I turn to Foucault and his concept of "discipline." Foucault frequently invokes medicine and the hospital in his work, from The Birth of the Clinic to his lectures on the architecture of the modern hospital (Gutting and Oksala 2018; Lambert 2013). Most useful is his characterization of the modern hospital as a "disciplinary institution" and how medicine exerts "disciplinary power."

Foucault (1977) asserts that "prisons resemble factories, schools, barracks, hospitals, which all resemble prisons" (228). What does a hospital have in common with a factory, barracks, or prison? For Foucault, all of these institutions exert "disciplinary power" on their subjects (i.e. they are "disciplinary institutions") through complex systems of surveillance. "Discipline" is one means by which power can be exerted and the behaviour of individuals regulated. He identifies three "simple instruments" through which disciplinary power is exerted: hierarchical observation, normalizing judgement, and the examination (Foucault 1977, 170).

Firstly, Foucault argues that there is great power in observing somebody (170). Through systems of "[h]ierarchized, continuous and functional surveillance," we create multivalent power relations across the entire system; from this, "the apparatus as a whole… produces 'power'" (177). Importantly, hierarchical observation ensures that disciplinary power is both "absolutely indiscreet," as it creates constant and omnipresent observation, and "absolutely 'discreet'," as these systems largely work in silence (177). Foucault also notes that the architecture of the modern hospital is organized around hierarchical observation "to render visible those inside it" (172).

Another key tool of disciplinary power is normalizing judgement, which seeks to impose certain, precise norms on individuals (183-4). "The Normal" is an important force that imposes limits on behaviour; in our case, the "Normal" was "established in the effort to organize a national medical profession and a hospital system capable of operating general norms of health…" (184). A disciplinary institution, such as a hospital, seeks to reform its subjects by ensuring they conform to certain norms or standards and acting when those norms or standards are not met (Gutting and Oksala 2018).

Finally, the examination is a combination of hierarchical observation and normalizing judgement. An examination observes an individual to correct behaviour that falls outside of "The Normal," "establish[ing] over individuals a visibility through which one differentiates them and judges them" (Foucault 1977, 184). A medical examination is an excellent example of this process: a doctor elicits information about the health of their patient, then changes the behaviour of the patient by treating them. Moreover, Foucault notes that the modern hospital has been organized "as an 'examining' apparatus" (185). He chronicles the development of the hospital into its modern form, where there is a "ritual" of a patient receiving regular, rigorous, and constant visits from doctors, so that the patient may be examined (185-6). Thus, the modern hospital has been built around this process which "transformed into a regular

observation that placed the patient in a situation of almost perpetual examination" (185-6).

With this in mind, hospitals' institutional drive for a "perpetual examination" of their patients is best represented by Foucault's analogy of the Panopticon. Philosopher Jeremy Bentham imagined a prison in which every inmate was in a separate cell, unable to see one another, but visible to a central tower monitoring them. The power of this model lies not in the observer in the central tower, but from the fact that inmates do not know if they are being observed or not. Thus, they must behave as if they are being monitored at all times, creating an internalized authority that controls their behaviour (Gutting and Oksala 2018). Foucault (1977) used the Panopticon analogy to describe modern society as a "disciplinary society," but he also uses it to describe disciplinary institutions (209). In a lecture on the hospital, Foucault argues that, for an institution to exert disciplinary power, "[i]t is necessary to keep [individuals] under surveillance to ensure activity takes place all the time and submit them to a perpetual pyramid of surveillance" (as cited in Lambert 2013, 41). Foucault (1977) observes that the panoptic model is "polyvalent in its applications; it serves to reform patients, but also to treat patients…" (205). We can see the reflection of the Panopticon within the modern hospital driven by the logic of perpetual examination. A patient must remain "disciplined" – in the sense that they are conforming to the medical "Normal" – and thus, constant, hierarchical observation must occur. One might argue that a hospital, which requires an active observer to be monitoring at all times, is a poor Panopticon. However, whether there is an observer or not, we see the internalization of power through surveillance in a hospital. Beyond basic self-preservation, we can imagine that a patient is disinclined to perform an unhealthy behaviour (in the sense that they are acting in a manner contrary to their overall health and healing) because they know they are being observed; a lack of "discipline" would trigger a response from the observer. Without a doctor or nurse in the room, the patient internalizes the disciplinary power of medicine and polices themselves. Thus, we see that the hospital is designed and organized along panoptic lines, to facilitate the constant surveillance of those within its walls. Only then can medicine exert its disciplinary power – observing patients and imposing normalizing judgment through its perpetual examination.

The Hospital Panopticon and Patient Awakenings

It is through this model of medicine exerting disciplinary power, the panoptic model of organizing perpetual examination, that we can explain late night and early morning awakenings. As I noted earlier, it is often the processes of medical examination that drive nocturnal awakenings: blood draws, measurements of vital signs, and response to alerts send by observing technology (Grossman et al. 2017, 303–4). For medicine to perpetually examine all patients at all times, a bevy of sleep-disrupting processes must occur. The nurse enters because of the panoptic logics of perpetual examination; no matter the hour, a patient must be observed, measured, and monitored to ensure that they are maintaining "discipline." Sleep manifestly does not factor into this logic; despite the deleterious effects of sleeplessness on a patient's health and wellbeing, sufficient high-quality sleep is not a part of the hospital's processes of perpetual examination.

A skeptic would likely reject this description as needlessly negative. One might argue that "Patients losing sleep is an unfortunate phenomenon, but it is an inevitable by-product of processes designed for the good of hospitalized patients. 'Perpetual examination' merely refers to the tests and monitoring that are vital to the health of the very sick." In this context, Foucault's perspective seems irrelevant; what does it matter that medicine is exerting "disciplinary power" and perpetually examining its patients if it is for their health? Importantly, this description of the hospital does not presuppose that "perpetual examination" is a negative logic that should be eliminated or that the panoptic nature of the hospital is born out of some sense of malice on the part of medicine or doctors. Léopold Lambert (2013) notes that disciplinary processes are not "necessarily driven by a sadistic class seeing dominion over another… [t]he hospital is exemplary in this regard, as discipline is applied for its subjects' own good, namely their health" (15). It is obvious that, in many cases, continuously observing a sick patient is beneficial or even vital to their health. A patient that requires a prompt response from doctors and nurses to changes in their health will appreciate the "perpetual examination," even if they find themselves sleepless as a result.

Solving the Patient Awakening Problem(?)
I have used Foucault to conduct an institution-level analysis of the hospital and explained late night and early morning awakenings as originating from within the logics of the hospital as a disciplinary institution. What, then, is to be done with this explanation? Is there significance to a Foucauldian description of the hospital to solving the sleeplessness problem? While the idea of the "perpetual examination" does not reveal some malicious, intentional process causing patient awakenings within the modern hospital, it

does demonstrate where the problem originates. This understanding demonstrates that the processes of hospitalization itself – namely, the panoptic processes of perpetual examination – are the root causes of late night and early morning awakenings of patients. Nurse Brown recognizes this as well (although, as anon-political theorist, she arrives at this conclusion through her own knowledge, as opposed to Foucault). She cites the collection of laboratory tests, vital sign measurements, and other processes of medical examination as one of the primary reasons nurses must awaken their patients (Brown 2011). Meanwhile, solutions we see within the medical literature, such as sedation or the redesign of hospital soundscapes, seem to alleviate but not address the issues created by hospital processes. For example, neither solution seems particularly effective if one is deliberately jolted awake by a nurse seeking a blood sample. Our problem, I have found, lies within the institution of the hospital itself.

However, while we can assert that there is an institutional cause behind the problem of patient awakenings, it seems silly to tear down an institution as vital as the hospital to resolve that problem. Despite the drawback of patient awakenings, the disciplinary processes of the hospital are, in general, rooted in a concern for the health of patients. Moreover, it would be tremendously difficult to radically reform hospitalization away from perpetual examination and it is difficult to say such reform would not have serious deleterious effects on the health of the seriously ill. Rather, we can think of individual-level changes and adjustments to the processes of hospitalization such that patients are not needlessly awakened. Doctor Kunal Sindhu (2018) offers an excellent example of the type of approach a greater understanding can motivate. Sindhu questions the necessity of one of the key processes of perpetual examination – early morning blood draws taken from patients. He notes a motivation remarkably similar to the idea of perpetual examination, noting that "fear of missing a laboratory abnormality that could have been fixed… provides a powerful, if inappropriate, incentive to [perform regular blood draws]" (para. 7).

Consequently, I would argue that with this Foucauldian explanation in mind, individuals within the institution of the hospital can adjust the processes of perpetual examination to minimize sleep disruption. This could be a nurse adjusting their schedule to allow patients to sleep or an administrator reforming policy such that early morning medical tests are minimized. Another example could draw from Foucault's argument that architecture is a key part of the hospital's ability to exert disciplinary power (Lambert 2013, 15). One might imagine a theoretically-minded hospital architect, cognizant of how disciplinary processes disrupt patient sleep, adjusting their design to allow for perpetual examination that minimizes patient awakenings. Thus, while the idea of eliminating perpetual examination within hospitals is absurd, given its importance to the health of patients, a critical examination of its processes by individuals within the institution can help tackle the root cause of patient awakenings. Rather than just alleviate the symptoms of hospital sleeplessness, we instead might enhance the very processes of hospitalization itself and emerge with tangible improvements in the health of patients.

Conclusion

Foucault's analysis allows us to understand the origins of late night and early morning awakenings are the processes and structure of hospitalization itself. As the modern hospital has evolved into its current form, it has created an organizational impetus to perpetually examine its patients. Within this logic, every patient must be constantly and continuously surveilled, to ensure they maintain "discipline." This impetus is reflected in the panoptic organization of the hospital and the processes that ensure every patient is always being surveilled. The exertion of disciplinary power within a hospital is not necessarily a bad thing; a "disciplined" patient is most likely a patient that is following the expert advice of their doctors. There is an unfortunate side effect, however: processes of perpetual examination, however beneficial, are usually disruptive to patients' sleep.

However, while patient awakenings can be attributed to this institutional level explanation, solving the problem is more complex. It is absurd to simply reject the processes of hospitalization wholesale to solve the problem of patient awakenings; these processes exist for the benefit and health of patients. Rather, a Foucauldian analysis of the hospital should be applied in a more subtle manner. The objective is to address how the processes of hospitalization cause hospital sleeplessness to improve the health and wellbeing of hospital patients. This analysis underscores the importance for individuals within the hospital to be cognizant of the institutional forces shaping their choices, and critically examine, adjust, and adapt the processes of hospitalization to minimize patient awakenings. Such a critical lens can ensure that the sickest among us receive the sleep they need within the institution where they are brought to rest and heal.

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Racialized Women in Canada:

Is COVID-19 the Turning Point to More Equality?

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Program: Political Science

ABSTRACT: The purpose of this paper is to show that currently, the most important issue in gender and politics in Canada is the disproportionate effects of the COVID-19 pandemic on racialized and immigrant women. I use political economy approaches, critical race feminist theory, and Dr. Kimberlé Crenshaw's concept of 'intersectionality' to evaluate Canadian case studies in order to demonstrate my argument. In doing so, I show that the COVID-19 pandemic has highlighted and worsened the inequalities experienced by racialized and immigrant women in Canada. This topic is important to address because in the midst of the pandemic, it can be easy to disregard or forget the particular injustices experienced by racialized and immigrant women. However, by revealing the direct impacts of the pandemic on such women, this paper draws attention to these injustices and advocates for more equality in Canadian society.

KEYWORDS: COVID-19, gender, immigrant status, intersectionality, political economy, race

Introduction

The COVID-19 pandemic has exposed the drastic disparity in inequalities experienced by racialized and immigrant women in Canadian society. Given that women primarily occupy jobs within the service industry, they have been the most strongly affected by the economic recession triggered by the shutdown of service sector jobs (Yalnizyan 2020). In fact, the recession is considered a "she-session" (Yalnizyan 2020). Through the execution of COVID-19 related policies, the pandemic's unfair effects on women, especially women of color, is evident. I argue that the most important issues in gender and politics today are the disproportionate impacts of the COVID-19 pandemic on immigrant and racialized women. In order to address and resolve the ongoing problems for immigrant and racialized women in Canada, it is crucial to study how COVID-19 exacerbates these injustices. It is also an opportunity to advocate for the equality of racialized and immigrant women. I will use political economy approaches, critical race feminist theory, and intersectional analysis to support my argument within the Albertan and Canadian context.

Political Economy Approaches

Janine Brodie (2008) posits that neoliberalism has replaced post-war social liberalism as the dominant political rationale in Canada (154). Neoliberalism is based on Homo economicus, which translates to economic man, and assumes that individuals are self-interested, always rational, and act to better their utility (The Oxford Dictionary of Philosophy 2008). Consequently, neoliberalism in practice eliminates social safety-nets that post-war social liberalism had established and expects all citizens to be entrepreneurial and self-efficient (Brodie 2008, 148). The sexist nature of neoliberalism is also obvious in the translation of Homo economicus. Subsequently, Brodie argues that neoliberalism policies have "disproportionate and deleterious impacts on women, especially those marginalized by economic and social difference" (148).

Brodie's claim supports my argument because the pandemic has proven the need for greater social support. Due to lockdown measures, non-essential services were/are forced to shut down, leaving many people unemployed. More specifically, leaving many women unemployed. The 2016 Canada Census reveals that 18.6% of immigrant women have low-income status compared to 13.3% of non-immigrant women with low-income status (Statistics Canada 2016). Racialized and immigrant women are more likely to be working in low-income jobs than non-racialized women, so

when these jobs shut down, racialized and immigrant women have little support to maintain their livelihood. This demonstrates how neoliberal policies are even more disproportionately detrimental to marginalized women. Government aids such as the CERB, which aim to alleviate Canadians' financial struggles through government support, represent the residual forces of post-war social liberal practices of providing economic relief. The circumstances of COVID-19 have challenged the significance and efficacy of neoliberalism for all people because it has shown that government support is necessary.

Critical Race Feminist Theory

The dominant way of studying gender, culture, and diversity in Canada is through the liberal multicultural approach. This approach tries to accommodate diversity while establishing white culture as "normal and dominant" and all other cultures as "abnormal and... inferior" (Dhamoon 2009, 10-11). I reject this approach because it encourages locating gender inequality in the "other" and reinforces white supremacy. Instead, I prefer the critical-race feminist theory because it examines racial power struggles that lead to inequality and go beyond scapegoating perceived cultural "flaws" for racialized women's injustices. Using this theory, I examine Quebec's COVID-19 mandatory mask policy as a case study and argue that it reveals the blatant inequalities of Bill 21 for Muslim women.

Dhamoon (2009) says that in the liberal multicultural framework, the dominant white culture has the power to dictate and construe culture to their liking. Subsequently, another's culture can be a means to pursue a racist and sexist agenda (19-20). In the case of Bill 21, which banned religious symbols in workplaces, it disproportionately inhibits the autonomy of Muslim women who wear a face-covering because it limits them from pursuing career opportunities and advancements. COVID-19 exposes the sexist and racist nature of this bill because face coverings are banned when Muslim women wear them, but they are mandatory when it aligns with the circumstances and interests of the dominate culture. This shows that Bill 21 really is not about wearing a face covering or not. It is instead about alienating and disempowering Muslim women who wear head coverings. The mandatory mask policies in Quebec have highlighted the hypocrisy of the province's government. It reveals that Bill 21 promotes racism and the isolation of these women in society. In another case study within the Albertan context, Jason Kenney recently blamed the South Asian cultural "tradition to have big family gatherings" (Villani 2020) as the reason for high COVID-19 cases in the commu-

nity. However, most members of this community are public sector workers who cannot work from home and are therefore more at risk of the virus (Villani 2020). Nonetheless, the Premier would rather blame cultural traditions of the minority group to justify the high cases. Contrary to what Jason Kenney's statement insinuates, 'Traditional family gatherings' are not unique to any culture. That being said, it is also unlikely to be a justification for high cases in the dominant white culture. As illustrated by this case study, a close examination of the pandemic's effects reveal how ethnic minorities are blamed and have to shoulder the heaviest burdens; this is even more true for the racialized women within those minorities.

Intersectional Analysis

Intersectionality is a Black feminist concept coined by Dr. Kimberlé Crenshaw. It analyzes the unique experiences of discrimination and subordination of Black women based on the simultaneous interaction of sexism and racism (Crenshaw 1989, 140). Without an intersectional analysis, a Black woman's experiences of discrimination cannot be fully realized. I will use the concept of intersectionality in a broader context to discuss the experiences of all racialized women during the pandemic. For a comprehensive analysis of the effects of the COVID-19 pandemic on all racialized women and their struggles, an intersectional analysis is necessary.

The recent Canadian federal Speech from the Throne says that as a result of the pandemic, many women have been "shouldering the burden of unpaid care work at home" (Speech from the Throne 2020). This statement suggests that women working in domestic care jobs with low or no income is an occurrence unique to the pandemic. However, Canada has a history of relying on racialized women for domestic labour with unfair compensation. From 1955-1967, Black women were brought to Canada to be domestic workers as part of the West Indian Domestic Scheme (Raphael 2020). Jean Augustine, the first Black woman to serve as a cabinet minister, immigrated to Canada as a part of this program. The women who worked under this program received minimal pay and faced intersectional discrimination (Raphael 2020).

Additionally, in her examination of the second wave of feminism in Canada, Lois Harder (2006) says that the government is more willing to respond to mainstream women's needs (66), which refers to the needs of middle-aged, married, white women. This bias continues to be true in Canada, as evidenced by innately racist policies like Bill 21 and the lack of policy promoting

racialized and immigrant women's equality. As Armine Yalnizyan (2020) observes, "women, youth and non-whites disproportionately populate the lower-paid category of workers," and struggle the most to get back to work due to obstacles like the lack of access to childcare service. As a result, it is evident when looking at the pandemic through an intersectional lens that racialized and immigrant women are disproportionately affected in terms of unemployment and re-entering work. The systemic barriers to women of color that exist in Canadian society have been worsened due to the COVID-19 pandemic and have further separated these women's experiences from the 'mainstream woman'.

Conclusion

In this paper, I have asserted that the disproportionate effects of the pandemic on racialized and immigrant women are currently the most important issues in gender and politics. To support my argument, I used three means of analysis to demonstrate how the pandemic has worsened the inequalities felt by these women. Though my argument is relatively novel, its significance cannot be understated because the inequalities experienced by racialized and immigrant women in Canada are real and should not be tolerated any longer. The COVID-19 pandemic has only increased and accentuated these inequalities. Opposition to my argument may consist of claims that the life-threatening circumstances of the COVID-19 pandemic are not the platform for discussions of gender, race, and equality. But I ask, if not now, then when? The COVID-19 pandemic has had too great of an effect on racialized and immigrant women to be ignored. It is imperative that we use this opportunity afforded by insight from the pandemic to fight for more equality in Canadian society for racialized and immigrant women.

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Masks and Rain Spirits:

Mesoamerican Influences on Southwestern Kachina Ceremonialism

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ABSTRACT: This study examines Mesoamerican influences on kachina ceremonialism, a Southwestern religious institution in which kachina spirits infiltrate Pueblo communities for a portion of the year as masked impersonators. Kachina spirits are in fact ancestral spirits who inhabit the underworld. They emerge in cloud-form from mountain tops to bring rain to the fields of the living. Kachina ceremonialism arose in the thirteenth to fourteenth centuries during the Pueblo IV period following the Chacoan collapse, representing a social adaptation encouraging integration and stability in newly-established Pueblo communities. Whether the kachina cult's genesis is represented by ceramic evidence in the western Little Colorado Badin, or rock art in the eastern Rio Grande, a significant Mesoamerican ideological substrate fed into its origins: the Southwest imported such Mesoamerican commodities as copper bells, Scarlet Macaws, and the Mesoamerican ballgame, the latter two of which left ideological impressions evident in kiva murals and ceramic motifs. Ultimately, it was the Mesoamerican cult of the rain-bringing dead which was modified into the socially-integrative kachina cult in response to Pueblo IV social needs, as well as the Southwest's arid environment.

KEYWORDS: Kachina, Plaza, Kiva, Pinedale, Fourmile, Jornada, Tlaloc, Teixiptla

The Southwest is arguably the most distinguished division of North American archaeology, benefitting from a well-preserved archaeological record that captures the imaginations of archaeologists and laymen alike. In this rich cultural environment, kachina ceremonialism is the most iconic aspect of living Pueblo culture, a social ceremony stirring the whole community into motion as the spirits come once again to live amongst the people. Kachina ceremonialism is attested archaeologically as early as the early 13th century, following the collapse of the Chacoan world, and survived to the present day in spite of Catholic suppression during the 17th century. Much debate surrounds the origin of kachina ceremonialism, with theories ranging from Indigenous development within a Southwestern context to importation by Mexicans accompanying the Spanish (Adams 1991). Although evidence for kachina presence predating Spanish arrival invalidates this last theory, macaws from Casas Grandes, ballcourts at Hohokam (Museum of Peoples and Cultures 2008), and Tlaloc figures in Jornada rock art (Schaafsma 1999) testify to the fact that the Southwest was a recipient of Mesoamerican ideological influence in addition to its luxury goods. In light of Mesoamerican cultural presence in the Southwest, this paper discusses possible Mesoamerican contributions towards the development of kachina ceremonialism. The 13th century Southwestern spiritual landscape where kachina ceremonialism arose was a receptacle for Mesoamerican ideological imports, which contributed to the cult's origins.

Kachina Ceremonialism

Contemporary kachina ceremonialism is shrouded in secrecy, partially the result of Catholic suppression of Indigenous spirituality driving ceremonial proceedings underground. In its earliest days, the cult served as a socially unifying institution for emerging Pueblo communities in the wake of the Chacoan (Pueblo III) period. With the exception of some Tiwa groups, kachina ceremonialism is practiced by all contemporary Pueblo peoples, encompassing large segments of Pueblo society through mandated participation of the whole community. Kachinas are not gods, rather, they are a class of spiritual beings with a multifaceted character. In part, kachinas function as divine messengers, conveying prayers to the gods for agricultural fertility since much of kachina spirituality centres around bringing rain (Hieb 1994; Adams 1991). When not present in villages, the kachinas reside belowground, later emerging through mountain peaks as rain-bearing clouds to water parched fields. In this respect, kachina ceremonialism retains aspects of ancestor worship, as the Pueblo deceased become kachinas. Thus, the arrival of rain clouds is in fact the return of the ancestors,

who nourish their descendants by watering their fields. To this end, the Hopi place cotton on the faces of the deceased to symbolize the clouds that they will become. Physically, kachinas take three forms: dolls, masks, and masked impersonators. The dolls have a limited archaeological presence, and therefore need not concern this present discussion as they possibly originate from later European influence. Masks are the most important aspect of kachina ceremonialism, being the means by which kachina spirits are channeled. So revered are these masks that they are never referred to as mere "masks," rather they are personified through the appellation of "friend". When an impersonator, invariably a man initiated into the mysteries, dons a mask, he does not merely channel the kachina's presence, he becomes the kachina through the mask's transformative powers. Depending on the importance of the kachina represented, masks are either individually owned if the kachina is relatively inconsequential (the bulk of dancing kachinas), or communally owned if the kachina is a clan ancestor. (Adams 1991).

The arrival of the kachinas marks the beginning of village-wide celebration, as kachina dances double as social events whose success at propitiating the gods is contingent upon participation from the whole community. This ceremonial cooperation reflects broader social cooperation, as kachina ceremonialism overcomes clan distinctions by encouraging communal food redistribution. Through initiation into one kachina society or another, all Pueblo members are integrated into the village enterprise. In addition to strengthening communal bonds, the kachina cult's most important function is to bring rain. This aspect of kachina ceremonialism is reflected in the rain-bringing iconography employed during ceremonial proceedings, including tadpoles, lightning, maize, and clouds painted onto masks or impersonators themselves. Douglas fir boughs, which evoke the longed-for moisture, complete the ceremonial attire. Masking and the socially integrative nature of the ceremonial proceedings are significant points in the archaeological discussion to follow, while the supremely important rain-bringing function is discussed in light of Mesoamerican influences (Adams 1991).

Masking is a crucial component in kachina ceremonialism, as masks are what facilitate the impersonator's transformation into the kachina represented in a kind of temporary apotheosis. In addition to spiritual significance, kachina masks are important archaeologically since they are the only reliable indicator of kachina cultic presence (Adams 1991). In general, these masked faces are a-nasal, with elongated eyes and toothed rectangular mouths (Hays 1994), although the earliest

masked faces in rock art exhibit trapezoidal or triangular noses (Schaafsma 1994). The historical debate regarding the kachina cult's specific origins within the Southwest is divided between East and West. Charles Adams (1991, 133), based on ceramics and ceramic-influenced kiva murals, favours a western origin in the Little Colorado Basin, while Polly Schaafsma (1994, 66) in her analysis of Rio Grande rock art advocates for an eastern origin in the Rio Grande. An overview of the archaeological record will elucidate the matter.

Masked Faces in the Archaeological Record

Beginning in the West, kachinas are documented in ceramics, rock art, and kiva murals in the upper and middle Little Colorado River (hereafter LCR) basins, Mogollon Rim, Mesa Verde, and Hopi Mesas. The upper LCR has ceramic and rock art evidence of kachina ceremonialism by the early to mid–14th century (Adams 1991). In particular, Adams (1991, 42, 47) identifies the Pinedale and succeeding Fourmile ceramic traditions as intimately linked to the kachina cult's proliferation. The Pinedale ceramic tradition is a redware characterized by bilaterally symmetrical geometric patterns sporting macaw motifs; beaks or feathers incorporated into the design. The succeeding Fourmile ceramic tradition marked a break from Pinedale in the asymmetry of its designs and its depictions of masked faces. Adams (1990) links Fourmile ceramics with the spread of kachina ceremonialism based on contemporaneous appearance of masked faces in rock art as well as kiva murals in the upper LCR during the early to mid–14th century. Around the same time as masked faces began proliferating in the arts, village layouts changed to accommodate central plazas and rectangular subterranean kivas located at the corners of plazas. Both plazas and rectangular kivas are architectural features Adams (1991, 47) links to the cult's spread and adoption, reflecting a change in village layout to accommodate the new ceremonial system. These plazas and rectangular kivas seemed to have had a stabilizing effect on LCR Pueblos, which began lasting for longer periods of time after their introduction in the 14th century. Significantly, evidence of war and medicine societies are discernable in the kiva murals of the middle LCR. The martial overtones of some kachinas, such as the warrioress He'e'e', indicates that kachina ceremonialism became integrated with pre-existing medicine and war societies, coming to share influences and ceremonies while remaining as separate institutions. Presently, Zuni kachina ceremonialism retains a healing aspect, while kachinas such as He'e'e' perpetuate martial themes in contemporary Hopi kachina ceremonialism (Adams 1991).

In the Mogollon Rim, kachina presence is evidenced primarily by Fourmile ceramics, from which kachina iconography seems to derive its stylistic roots. Fourmile ceramics in turn exhibit stylistic influences from Casas Grandes ceramics, with both traditions sharing macaw motifs and masked faces by the 14th century. Ultimately, the Pinedale style, which preceded the Fourmile style, was born of local Mogollon ceramics merging stylistically with Kayenta ceramics, the latter of which were imported by Chacoan refugees, who emigrated from the Four Corners area following the end of the Pueblo III period (Adams 1991).

Scant evidence of kachina ceremonialism, ceramic or otherwise, exists in Mesa Verde. Absence of central plazas, or indeed their associated kivas, suggests that the kachina cult never took hold there, and what little iconographic evidence exists is attributable to importation of Hopi goods. In the Hopi Mesas, which represent the northern-most extent of kachina ceremonialism, the Fourmile style developed into the Sikyatki style. [1] The presence of Sikyatki ceramics, as well as extensive Sikyatki-influenced kiva murals, indicates kachina cultic presence in the Hopi mesas by the early 15th century (Adams 1991). While Sikyatki ceramics appear only in those communities where kachina ceremonialism had taken root, the paucity of masked depictions on Sikyatki vessels seems to indicate a proscription against depicting kachinas in the Hopi mesas, possibly the result of a premium on cultic knowledge (Adams 1991). Even today, Pueblo children are kept ignorant of the masked impersonator's humanity until their own initiations into the mysteries, whereupon they realize, often with great emotional distress, that the kachinas have been impersonated by humans all along (James 2000).[2] The only places in the Hopi mesas where kachinas were depicted in abundance were the kivas of Awat'ovi and Kawaika'a, as these subterranean ritual spaces hid the secretive aspects of the cult. By the 15th century, some kachina depictions are even identifiable: Ahola, the Solstice Kachina, the Spotted Corn Avatshoya Kachina, and the flute-playing Kokopelli Mana, who may also represent the martial He'e'e', are all depicted on the kiva murals of Awat'ovi and Kawaika'a (Adams 1991).

In the east, the middle Rio Grande features the distinctive Rio Grande rock art tradition, which exhibits masked faces as early as the 14th century (Schaafsma 1999). Evidence of Mimbres influence includes figures with coned or rounded heads, paralleling the contemporary iconography of Ewtoto Kachina and his lieutenant Ahooli, who also possess rounded and coned heads, respectively. Although the Mimbres

ceramic tradition represents the earliest instance of anatomically detailed human depictions, nothing in their iconography suggests that the Mimbres practiced kachina ceremonialism. Instead, Mimbres iconography represents a more general Southwestern spiritual world that delt directly with the gods, sans kachina intermediaries (Adams 1991). In contrast to Mimbres iconography, Rio Grande rock art does display masking, suggesting that the members of this distinctive cultural tradition did practice kachina ceremonialism (Schaafsma 1994). Influence from the Casas Grandes region, as with upper LCR ceramics, may be the reason behind kachina presence. In the upper Rio Grande, elaborate kiva murals at Kuaua and Pottery Mound depicted kachinas in full regalia, complete with the sashes and kilts of contemporary masked impersonators. Kuaua and Pottery Mound kiva murals are considerably older, dating to the 15th century and stylistically resembling Hopi kiva murals. There too, the kiva murals display Mesoamerican influences in the form of macaw motifs and feathered serpents (Adams 1991).

Plazas and rectangular kivas were necessary architectural elements for the cult's social existence. Kachina ceremonialism as a socially-integrative institution brought the entire village together in festivities. Plazas were the ideal space for observing the public dances, while the mysteries could be performed in the subterranean privacy of the kivas. Plaza-oriented Pueblos arose after the 13th century collapse of the Chacoan world, Adams (1991, 126) sees this new spatial layout as indicative of the Southwest settling into a new social order, with disparate immigrant groups settling into larger villages than had existed previously, and in consequence requiring a source of ideological unity for social stability. The kachina cult represented just such a socially-stabilizing religious institution. While the plazas central to kachina ceremonialism may have southern origins with the Casas Grandes culture, the subterranean kivas arose in the Mogollon Rim, developing there from above-ground square Great Kivas. Adams (1991, 126) speculates that the kivas became associated with kachina ceremonialism by developing alongside the cult in the same geographical area, likely in the upper LCR where kivas and plazas came together around the 13th century. Pinedale ceramics also have Mogollon Rim origins, synthesized of local Mogollon wares combined with Kayenta ceramics brought from the Four Corners area by post-Chacoan refugees. Though many elements associated with kachina ceremonialism originate in the Mogollon Rim, Adams (1991, 127, 131) sees the upper LCR as the crucible in which they all came together. Instead of the western upper LCR basin, Schaafsma (1994, 64) considers the eastern Rio Grande to be

the more likely place of origin for kachina ceremonialism. The more numerous depictions of masked faces in Rio Grande rock art seem to indicate a longer period of kachina cultic development in the East. In the West, by contrast, the comparatively fewer occurrences of masked faces on ceramics suggest a more limited western cultic presence. While Adams (1991, 28) dismisses the relevance of the Mimbres artistic tradition to kachina ceremonialism, Schaafsma (1994, 65) sees it as a contributing factor to Jornada rock art, representing an earlier stratum of spiritual belief that later evolved into kachina ceremonialism. The great variety of masked faces suggests to Schaafsma (1994, 64) that kachina ceremonialism had its earliest and greatest level of complexity in the Rio Grande, while its comparatively limited presence in the West indicate a less developed version of the cult there. In particular, Schaafsma (1999, 171 – 73) focuses on Jornada rock art figures depicting Tlaloc, a rain deity of Mesoamerican extraction. These Jornada Tlaloc figures anticipate the rain-bringing function of Southwestern kachinas, and speak to the Mesoamerican ideological influences on kachina ceremonialism. These two irreconcilable perspectives aside, Adams does note Mesoamerican material presence. Facilitated by the Salado culture, copper bells and non-indigenous Scarlet Macaws entered the Southwest from the Casas Grandes culture. Ultimately, however, Adams' account of the archaeological record situates the kachina cult's origins in the Southwest. For this reason, Adams tentatively restricts Mesoamerican influences from Casas Grandes to trade, though he does acknowledge the prominence of macaw motifs and the presence of Jornada Tlaloc figures as suggestive of Mesoamerican spiritual influences (Adams 1991, 131 – 32). In particular, macaw motifs on ceramics and ritual spaces associated with kachina ceremonialism speak to direct Mesoamerican influence. Having provided a brief outline of the kachina cult's archaeological history, several points of Mesoamerican influence will now be addressed.

Mesoamerican Influences: Macaws and Ballcourts

Scarlet Macaws appear in the Southwest between the 10th and 13th centuries, a presence that was facilitated by Casa Grandes traders since Scarlet Macaws are endemic to rainforests in Central America. At Paquimé, the presumed centre of Casas Grandes, specialized cages designed to mimic the humid conditions of the macaw's native rainforest habitat demonstrate the integral nature of macaw aviculture to its economy. Since macaws have never been domesticated, any breeding attempts at Paquimé were presumably only partially successful at best, thus compelling its enterprising traders to constantly import tamed macaws in order

to meet demand. Physical remains, as well as icono-graphic evidence on ceramics and kiva murals, indicate a demand for macaws that encompassed the Southwest; as far north as Mesa Verde and as far east as the Rio Grande. The distances required to transport macaws hint at their prestigious status to the inhabitants of the Southwest, who prized their radiant plumage and likely harvested feathers from live birds over their lifetime. Ritual use of macaw feathers, as well as instances of their burial with rich grave goods, also hint at their ideological value; the red of macaw plumes quite possibly evoked southern directionality and moisture. Ceramically, macaw motifs form part of the Pinedale and Fourmile stylistic repertoire; in Mimbres ceramics, they seemingly straddle the boundary between life and death for their love of hanging upside down. More than mere economic commodities, Scarlet Macaws like-ly also had an ideological impact on the Southwestern spiritual landscape during the 10th to 13th centuries, a supposition supported by macaw motifs on ceramics and in ritual spaces associated with kachina ceremoni-alism (Museum of Peoples and Cultures 2008).

Another cultural import which made a mark on the archaeological record is the Mesoamerican ballgame, played in distinctive ballcourts present at Hohokam and Casas Grandes sites (Museum of Peoples and Cultures 2008). The Mesoamerican ballgame was played between groups of two to three players, with the objective of directing a rubber ball from one end of the court to the other (Miller and Taube 1993). Methods of controlling the ball varied, but usually involved some combination of hips, thighs, buttocks, forearms, and even bats. Ballcourts generally had I or T-shaped layouts (Museum of Peoples and Cultures 2008). Rich symbolism accompanied the ballgame: the ball itself was ascribed solar symbolism; its travels around the ballcourt were equated with the sun's movements between the upper and netherworlds, making it an expression of renewal. The game also held martial themes, substituting for actual military conflicts with the heads of losers impaled on skull racks (Miller and Taube 1993). In the Popol Vuh, the hero twins Hunapu and Xbalanque faced the Lords of Death over a series of ballgames, ultimately triumphing and resurrecting their father (Christenson 2008). In the Southwest, ballcourts are found in Hohokam and Casas Grandes sites. The Hohokam region boasts over 200 ballcourts, whose ovular shape departed from Mesoamerican layouts. These ballcourts had rock-lined sidewalls, and their location near central plazas hint at their social importance. Casas Grandes ballcourts, comparatively fewer in number, exhibited both Hohokam's ovular layout and traditional I or T-shaped courts, these latter developing independently from open-layout courts. The grandeur of Paquimé ballcourts may reflect its pre-em-inence among Casas Grandes sites. While Paquimé's status as an indigenous settlement or Mesoamerican colony is debated, the presence of macaws, pyrite mir-rors, copper bells, and depictions of Mexican divinities implicate the Casas Grandes as a nexus for Mesoameri-can influence (Museum of Peoples and Cultures 2008).

The Mesoamerican ballgame almost certainly arrived in the Southwest accompanied by its associated body of mythology. Though Hohokam ballcourts fell out of use after the 13th century (Museum of Peoples and Cul-tures 2008), the Southwestern mythological landscape attests numerous pairs of heroic twins: the Hopi have the Ahaiyuta as twin war gods (Adams 1991), and the Navajo twins Monster-Slayer and Born-of-Water rid the world of monsters who menace humanity (Zolbrod 1984). These divine twins may derive from the Meso-american hero twins, hinting at the ballgame's indelible ideological influence on the Southwest in spite of its ultimate disappearance. Pairs of heroic twins aside, the material evidence of Paquimé and other southern sites points to deeper Mesoamerican ideological influences on Southwestern spirituality. A further examination of these influences will focus on ceramics, rock art, and parallels between Hopi and Mexica ancestral worship.

The Hero Twins: Fertility and Renewal

The Classic Mimbres culture flourished between the 11th and early 12th centuries in the southern portions of the middle Rio Grande, producing a distinctive black-on-white ceramic tradition featuring the earliest anatomically detailed anthropomorphic depictions (Hays 1994). Adams (1991, 28) does not consider Mim-bres iconography representative of kachina ceremoni-alism, rather, he considers it to have contributed to later kachina iconography, with some of the toothed-mouth and oval eyes of later masked faces discernable in some Mimbres figures (Hays 1994). Though Mimbres ceramics may not reflect kachina ceremonialism, their rich iconography does parallel aspects of Mesoameri-can mythology, which, when taken in conjunction with evidence for mercantile relations at Casas Grandes, strongly suggests the importation of Mesoamerican be-liefs along with luxury goods. The mortuary context of many Mimbres ceramics suggest that they depict scenes of the afterlife, and their execution in a ceramic medi-um served as a mnemonic device aiding the deceased's travels, hence their detail and high quality (Thompson 1994). Due to the effects of pareidolia, Mesoameri-can peoples perceived a rabbit on the moon's surface, and therefore attributed lunar symbolism to rabbits (Miller and Taube 1993). Mexica mythology pertain-

ing to the current world's creation recount how at its formation, the moon's brightness equalled the sun's. To diminish the moon's brilliance, the gods hurled a rabbit at its face, dimming its brightness with a dark leporine impression (Phillips 2012). Lunar symbolism is apparent in Mimbres depictions of rabbits, which appear in conjunction with crescents or lie on their right sides in imitation of the lunar rabbit's appearance (Thompson 1994). In one intriguing example, the younger brother of the hero twins, whom the K'iche' Maya call Xbalanque and who eventually transforms into the moon (Christenson 2008), is also depicted in an arched position, carrying a basket symbolizing his lunar burden (Thompson 1994).

In addition to celestial symbological parallels, Mimbres ceramic iconography also reflects the mythology of the Mesoamerican hero twins, who rid the world of monsters and rescue their father from the underworld (Christenson 2008).[3] While Hays (1994; see also Thompson 1994) treats the Mesoamerican cosmological parallels seen in Mimbres ceramics as a body of belief that was held in common between the Mesoamerican and Southwestern cultural areas, Thompson (1994, 95) regards the ballgame's prominence in the narrative as indicative of the story's Mesoamerican origins. To briefly recount the K'iche' Maya version of this narrative, the twin's father and uncle, Hun Hunapu and Vucub Hunapu, shake the foundations of the underworld (Xibalba) with their ball-playing. The Lords of Death invite them to Xibalba to play, where they perish after a series of humiliating defeats. Hun Hunapu's head, hung on a tree, impregnates a daughter of the Lords of Death by spitting on her hand, and she flees to the mortal world to give birth to the hero twins, Hunapu and Xbalanque. After defeating the macaw Vucub Caquix, the twins themselves play the ballgame, once again disturbing Xibalba's foundations and, like their father before them, being invited to play ball. Unlike their lamented father, however, the twins successfully pass Xibalba's tests, though they allow themselves to be defeated and killed in one final match with the Lords of Death. Afterwards, the twins regenerate as catfish, then mermen, and finally as two miracle workers performing magic tricks for the amusement of Xibalba's denizens. Eventually, the Lords of Death summon the twins to perform and, impressed by their ability to sacrificed and resurrect each other, ask to be killed and revived themselves. By complying with only half of their request, the twins vanquish the Lords of Death, thus diminishing Xibalba's hold over the mortal realm. The story concludes with Hun Hunapu's resurrection as a maize deity, destined to cycle between the upper and netherworlds, and the twin's transfor-

mation into the Sun and Moon, celestial bodies which likewise also move between the upper and lower worlds (Christenson 2008). Mimbres ceramic vessels depict many episodes of this saga, one of these being the arrogant Vucub Caquix's vanquishing, as he claimed to be both the sun and the moon. In this episode, the younger twin is depicted climbing onto Vucub Caquix's back, masquerading as a dentist so as to strip the hubristic macaw of his finery, whereupon Vucub Caquix dies of shame. Another depiction shows the hero twins smoking cigars, recalling their trial in the Dark House when they were provisioned a torch and cigars which needed to be returned whole the next day. The twins solved this dilemma by affixing a macaw feather to the torch and fireflies to their cigars to give off light without combusting. Twinned depictions of fish recall the twin's regeneration. Some of the fish even sport human limbs, representing the advanced stages of the twin's reconfiguration (Thompson 1994). A final episode depicted is their feats of magic wrought to impress Xibalba's denizens, where the twins restore what is burnt or killed, even resurrecting each other (Christenson 2008).

The presence of the hero twin narrative in the Southwest is significant. Not only does it prominently feature macaws and the ballgame as pivotal aspects of the plot, its themes of death and vegetal renewal are also central to kachina ceremonialism. The ballgame's importance lies in its disturbances of the underworld, which prompt the Lords of Death to invite its players to their perdition. These chthonic disturbances symbolize the unsuccessful tilling of the earth before the latter's destructive, life-swallowing powers have been neutralized. In consequence, the life that entered the earth could not subsequently return, and so Hun Hunapu and Vucub Hunapu died in Xibalba, corresponding in the agricultural register to seeds being sown and failing to germinate. When Hunapu and Xbalanque vanquish the Lords of Death, they significantly diminish the power of death over the living. Thereafter, the life essence that entered the underworld was subsequently able to return to the mortal realm. Through their heroism, the twins not only free their father from the underworld (nothing more is ever said of their uncle), but also ensure the existence of agricultural fertility, embodied by Hun Hunapu in his new role as the god of maize. Thus, whenever kernels of maize are planted in the ground, symbolic of the hero twins and their father descending into the underworld, the seeds germinate, and the earth obediently yields up their sprouts (Florescano 1999). In kachina ceremonialism, this concept of chthonic regeneration is echoed in the kachina spirits themselves, who emerge from the earth as the rain which nourishes the maize of their descen-

dants. To this end, the Hopi mask their deceased with transformative cotton, admonishing them to return and water the fields of the living (Hieb 1994). Beyond fertility as a form of ancestor worship, the risk that the earth might indefinitely swallow vegetal life without returning it would have been a concern to agriculturalists in the arid Southwest. Thus, it is unsurprising that the hero twin narrative with its message of vegetal renewal received particular attention in Mimbres ceramics.

Masks, Bundles, and Rain Gods

Continuing with the theme of agricultural fertility, Tlaloc depictions occur in Jornada rock art, a style which lasted from the 11th to 15th centuries. Jornada rock art gave rise to 14th century Rio Grande rock art, whose iconographic repertoire includes kachina masks (Schaafsma 1994; 1999). Tlaloc's iconography consists of goggled eyes, fangs, and moustache-like oral volutes. In Jornada rock art, the only aspect of Tlaloc's iconography that remains constant is his goggled eyes, though occasionally he sports a square fanged mouth. Lacking extremities, the trapezoidal bodies of Jornada Tlalocs feature elaborate zigzags and meanders. The meander is paralleled by crosshatched motifs whose cloud symbolism extends back into Olmec times, while zigzags represent the lightning that lashes the clouds to bring rain. Jornada Tlaloc figures frequently appear near ancient stream beds, often on trapezoidal rockfaces which may have been suggestive of Tlaloc's spiritual presence (Schaafsma 1999).

Though often regarded as a rain deity, Tlaloc in reality had a multifaceted association with moisture that extended beyond what fell from the sky. He is also linked to caves, which are sources for groundwater as well as entry-points to the underworld. The precincts of Tlaloc's temples contained excavated holes representing entrances to the underworld, paralleled in the Southwest by the sipapus in kivas. Tlalocan, the verdant afterlife enjoyed by those who die a water-related death, was also accessed via caves (Schaafsma 1999). Maya cosmology echoes Tlalocan in their nikte' witz, or Flower Mountain masks, whose reptilian maws opened to a paradisiacal afterlife for kings and revered ancestors. At northern Maya sites, these nikte' witz are depicted stacked one atop another, or as whole doorways through which the élite symbolically entered paradise every time they stepped through (Coe 2012). In addition to caves, Tlaloc was also associated with the mountains in whose caves he dwelled, emerging along with his entourage of subservient Tlaloques as clouds around mountain peaks. Tlaloc's cave habitation and cloud-form are paralleled by the kachina spirits, who also inhabit a netherworld situated beneath a moun-

tain, from which they emerge in cloud-form (Schaafsma 1999). These striking similarities aside, the aspect of Tlaloc's veneration regarded by Schaafsma (1999, 185 – 87) as foundational to kachina ceremonialism is the cult of the rain-making dead, whose worship involved funerary bundles, masks, and effigies known as teixiptla.

In Mexica eschatology, individuals who died by drowning, waterborne illness, or lightning were eligible to enter Tlalocan. Such individuals received special funerary treatment to encourage their transformation into rain-makers: their corpses were bundled with white cloth so as to impart the amorphous shape of a cloud. Bundling effectively stripped the corpse of its identity so that it joined the ranks of the anonymous rain-making dead. In a similar fashion, the Puebloan deceased lost their individual identities when they became kachina spirits. Appearing in the mortal realm as clouds or dancers, the living would be unable to distinguish one particular cloud or pick out one particular dancing kachina as being a deceased relative. Though bundling plays a small role in kachina ceremonialism, it has an ancient history in Mesoamerica, where scorched masks at Teotihuacan suggest the cremation of the bundled deceased. In context of the Mexica rain-making dead, masking and bundling factored only in their conjuring with effigies known as teixiptla, a term referring to both masked impersonators and faux bundles attired as a divinity. As a bundled effigy, the teixiptla commemorated the host of the rain-making deceased who, divested of their identities and assimilated to the forces of nature, were directed by Tlaloc to bring rain. In this capacity, teixiptla were employed to summon the rain-makers, usually when crops required another bout of rain to finish their ripening (Schaafsma 1999).

Given the Trapezoidal shape of Jornada Tlalocs, their lack of extremities, and limited iconographic resemblance to Tlaloc, Schaafsma (1999, 189) postulates they may not in fact represent Tlaloc at all. Instead, they depict teixiptlas attired to resemble Tlaloc, which would explain their trapezoidal bundled form and reduced iconography. Representations of teixiptla attired as a Mesoamerican rain god and decorated with rain-bringing symbolism indicates that the Mesoamerican cult of the rain-making dead was imported into the Southwest, where it became foundational to kachina ceremonialism (Schaafsma 1999). Elaborated upon to fit the needs of the Pueblo world, the masked teixiptla became the masked and anonymous kachinas, whose personae absorbed the identities of the deceased. In a final parallel to the cult of the rain-making dead, not every member of Puebloan society was eligible to become kachinas. Whereas the Mexica determined eligibility

by the manner of death, in Pueblo communities this spiritual franchise was extended to all who participated in the festivities. At Zuni, those who shunned the kachina dances were thought to continue their antisocial ways as lone clouds, unlikely to bring rain (Schaafsma 1999).[4] This social aspect of kachina ceremonialism represents a modification of the original cult of the rain-making dead to encourage social integration. In context of social upheaval during the early Pueblo IV period, Adams (1991, 126) hypothesizes that the kachina cult was adapted to stabilize Pueblos populated by peoples of various backgrounds. Thus, the cult of the rain-bringing dead, a belief system derived from Mesoamerica, was tailored to the socially-integrative needs of the Pueblo IV period, as well as the environmental realities of the arid Southwest.

Conclusion

To conclude, the preceding discussion identified Mesoamerican influences which permeated the Southwest and became foundational to kachina ceremonialism. However, kachina ceremonialism was only one expression of Pueblo IV social upheaval, in which populations made decisive changes to maximize the effectiveness of their societal operations. The Tewa, who descend from Mesa Verde Pueblos, serve as a quintessential case study. Numerous lines of evidence suggest the Tewa developed from Mesa Verde's competitive lineages into a cooperative communal organization (Ortman 2016), a societal shift evidenced ceramically and architecturally: Tewa ceramics were far less elaborate than the "baroque" styles of Mesa Verde, while their architecture dispensed with elaborations which in Mesa Verde indexed family prestige. Instead of a radical break from tradition, however, Ortman (2016, 87) argues that Tewa society reconfigured pre-existing cultural ideas into a communal mentality that, while drawing on aspects of the past, was nevertheless distinct from Mesa Verde's competitive, lineage-oriented one. A change from competitive lineages to a community structured as an extended family, all the while repurposing existing social institutions, meant Tewa society cooperated to better meet the needs of its people (Ortman 2016). Similarly, the kachina cult represented a Pueblo IV reconfiguration of rain-making spirituality present earlier, during the 13th century. The cult of the rain-making dead, a belief system of Mesoamerican extraction, was modified into a celebration of fertility encouraging communal cooperation. This change manifested architecturally as villages accommodating central plazas, and ceramically as the Fourmile style sporting masked faces with oblong eyes and toothed mouths. Thus, kachina ceremonialism was the product of Mesoamerican mythological and ideological concepts pertaining to moisture and vegetal rejuvenation, which were imported into the Southwest and indigenized as a socially-stabilizing institution during a time of social reconfiguration.

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[1] For more information on the differences between the Fourmile and Sikyatki ceramic styles, please consult Adams 1991.

[2] Which is not to imply that the kachinas are mere figments. As has been explained at length, the impersonators become the kachinas they embody through the transformative powers of the masks they wear. Children, however, may fail to appreciate this nuance, seeing only the human impersonator while disregarding the veracity of the kachina's spiritual existence. In consequence, they are kept ignorant of the impersonator's humanity until such time as they are mature enough to understand that the impersonator's humanity does not diminish the kachina's spiritual existence.

[3] Paralleled in the Navajo Diné Bahane' by the hero twins seeking out their father to eliminate the monsters which threaten humanity (Zolbrod 1984).

[4] The apathy these antisocial individuals demonstrate towards their community by shunning the festivities manifests in death as a reluctance to water the fields of their descendants. In both instances, the welfare of the community is of little importance to them.

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Does Age Affect Attitude Towards Online Voting?

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ABSTRACT: Elections need to remain innovative and robust in the fast-changing world of the digital age. While previous literature focuses on the technicality, legality, security and practicality of e-voting in Canada, the purpose of this study is to find if younger voters would adopt a different attitude towards online voting than older voters. The question at hand here is; how does age affect attitudes towards online voting in Canada? For populations that are under-represented in Canada, online voting can be a conduit that leads to better civic engagement, increased political participation and a better perception of elections. Online voting makes it easier for younger voters to engage in civic duties rather than going into polling stations and filling out a ballot in the electoral process. Often, a cost and benefit analysis are the mechanisms behind rational choice voting. Therefore, there is reason to believe online voting may lead to a better sense of engagement for younger voters who are currently disengaged from our political system. Online voting could also lead to better representation for the interests of younger cohorts.

KEYWORDS: age, Canadian elections, electronic voting, participation, rational choice voting, voting

Literature Review

The "Calculus of Voting" model proposed by Riker and Ordes-Hook (1968) suggests that time and cognitive factors are considered before voting. Building on this framework, Blais, Young and Lapp (2000) suggest that one's moral obligation to vote is the most powerful motivator to go to the polls. People are often motivated more by their civic duty to vote than they are by their individual choice. For those who view voting as a choice and not a duty, online voting could become a mobilizing mechanism that eases their choice to vote. Many young people adopt a cost-benefit analysis approach to determine whether the outcome of voting is worth their time or effort. Younger voters often choose not to vote simply because the benefits of voting do not outweigh the cost of the time required to vote in person, or they do not feel as if their voices matter enough in a broader context (Condon and Holleque 2013). As people age, they gain more self-efficacy, and in return, empirical evidence demonstrates older individuals have internalized their benefits of voting (178). While the "Calculus of Voting" theory is a widely shared idea in the landscape of rational choice voting, I will borrow this framework from Riker and Ordes-Hook (1968) to suggest younger voters may exhibit a slightly more positive attitude towards online voting because they value the 'low cost' but similar reward of voting remotely.

Younger voters have been shown to have lower levels of turnout rates than older voters (James and Garnett 2020). While some scholars attribute low turnout rates among younger voters to onerous identification processes (such as requiring multiple documents at polling stations), another factor points to alarming rates of political apathy among younger voters (Milner 2005, 8). Literature continues to distinguish between the voting attitudes of younger voters versus older (established) voters, and scholarship on this topic comes to an agreement that young voters have a widely shared disconnect from politics (James and Garnett 2020). Disconnection from politics disincentivizes younger voters in elections (Elections Canada). Newly registered voters are also faced with unseen challenges of mobilization, which is why there is often a greater number of registered younger voters (via online registration tools) compared to those who show up at polling stations.

In Canada, non-voters who responded to election surveys indicated higher interest in online voting than present (Elections Canada). In Switzerland, however, e-voting only affected the short-term behaviour of young voters and did not display significant impacts on long-term voting patterns (Gerlach and Urs Gasser 2019). Furthermore, researchers who studied Estonia's online electoral process concluded that there is evidence e- voting would not "de-socialize" (affect group turnout rates) when compared to traditional voting methods (Unt, Solvak and Vassil 2017). In Estonia, which contains similarly immobile groups such as those living in isolated areas, online voting was preferred by some people as a solution to the obvious lack of access to polling stations. Although this is premature data, there was some controversy suggesting rural areas tend to collectively possess mentalities that are reluctant to utilizing technology (Unt, Solvak and Vassil 2017, 9) Online voting in a simulation model was said to be more user-friendly for tech-savvy individuals who are perhaps more accustomed to computer systems for e-government usage. Following the research outcome suggesting younger generations utilize online voting in Switzerland and Estonia, the question of whether online voting would increase voter turnout rates for younger Canadians should be of immediate interest to political scientists. Other scholars elaborated to say younger people are more responsive to changes in political substance rather than procedural mechanisms of voting (Oostveen and Van Den Besselaar 2004), meaning the actual candidates, political culture and parties' responses to key issues have a bigger effect mechanism on young voters than the way they choose to vote. We live in a digitized world that is constantly becoming more communicative via online networks. For generations that grew up reliant on technology, civic engagement can potentially be seeing a significant decline if not catered to new voters. The common trend for young voter turnout is to be increasingly low, approximately 44 percent in North America (Blais and Jean-François 2020). In the 2019 election, 62 percent of online voter registrations were made by 18-24-year-olds in Canada. This displays the utilization of online programs that are effectively improving voting processes. However, only 53.9 percent of voters 18-24 years of age casted a vote in-person (Pammett and LeDuc, 2003, 68). This 8 percent margin reveals a discrepancy between those with an intention to vote and their accessibility to polling stations or perceived benefits in general.

Understanding attitudes towards changes in voting methods can also be captured by a current sample of data that suggests 46 percent of Canadians would rather see online voting than any other electoral reform (Goodman 2016). However, policymakers are rightfully hesitant to employ such ventures because not enough research has gone into practical online voting methods. In the 2018 Ontario Municipal elections, the Dominion online forum failed due to the high volume of voters, resulting in an emergency delay, a case in which Essex considers "a precursor to a nation-state deploying

cyber operations against a democratic election" (Essex and Goodman 2020).

According to the policy recommendations, there are different methods to online voting. Some involve providing computers to residents, some are done through text, and some are simply based on web-page access. Nonetheless, these methods cannot be explored unless Canadian policymakers continue to lay the groundwork for the possible future development of better "mandatory technical standards, voluntary procurement and operational guidelines in a renewed legal framework" for e-voting (Essex and Goodman 2020, 170). Ontario launched event trial projects for online voting, but these efforts have not been regulated by a non-partisan agency to ensure online elections do not jeopardize democracy by becoming susceptible to foreign interference. While these studies investigated attitudes on online voting for other political instruments such as referendums or byelections, my study proposes to look for attitudes of e-voting on a federal elections level for younger voters.

Methodology

This study uses the Canadian Elections Survey and STATA software to model the results of the relationship between age and attitudes towards online voting in Canada. To further explore whether the option to vote online is viewed positively by younger voters or if age does not play a definitive role in a voter's attitudes towards voting online, I have operationalized age into categories corresponding to Canadian Elections Voter Turnout by Age (see appendix). I hypothesize that because younger voters generally adopt a "low benefit, high cost" attitude towards voting, online voting would lower the cost of voting and be a better conduit for political participation for individuals between the age of 18-35. A statistically significant relationship ($p = <0.05$) between age and attitudes towards online voting will allow me to reject the null hypothesis.

Controlling for other groups is important for the outcome of this study because it can show whether age is still statistically significant when other factors are included in my calculation. Education plays a role in attitudes towards voting - it is said that those who possess a completed university degree tend to have higher voter turnout rates than those who do not, which will result in a significant positive outcome between attitudes towards online voting and education (Garnet 2019, 119). The proportion of Indigenous youth who disagreed that voting was easy and convenient was 19 percent compared to 11 percent of youth overall (aged 18–34) (Elections Canada), which may display a significant

positive relationship between being of an Indigenous background and attitudes towards online voting. Rural voters may also be inclined to adopt alternative voting methods if not properly mobilized, and finally, those that feel underrepresented by the current First-Past-the-Post system could also be an indicator of positive attitudes towards online voting (Kenneth, Blais and Fourtnier, 2008).

Independent variable

Age, although coded as a continuous variable in the Canadian Elections Survey, will be de-strung for the purpose of this study and split across 7 cohorts 18-24, 25-34, 35-44, 45-54, 55-64, 65-74 and 75 and over.

Dependent variable

The following Likert-scale type question was used to measure my dependent variable:

"Canadians should have the option to vote over the Internet in federal elections"

The Canadian Elections Survey provides this survey to accurately account for attitudes towards online voting. Although another variable measures perspective on online voting, I chose the one that was general to "Canadian," versus one that might reflect a self-serving bias (if you could vote over the internet, how likely would you be to do so?). "Don't know/ Prefer not to answer" was removed from the calculations of this study.

Since moral obligation to vote is the main reason for voter turnout, asking voters if it is a duty or choice to vote will indicate if the choice to vote online is a simple convenience. We can assume e-voting will not change their willingness to vote if these individuals perceive voting as a choice. However, if voting is perceived as a choice, it might be of simple convenience for them to vote online. To explore whether these respondents are individuals that are expressing interest in alternative voting methods but would still vote regardless of this method, I will use the following questions as one of my controls:

"For you personally, is voting first and foremost a Duty or a Choice?"

For the purposes of this study, I have binarized these variables to either "duty" or "choice" and removed the option of "do not know."

Results

This data uses a regression analysis to determine if age influences attitudes towards online voting in Canada. The first component establishes a statistical significance between age and attitude towards online voting. The second component uses the data to dig deeper into the causal mechanism behind this relationship. Together, the model demonstrates if online voting enhances attitudes towards voting in general.

The sample size (n) for age categories in this set of data is 37,822 and the sample mean, and median is 49 years of age ($\bar{x}$ =48.7). The oldest voter was 99 years old and the youngest was 18. For the purposes of this study, the sample size (n) for our dependent variable, "Canadians should have the option to vote over the Internet in a federal election" is 5,069 and the sample mean ($\bar{x}$) is 3.04. The median is 3, which suggests the most frequent response was "neither agree nor disagree" in this data set. The skewness was slightly negative (-0.84) reflecting the average responses tends to slightly disagree with this statement (σX =1.49).

The results for a bivariate regression displayed a statistically significant relationship between age categories and online voting. This negative relationship showed 99% confidence that for every 1 unit decrease in age, there is a 0.087 decrease in positive attitude towards online voting, the dependent variable. Younger voters do hold increasingly positive attitudes towards online voting.

In considering results for when control variables are taken into consideration (Table 1), a multivariate regression analysis displays the independent relationship between age and attitudes towards online voting. For every 1 unit increase in age category, there is a 0.095 decrease in positive attitude towards online voting. Therefore, younger voters in this data set tend to favour online voting in comparison with older voters. This relationship is statistically significant at the 99% confidence interval level (p=0.00), which means I can reject the null hypothesis suggesting there is no relationship between age and attitudes towards online voting.

TABLE 1: Variables	Online Voting
Age Categories	**-0.0950***** (0.0266)
University	**0.264*****(0.0816)
Rural	-0.0670 (0.0853)
Indigenous	0.353 (0.245)
First-Past-Post	0.154***(0.0318)
Duty or Choice	**0.267*****(0.0955)
Constant	**2.429***(0.234)**
Observation	**1,385**
R-squared	**0.048**

Standard errors in parentheses *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

When controlled for other independent variables, to lower the probability of a spurious relationship between age and attitudes towards online voting, statistical significance is observed between dependent variables and some of our controls. Attitude towards online voting is statistically significant when correlated with those that are in favour of electoral reform, those with a university education and those who view voting as a choice. With 95% confidence, respondents who have obtained education at some university level such as a bachelor's degree, a master's degree, or a PhD. For every one-unit increase in attitude towards online voting, there is a 0.264 increase in education at the higher level. At the 95th percent confidence interval, for every single unit increase in attitude towards online voting, there is an increase of 0.154 to be in favour of electoral reform. Finally, for those who hold the opinion on voting as a choice, it is statistically significant at the 0.95th confidence interval that for every unit increase in online voting, there is a 0.267 unit increase towards those who view voting as a choice.

Finally, after running a variance inflation factor test, my results suggest multi-collinearity, and the relationship between independent variables and my dependent

variable is unsystematic on the idiosyncratic level. Furthermore, testing for homogeneity of covariances (homoscedasticity Breusch-Pagan test) reveals independent variables have the same variance impact on the dependent variable. My model yields an R-squared of 0.048 which suggests that 4.5% of my model explains the variance in the dependent variable (attitudes towards online voting).

The implications for these findings suggest younger voters will adopt an increasingly positive attitude towards online voting regardless of their level of education, view on first-past-the-post voting, and their take on voting as a choice. The next generations of voters should feel that democratic processes can easily become up to date. We live in an increasingly technological society where we connect, debate, and network via the internet. It is time we channel Canada's resources towards federal online voting initiatives. Future findings should explore the two avenues of research garnered in this study: How does representation and attitudes towards voting in general affect turnout rates if voting was to be online for federal elections?

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Chinese Non-Interference Policy in Africa

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ABSTRACT: While holding an explicit policy of non-interference, China has engaged in various policies that have had influence in many different countries in Africa. This paper presents an exploration of the official Chinese state policy of non-interference and an explanation of the typology and definitions used to explore non-interference. Most substantively this paper presents an examination of the different types of interference and how they can be understood to contradict or align with China's official state policy. The paper concludes with an exploration of potential implications of economic investments abroad which may lead to more interference on the part of China.

Introduction

Does China adhere to its non-interference policy in practice in Africa and is that policy compatible with increasing Chinese expansionism, particularly foreign economic investment in Africa? This paper will argue that despite China officially touting its non-interference policy, it broadly engages in interference through subtle and overt means. Furthermore, it would seem an underlying logic for interference is to increase stability which protects the economic investments and assets of China, thus China is likely to continue to interfere.

This paper will consist of four parts. First there will be an exploration of the official Chinese state policy of non-interference and its history. Second, there is an explanation of the typology and definitions used to explore non-interference. Thirdly, and most substantively, there will be an examination of the different types of interference and how they can be understood to contradict or align with China's official state policy. Finally, there will be an examination of the potential implications of economic investments abroad, which may lead to more interference on the part of China. Throughout this paper there will be an interrogation of the rationality for interference and the importance of economic considerations.

Typologies and Definitions

Before diving into China's respect for its non-interference principle in practice, it is important to define and conceptualize interference. Principally, there needs to be a definition of interference on which actions of nations can be classified to fit under. For the purposes of this paper, interference is any instance where the internal politics and affairs of a nation are intentionally influenced by a foreign actor for the foreign actor's own benefit. The examples for each type of interference are not exhaustive, but rather facilitate an understanding of how such interference can manifest. Additionally, much of the investment carried out by China is carried out by Chinese state-owned corporations or entities with strong ties to the Chinese state. This allows for some political cover for the Chinese state because the actions were not carried out directly by them, thus providing some deniability to accusations of interference.

Before looking at the three types of interference, a distinction needs to be made between openly recognized interference and interference in practice, as in many instances countries (specifically China), have incentives to deny interference. This paper will focus largely on interference in practice, as it captures the reality of the situation rather than whether nations individual-

ly or collectively call something interference. Many incentives exist for countries to categorize their own actions and the actions of allies as helpful requested aid. Meanwhile, the same actions when undertaken by adversaries are framed in more pejorative terms such as interference.

The first type of interference is covert interference: actions to interfere in the internal affairs of nations which are purposely hidden and denied by the interfering actor. The second type of interference is subtle interference: the use of economic and diplomatic incentives to make a country's domestic political actors more favorable to China. A third type, overt interference, can include direct action which violates sovereignty or openly supports agents within a country to effect favorable political change.

Formal Policy of Non-Interference

In order to understand China's actions in Africa, one must look at the formal Chinese state policy on interference and explore its history alongside how it has evolved to meet China's changing national interests. China has long claimed to have a non-interference policy in its foreign affairs, in which China claims to respect the absolute sovereignty of other nations over their domestic affairs. This broad foreign policy doctrine dates to 1949 when then foreign minister Zhou Enlai traveled to India and Myanmar to develop the "Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence" (FPPC) which form the bedrock of contemporary understanding of Chinese non-interference (Jiaboa 2004, 363).

The Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, according to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China, are "mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence" (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of PRC 2014). These principles have been the basis for China's emphasis on the sovereignty of a nation's control over their internal affairs, as well as being a general rejection of a global liberal order which seeks to impose liberal values and norms upon a country's domestic politics.

A historical lens is important with regards to Chinese non-interference policy. In 1949, China was not the emerging superpower one sees today, but rather was a desperately poor nation reeling from the horrific devastation of World War Two. Many Chinese people feared further colonization as they had suffered over the last century at the hands of the Japanese and European powers. (Callahan 2004, 203). Any Chinese foreign

policy would need to reflect the need for China to make its own decisions free of foreign imposition, thus an emphasis on the absolute sovereignty of domestic affairs became a tenet of Chinese foreign policy. The conception of the absolute sovereignty of internal affairs has manifested itself in a general reluctance of China to support interventions and, until recently, even peacekeeping operations in foreign countries. And while there have been some changes in the rhetorical justification of what actions qualify as interference, non-interference as a policy has endured the last 70 years which have included changes in governments, economic systems and societal ideology. Throughout time, the non-interference policy has remained a constant within Chinese foreign policy.

Even in the era of Xi Jinping and ever-increasing Chinese activity in Africa, China still upholds its non-interference policy as the official state policy. Shortly after his ascension to President of the People's Republic of China, Xi Jinping gave a speech entitled "Carry forward the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence to build a better world through win-win cooperation". In the 2014 speech, Xi Jinping reaffirmed China's commitment to non-interference and its importance, stating that "In the new era today, the spirit of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, instead of being outdated, remains as relevant as ever; its significance, rather than diminishing, remains as important as ever; and its role, rather than being weakened, has continued to grow" (Jinping 2014).

Even some four years later in a 2018 address at the Beijing Summit of the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation, Xi Jingping reiterated the policy of non-interference. Making direct reference to the FFPC, Xi Jinping stated, "We follow a "five-no" approach in our relations with Africa: no interference in African countries' pursuit of development paths that fit their national conditions; no interference in African countries' internal affairs; no imposition of our will on African countries; no attachment of political strings to assistance to Africa; and no seeking of selfish political gains in investment and financing cooperation with Africa" (Jinping 2018). While the Chinese state continues to boast about its non-interference policy, this paper will provide evidence that a non-interference policy was loosely enacted in Africa in practice and that China is intervening more over time.

Interference in Africa

This paper will present case studies and instances of potential Chinese interference to determine the level of interference by the Chinese state. Exploring each category of interference and looking at numerous examples from Africa will help to establish a broader picture. Specific focus will be given to the economic mechanism through which interference is carried out and the potential economic benefits that may explain China's incentives for breaking its own state policy.

Covert interference, as the first category of interference, is by its nature the hardest to track. Exploring it rests on literature and sources based more in speculative evidence than traditional academic sources, but nonetheless is important to take into account. This category of interference is specifically important to look into in the case of China, as it has strong reasons to mask activities that could be classified as interference. It should be noted that many of the activities and actors involved in covert activities like espionage, operate under a mutual unacknowledged understanding that all nations will mutually deny they do.

While most covert operations only come to light years after they occur, if at all, some recent instances of covert Chinese interference in Africa can be observed. The most concrete form of this is in covert and often illegal weapons sales. While there is a growing supply of arms to Africa, China has specifically engaged in sales to some rebel groups. For example, China sold weapons to Laurent Kabila and the Alliance of Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Congo-Zaire in the midst of the First Congo War (Taylor and Wu 2013, 468). There is also speculation Chinese arms fueled the civil war in Sierra Leone (Taylor and Wu 2013, 468) It would seem in some instances of civil war China backs non-governmental groups with arms shipments who align with their interests, specifically violating their commitment to the sovereignty of governments over their internal affairs.

Subtle interference, as the second category, is where most of Chinese interference can be found, particularly in the use of economic means to shape the internal affairs of a nation to its liking. The nuanced nature of subtle interference makes the exact instances of interference hard to pin down and thus allows China to reject accusations of interference and maintain its official non-interference policy more easily. Evidence of subtle interference therefore necessitates finding linkages between seemingly basic foreign direct investment and the shaping of domestic politics in favor of Chinese interests. Finally, the very fact that many of these mechanisms for interference are and have been common practice among Western nations, does not weaken the claim that they are interference, but rather highlights the common use of economic means for subtle interference.

The first form of subtle intervention is the practice of investing in and purchasing information dissemination networks. These information dissemination networks include mass communication networks such as print media, radio and television, specifically those focused on news and current affairs, although colloquial narratives in general entertainment are also important. Additionally, creation of and influence over existing academic institutions has allowed China influence over the academic discourse, particularly on China-Africa issues.

An illustrative example of information control as subtle interference is Zambia, where China has invested heavily in both traditional media sources and academic institutions (Banda 2009, 348-349). China has invested heavily in Zambian state media infrastructure which allows for wider broadcasting by pro-Chinese state media organizations (Banda 2009, 348-349). Large influxes in funding to state media directly correlated with Zambian election years, as China looks to shore up support for the pro-Chinese regime (Banda 2009, 348-349). With growing debate within Zambian society over the Sino-Zambian relations and fear of excessive Chinese influence, China has invested heavily in keeping the current party in power by providing support during elections (Banda 2009, 348-349). With China owning many copper and other mineral mines in Zambia, it becomes clearer why China favors the status quo.

Within Africa, China has been investing heavily in Confucian institutions which propagate Chinese ideologies and worldviews, especially in Zambia. Not only do these institutions seek to crowd out existing institutions, but they actively restrict speakers and academics with critical views of China from participating in many events they host or sponsor (York 2018). In one instance, Kenyan law professor Patrick Loch Otieno Lumumba was denied entry into Zambia by state officials for "security concerns" despite being scheduled to speak at a conference (York 2018). Lumumba's work and critical views on Chinese influence in Africa would seemingly give a pro-Chinese regime a reason to not want him to speak, particularly with growing concerns over China's influence within the broader Zambian public (York 2018). And with the Chinese firm Star-Times now owning 60% of Zambia's new digital service, Chinese influence continues to grow (York 2018).

In many ways the most impactful mechanism of subtle interference by China in Africa is investment in economic projects. These projects create dependence upon China for basic services and create potential debt traps threatening national sovereignty. The case of Kenya's

Standard Gauge Railway (SGR) project highlights this mechanism of subtle interference. With Chinese loans ballooning, the Kenyan national debt increased from an estimated 50% to 85% debt to GDP ratio, while China's share of Kenya's debt jumped from 24% to 72% between 2013 and 2018 (Peralta 2018). It is important to note that the terms of China's loan are often undisclosed, so the conditions of defaults are unknown. However, if the 99-year lease of a Sri Lanka's Hambantota port is any indication, the cost to sovereignty to rebalance loans may be extremely high (Abi-habib 2018). With the feasibility of debt repayment in question with many more projects around Africa, fears that these loans will lead to dependency on and potential ceding of sovereignty to China grows (Abi-habib 2018).

Overt interference is the most obvious form of interference. It holds the largest threat to a formal non-interference policy as China must defend obvious violation of its own doctrine. Instances of overt interference constitute judgments by the Chinese state that the benefits of interference (or costs of non-interference) outweigh any losses to consistency and legitimacy on its non-interference policy. China has used rhetorical tools to bend the narrative to avoid acknowledging any violation of its policy, often portraying itself in a supporting rather than dictating role (Aidoo and Hess 2015, 133).

The principal example of overt Chinese interference is South Sudan, both in the initial separation crisis in 2005 and the subsequent civil war. With Sino-Sudanese relations dating back to 1959, China played an active role in the partition of Sudan and the ending of the second Sudanese civil war. The significance of China's overt intervention in Sudanese affairs cannot be overstated. Long-time allies with an "all weather friendship," China made up a large portion of Sudan's trade, particularly Chinese oil imports (Large 2008, 93). However, the Darfur crisis and the growing instability of Omar al-Bashir's regime meant that non-interference cost China not only political capital but the possibility of a stable oil supply (Large 2008, 104-105). In a rare act of unity with the broader international community, China helped broker an end to the war and a partition of the nation (Verhoven 2014, 62). This action gained China legitimacy on the international stage and helped ensure stability in a region it economically benefited from.

The interference in Sudan and the newly independent South Sudan would not be a one-time affair. With a vast majority of Sudanese oil reserves located in the new South Sudan, China's need for a stable oil supply was essential (Venhoven 2014, 63). However, peace in

South Sudan was short lived with the civil war breaking out in 2013, not two years after their 2011 independence. Once again, China broke its own non-interference policy to help broker peace between the warring factions in South Sudan; in the end China was able to help bring about the 2018 peace agreement, granting some level of stability to the region (Brosig 2020, 877).

Stability

Looking broadly at instances of Chinese interference as a whole, two trends emerge in the logic for interference: stability for Chinese interests both in the present, and forging a predictable future. On the first point of present stability, it becomes clear regardless of the category of interference that a universal goal is to either create stability or maintain stability. Whether it is negotiating a peace deal or influencing public sentiment, a common goal is to create or promote an environment where China can continue to invest (Large 2008 103). All economic investment requires a base level of stability. The Chinese state must be sure that its agreements will not be torn up by any change in government or general civil instability which could lead to war.

It is important to note, China has chosen selectively when to interfere (as there are many conflicts and situations in Africa where intervention on humanitarian grounds would seem justified). The need for stability helps explain China's backing of governments and regimes of all types (democratic to authoritarian) as it appears the key factor is promoting stability (Large 2008 103). Critical interference occurs where Chinese assets exist as a form of safeguarding those interests now and down the line.

The second key rationale for Chinese interference is predictability, which is attained through the creation of dependent structures. By linking the ability of a government to seize power in a civil war with weapons, or to maintain influence via broadcast networks, China places itself as a non-expendable actor to these governments. This key linkage means China can count these actors as stable and reliable partners going forward. By forming these dependent relationships, China creates preferable conditions for future investment and influence (Verhoeven 2014 66). Aside from the use of incentives targeted at actors' political aspirations, China also uses cohesive means.

The use of debt traps means that China creates a dependency of nations upon China which guarantees close ties and thus a stable environment for future investments and influence. These coercive pressures were also seen in Sudan and South Sudan as China leveraged its position as a key trading partner to attain its political ends. Additionally, the spread of pro-Chinese thought through media and academia means the likelihood of instability caused by Chinese critics is lessened.

Conclusion

Upon examining the different categories of interference, it is clear China in many instances has and will continue to violate its non-interference policy. Whether through covert, overt, or subtle means, an underlying logic is apparent: the goal is stability. This stability provides protection for Chinese interests in Africa, specifically its economic assets and investments. Interference to create stability for Chinese interests results in not only a wealthier China but a more influential China. Thus, interference by China in Africa has not only continued to occur but will likely continue and increase.

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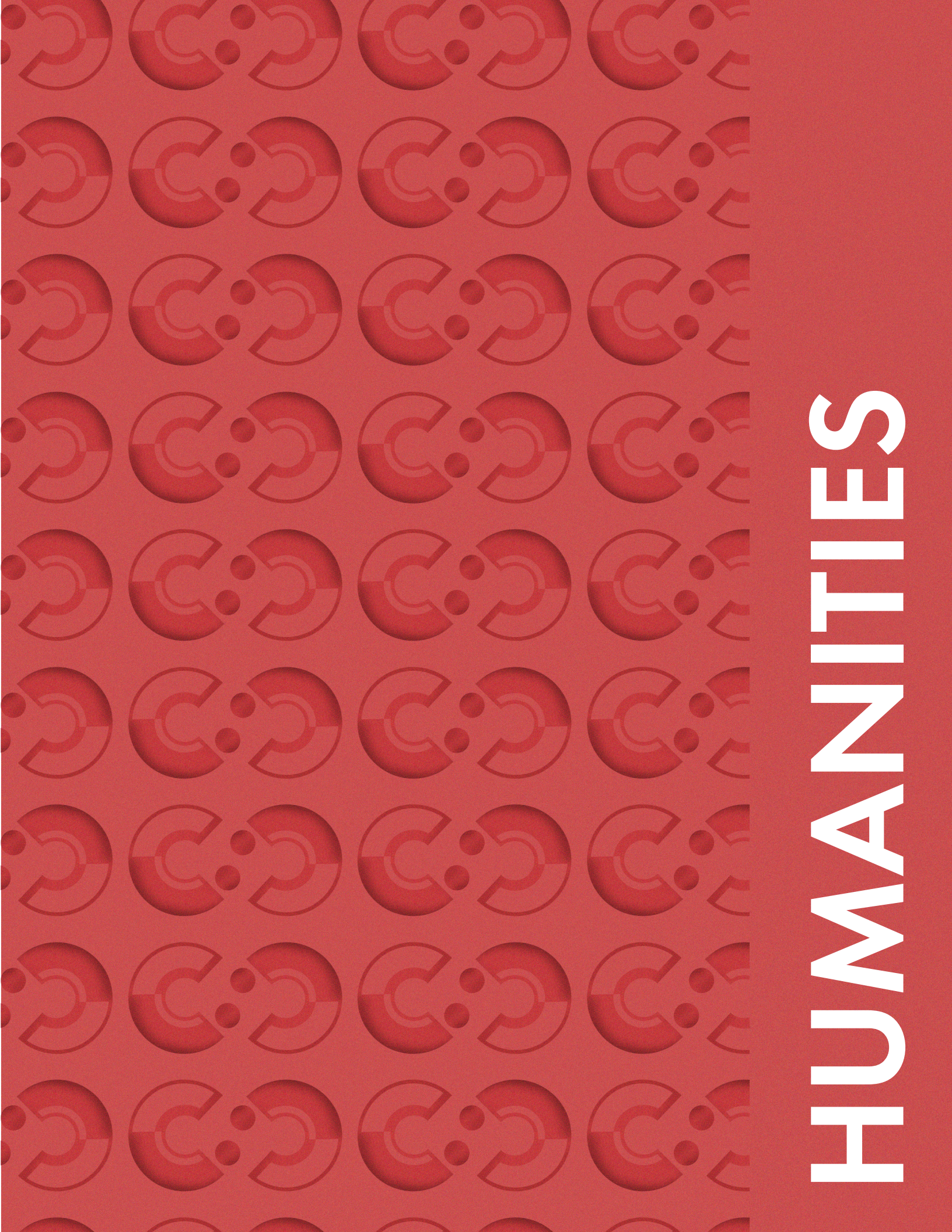
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HUMANITIES

"All the charms of Sycorax – toads, beetles, bats – light on you":

Colonization in Shakespeare's The Tempest Through Césaire's Une Tempête

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ABSTRACT: Aimé Césaire, a Martiniquais poet, writer, and politician, makes the implicit themes of decolonialization in *The Tempest* explicit within the canon of his 1969 play, *Une tempête*. The roots, however, of decolonization must have already been present in the original play, The Tempest, for Césaire to make this connection. Using Shakespeare's play as his foundation, Césaire simply amplifies both the colonization and the decolonization of these characters and the island where the play is set. Through his adaptation, Aimé Césaire foregrounds Shakespeare's The Tempest as a decolonial work. In this paper, I will discuss the colonialism in Shakespeare's original play, The Tempest, and juxtapose it with the colonialism in Césaire's adaptation, Une tempête. Using this as a foundation, I will then analyze the implicit and explicit decolonialism in both plays. Through this paper, I wish to discussion how understandings and readings of Shakespeare's plays to take on new life and new meaning; this results in exploration and conversation, allowing scholars and students to unpack the impacts of the issues his works consider in their own writing and their own lives.

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KEYWORDS: postcolonialism, Aimé Césaire, Shakespeare, pedagogy and interpretation

In order for Shakespeare's The Tempest to be considered decolonial, a foundation and history of colonialism must be established within the play's fictional world. Colonization functions in many ways, including the imposition of language, culture, and ideology; the dehumanization of so-called 'uncivilized' peoples to legitimize or excuse their mistreatment by colonizers; and the exploitation and claiming of land. Decolonization is expressed as resistance against colonialism. For Caliban, the resistance is verbal as well as cultural and familial; he resists colonization by remaining faithful to his own history, a history that is not respected by the colonizer. Ariel's resistance is verbal, more subtle, and expressed far less frequently.

Aimé Césaire, a Martiniquais poet, writer, and politician, makes the implicit themes of decolonialization in The Tempest explicit within the canon of his 1969 play, Une tempête. The roots of decolonization, however, must already be present in the original play for Césaire to be able to make this connection. Using The Tempest as his foundation, Césaire simply amplifies both the colonization and decolonization of these characters and the island where the play is set. Through his adaptation, Aimé Césaire foregrounds Shakespeare's The Tempest as a decolonial work. In this paper, I will discuss the colonialism in Shakespeare's original play, The Tempest, and juxtapose it with the colonialism in Césaire's adaptation, Une tempête. Using this as a foundation, I will then analyze the implicit and explicit decolonialism in both plays.

The assertion of a supposedly superior language, culture, and ideology is a fundamental part of colonization, designed to prevent Indigenous peoples[1] from accessing their own histories and alienating them from their own families. This imposition appears throughout colonial history, from Indian residential schools in Canada to the introduction of colonial English-language education in Kenya, both of which forced children—often with the threat of violence—to unlearn their native languages.[2] Using humiliation or corporeal punishment, children were told that their native languages were inferior to colonial languages (Thiong'o 11). In The Tempest, Miranda expresses this same perspective on native languages to Caliban in act I, scene ii, calling his language "gabble" (357), "brutish" (358), and "vile" (359). Prospero demands that Caliban learn Italian,[3] which Caliban condemns, stating "[y]ou taught me language, and my profit on't / Is I know how to curse. The red plague rid you / For learning me your language" (Shakespeare 1.2.364–366).

Colonial culture and ideologies are also forced upon

Caliban. His statements that Prospero is more powerful than Setebos, the god his mother worships (Shakespeare 1.2.374), and that Trinculo, a King's servant, is a "god" (Shakespeare 2.2.146) are consistent with the colonial narrative that the colonizer is the superior in the relationship, comparable to a deity. Colonized peoples may begin to share this psychology, not because of any intrinsic truth, but out of colonial indoctrination. Additionally, Caliban has no way of accessing his own culture because his mother is dead, and Prospero forces him into slavery and takes control of the island's resources. Prospero himself fits the paradigm of the colonizer from a psychological perspective. As Madagascan psychoanalyst Octave Mannoni explains in his book *Prospero and Caliban: The Psychology of Colonization, the colonizer* "finds [a] relationship ready made … and very often exploits it" (97). Prospero arrives on the island with no prior intention of becoming a 'master' over anyone, but when Caliban presents himself as an option for labour that is easy to take advantage of (because of his age[4] and naivety), he exploits the relationship, taking Caliban as his 'servant.'

This method of colonization is reflected in Césaire's Une tempête, though the nature of the linguistic, cultural, and ideological colonization Prospero inflicts upon Caliban and Ariel is more explicit to a contemporary audience. Césaire uses language that contemporary audiences associate with colonization in order to increase their understanding of the play's colonial narratives. In act I, scene ii, Césaire's Prospero refers to or describes Caliban as "monkey"[5] (24), "barbaric" (25), "devil" and "cannibal" (28), and demands gratitude for educating and civilizing Caliban (25). As James A. Arnold explains, "[i]n designating Ariel as a slave (ethnically a [M]ulatto) and Caliban as a [B]lack slave, Césaire has set the action within a recognizable set of Caribbean problems" (237). Racialized, pejorative language is present in The Tempest, but Césaire places the colonization within a familiar set of actions and vocabulary, bringing the source material into a modern[6] context for his audience.

Dehumanization is another fundamental part of colonization. It allows colonizers to treat the colonized without empathy. The process of dehumanization removes an individual's human characteristics, stripping them of self-sufficiency, and allowing the colonizer to exploit them for personal and financial gain. Both Ariel and Caliban are dehumanized in Shakespeare's The Tempest, the former's dehumanization being propagated by his own actions.[7] Prospero treats him as an object, expecting Ariel to complete tasks and manipulating him when he protests (1.2.250), but unlike Caliban,

Ariel actively seeks out Prospero's approval, attention, and love (4.1.48). In doing so, he acknowledges his position as a slave. Caliban is dehumanized in a way that is more typical of colonizers—by deeming him a "beast" (Shakespeare 2.2.30), a "savage" (Shakespeare 1.2.356), a "monster" (Shakespeare 2.2.64), and—strangely, to contemporary audiences—a "fish" (Shakespeare 2.2.25). In act II of The Tempest, Trinculo states:

> …Were I in England now (as
> once I was) and had but this fish painted,
> not a holiday fool there but would give a
> piece of silver. There would this monster
> make a man; any strange beast there makes
> a man. When they will not give a doit to
> relieve a lame beggar, they will lay out ten
> to see a dead Indian. (Shakespeare 27–32)

As Virginia Mason and Alden T. Vaughan explain in the Arden edition of The Tempest, "[a]fter Martin Frobisher's expedition to North America in 1576, Native Americans were occasionally brought back to England and, for a fee, displayed by their masters to a public audience" (230). A similar sentiment is expressed by Antonio later in the play: "[Caliban] / Is a plain fish but no less marketable" (Shakespeare 5.1.255–266). Both Prospero and Antonio recognize the potential profit in Caliban's body and labour, thus expressing their colonial-imperialist perspectives.

In the parallel scene from Césaire's adaptation, Une tempête, Trinculo refers to Caliban as a "Zindien" (58), a member of the East Indian (Indigenous) merchant class in Martinique (Arnold 245), once again bringing a familiar context to the scene for Césaire's Caribbean audience. Trinculo then says: "[t]hink of it, a Zindien like that—well that's cash. Exhibited in a fair! … A real Zindien from the Caribbean! Dough, I tell you" (Césaire 59). This echoes The Tempest, and the colonizer associates Caliban's body with the profit from which he can benefit. The language and the context ("Zindien") have been altered to encourage Césaire's Caribbean audience to empathize with Caliban.

The final mechanism of colonization to consider in Shakespeare's play is the colonizer exploiting and claiming land, as exhibited by Prospero and Gonzalo. Prospero does this by arriving on the island, befriending Caliban (Shakespeare 1.2.337), and proceeding to take advantage of the island's resources, including Caliban himself. As Caliban states, the island is his, through his mother, Sycorax (Shakespeare 1.2.332), and Prospero has robbed him of his inheritance. Gonzalo expresses his perceived entitlement to land in

act II, scene ii, while remarking on the beauty of the island. To him, the island is unsettled and uninhabited territory, the perfect place for him to create a utopian plantation where all men have no "occupation" and are "idle" (2.2.155). He goes on to say that no work will be done on the island and "nature should bring forth / Of its own kind all foison, all abundance" (Shakespeare 163–164).[8] This is an absurd notion and both Sebastian and Antonio mock him for it (Shakespeare 2.1.144–184), but it is a clear representation of the entitlement colonizers feel toward Indigenous lands and spaces. Because Indigenous peoples are not truly considered 'people' (i.e., European), the colonizer does not recognize that the land is occupied at all. To the colonizer, the land is Terra Nullius, theirs to use as they please no matter the sovereignty of the people living on the land. For Gonzalo, it also represents a kind of profit—he and other Europeans can exploit the island and use it as a place to rest and be without work. While they rest, the land and its people are enslaved; they labour on the Island and earn a profit for Gonzalo.

The colonial habit of laying claim to and exploiting land is present in Une tempête as well, where Gonzalo expresses similar feelings about the island in more explicit colonial terms, going so far as to use the word "colonize" (40). When they first arrive on the island, Gonzalo says, "I think we should canvass every cave on this island one by one to see if there is any guano, in which case this country, under wise leadership, will be richer than Egypt and its Nile" (39). During the late 18th century, guano (bat feces) was mined from caves to "extract nitrates for the manufacture of gunpowder" (Simons 33). Despite Gonzalo's assertion that he wishes the island to be a resting place where travelers "will come periodically to refresh our old hearts" (41), he clearly intends to exploit the island's resources, including its Indigenous peoples (40), to accomplish his goals: exploitation of the land for his own profit and the continuance of colonialism. Guano is also a food source and fertilizer, and its removal will doubtlessly damage the island's ecosystem.

Césaire's foregrounding of colonialism in Une tempête is to identify the threads of colonization in Shakespeare's original. Unlike some scholars' analyses that suggest there are no or only incidental links to colonialism in Shakespeare's The Tempest,[9] I believe there are many clear connections to colonialism within the play. The fact that these connections have been traced and amplified by Aimé Césaire, an intellectual whose work—both in literature and in politics—was predominately concerned with decolonization, supports this understanding of Shakespeare's play.

Not only does Shakespeare's The Tempest consider colonization, but it also considers decolonization as well. The subtle allusions to decolonization in Shakespeare's original are made explicit through Césaire's Une tempête, which is a predominantly decolonial and postcolonial play. In The Tempest, language and communication are the primary ways that the colonized individuals express their desire—their demand—for decolonization. In act I, Caliban's first lines are as follows:

> As wicked dew as e'er my mother brushed
> With raven's feather form unwholesome fen
> Drop on you both. A southwest wind blow
> on ye And blister you all o'er. (Shakespeare 1.2.321–325)

Virginia Mason and Alden T. Vaughan explain that "wicked" means offensive or foul and the raven is commonly linked to witchcraft (194); winds from the southwest "often brought warm, damp air, with implications of unhealthiness," and cause blisters ("infectious lesions") all over the body (195). Only a few lines later, Caliban curses Prospero, saying "[a]ll the charms / Of Sycorax – toads, beetles, bats – light on you, / For I am all the subject that you have" (Shakespeare 1.2.340–342); not only is he wanting to release these creatures against Prospero using witchcraft, but he also taunts Prospero in reminding him that Caliban is his only subject. The power Prospero had as Duke of Milan is gone, and now he has only Caliban and the otherwise uninhabited island. Finally, in the exchange with Miranda about learning Italian, he curses them both once more. This establishes a callous, caustic characterization of Caliban. In addition to his vocal resistance to Prospero, Caliban praises Setebos, his mother's god, in act V, indicating that he still worships his 'heathen' gods rather than any of the colonial Christian or Roman symbols that appear in the play. Even Ariel objects to what Prospero expects of them in The Tempest, reminding him that they made an agreement for Ariel to be released from slavery after a certain amount of time (Shakespeare 1.2.249). In allowing Caliban in particular, but Ariel as well, to respond to Prospero in this manner, Shakespeare's play asserts that the two slaves have their own voices, opinions, and thoughts, and are articulate enough to express them. Giving them a voice is a distinctly decolonial decision. Despite the colonizers' understanding of Caliban and Ariel as non-human objects whose bodies can be used for profit, their value extends beyond their labour.

Later in the play, Caliban attempts to recruit Trinculo and Stephano into murdering Prospero—a revolutionary act for a slave—but does so by debasing himself to

two other colonial 'masters.' His genuflecting towards Trinculo lacks dignity and self-respect which cannot only be attributed to his intoxication; he repeats these behaviours in his final lines in act V, when he says "[h]ow fine my master is!" (Shakespeare 5.1.262) to Prospero. This indicates that subservience is a part of Caliban's character—possibly as a consequence of colonization. Caliban also "becom[es] a compliant and docile slave" after admitting the "error of his ways" in attempting to murder Prospero with Trinculo and Stephano (Sarnecki 282).

There are other elements of Caliban's depictions that problematize his role as a symbol of decolonization. His supposed physical disfiguration or unattractiveness is mentioned by several characters, including Prospero—"misshapen knave" (Shakespeare 5.1.268) and "hag-seed" (Shakespeare 1.2.367)—and Trinculo and Antonio—in referring to Caliban as a "fish" (Shakespeare 2.2.25, 5.1.266). The equation of physical unattractiveness and moral value is part of "the neo-Platonic doctrine according to which Caliban's 'deformity is the result of evil natural magic'" (Arnold 241). Because of European standards of beauty, Blackness, Indigeneity, and disabilities were viewed as undesirable and as a result, Black, Indigenous, and disabled peoples were considered inherently immoral or evil. The fact that Caliban attempts to rape Miranda[10] is a part of "the belief that Indians[11] [were] 'naturally' inclined to sexual violence," an "established and essential component of colonial rhetoric" (qtd. in Bryant 101). Caliban's attractiveness being equated with morality and his attempted rape of Miranda does not allow Caliban to be a full representation of decolonization, as this choice on Shakespeare's part is rooted in colonialism and stereotypes of Black, Indigenous, and other people of colour.

As a poet and writer, Césaire prioritized and understood the value of language in his work. Sarnecki explains the importance of Caliban's use of language in Une tempête in the following statement:

> for Césaire uses French in new ways, bringing about a revolutionary shift in how colonized peoples might view themselves… The all-important change Césaire affects in Une [T]empête is to transform Shakespeare's deformed and sorry creature, Caliban, into a revolutionary hero by giving him a new way of speaking in a language all his own—a French punctuated by African and Creole expressions and rhythms. (278–282)

Césaire was from the French colony Martinique and chose to write all of his texts in French, the colonizers' language.[12] French is written in different registers, with different levels of formality. Caliban addresses Prospero using the informal register and the informal tu ("you") throughout the play. Use of this informal tu can be insulting in the wrong context, and for Césaire's French audience, Caliban using it to address Prospero would have clearly indicated his disdain and disrespect. Césaire also employs contemporary slang—"ghetto" (26), "bellyaching" (27), "dough" (58), "scoundrel" (60), "booze" (59)—allowing Caliban's protests and notions of revolution to become relatable and relevant for his audience.

For Black decolonial and postcolonial activists or scholars who read or watch Une tempête, the many references to Black activism contextualize the play. Caliban's first word is "Uhuru!", Swahili for freedom or independence commonly used in the decolonial movements of the 1960s (Sarnecki 281); the phrase "Freedom now!" (Césaire 36) is a reference to the Black Panther Party's rallying cry (Arnold 236); and he insists Prospero "Call [him] X. That would be best. It's what you call a man without a name" (Césaire 28) an obvious reference to Malcolm X (McNee). Caliban is the loud cry, the revolutionary who believes that violence may be necessary to evoke change, while Ariel is the quiet resistance, questioning Prospero's motives (Césaire 22) and refusing to "believe in violence" (Césaire 37).[13] Ariel's decolonialism has the same quiet, deeply patient and respectful tones in Une tempête and The Tempest.

While both Ariel and Caliban are freed and Prospero returns to Milan to become the Duke at the end of The Tempest, only Ariel is freed from slavery at the end of Une tempête. Just as colonial influence remains in colonized nations even after the colonizers leave, or some slaves have been freed, Caliban and Prospero remain on the island. This choice is the most drastic change Césaire makes to Shakespeare's original plot; the decision to have Caliban and Prospero stay reflects Césaire's contemporary Martinique, where the French held onto their power for many years after formally 'leaving' the colony (Gallagher 578).

Texts that rewrite and reconsider the European canon "create the spaces necessary for the construction of a postcolonial identity and literature" (McNee) and encourage audiences to reflect on political and racial themes (Sarnecki 276). By grounding Une tempête in the themes of colonization and decolonization, Césaire has illuminated these ideas in The Tempest. Césaire draws on the evidence of decolonization that is already

present in Shakespeare to erect a monument to Black liberation movements around the world, from North America to the Caribbean to Africa. The threads of this understanding of The Tempest—a so-called revisionist understanding (Pesta 128)—are incredibly valuable in helping contemporary students and scholars consider this play and all of Shakespeare's plays beyond their original contexts. Shakespeare's plays take on new life and new meaning when people are allowed—and encouraged—to explore his writing and the issues he considers.

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[1] In the context of my paper, Indigenous refers to the 'first peoples' of a country or territory, and not to the contemporary definition of Indigenous as an ethnicity.
[2] Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o, a prominent decolonial scholar, discusses this in Decolonising the Mind: The Politics of Language in African Literature, where he describes being belittled and harassed for speaking Gĩkũyũ while at a school in Kenya when he was a child (11).
[3] In the context of the play, the characters most likely speak Italian (as they are from Milan) though it would have been performed in English.
[4] Sycorax arrived on the Island while pregnant with Caliban (1.2.169), and Ariel was trapped in the tree for "a dozen years" (1.2.179), meaning that Caliban is approximately 12 when Prospero and Miranda arrive.
[5] All translations of Césaire's Une tempête are my own.
[6] Une tempête was written in 1969; I have chosen to use "modern" because it is broad term, one that encapsulates the concerns of the late 20th century as well as the early 21st century.
[7] At 1.2.193, Ariel says, "To thy strong bidding, task / Ariel and all his quality", because of this I will use he/him pronouns when referring to Ariel throughout this essay.
[8] "Nature" may be a reference to slave labour, as Caliban is compared to nature and earth throughout the play, revealing the true source of the labour that sustains Gonzalo's carefree utopia (Banerjee 293).
[9] Meredith Anne Skura in "Discourse and the Individual: The Case of Colonialism in The Tempest" (1989), James A. Arnold in "Césaire and Shakespeare: Two Tempests" (2002), and Duke Pesta in "Thou dost here usurp the name thou ow'st not": The Tempest and Intercultural Exchange" (2015), for example.
[10] Some scholars believe that Caliban did attempt to rape Miranda (Banerjee 302, Pesta 143, Skura 49, Vaughan 197), while others believe that Caliban attempted to rape Miranda to "implicitly accept Prospero's partisan version of events" (Bryant 101).

[11] Caliban is not explicitly Indian; his race is unknown, but this is linked to general assumptions about colonized peoples in new colonies.

[12] Césaire was widely criticized by his contemporaries and Black scholars, including Frantz Fanon, for writing in French (Sarnecki 277).

[13] Some scholars understand Une tempête to be an allegory for the Black Civil Rights Movement in the United States, with Caliban representing Malcolm X and Ariel representing Dr. Martin Luther King (McNee); Césaire's closeness with global Black freedom movements and decolonial movements problematizes this understanding, though it is generally accepted as an aspect of the text (Arnold 236).

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Caliban's Future:

Black Lived Experience and Disalienatio in Aimé Césaire's A Tempest and Frantz Fanon's Black Skin, White Masks

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ABSTRACT: The philosopher Frantz Fanon (1925-1961) and the poet Aimé Césaire (1913-2008), two of the foremost Afro-Carribbean intellectuals of the 20th century, offer competing visions of the future of humanity in light of the racism of the present. In this essay, I examine these competing visions as expressed in Fanon's book *Black Skin, White Masks and Césaire's play A Tempest*. I begin by comparing Fanon's description of black lived experience, which reflects existentialist ideas, to the experience of Césaire's character Caliban. I then discuss how Césaire's Caliban, in departure from Fanon, reveals a commitment to négritude, a black pride movement championed by Césaire. I close by reflecting on the insights into the prospect of black disalienation revealed by a critical comparison of these texts.

How should we appraise and respond to the categories through which others understand us? Should we embrace and transform them, or should we reject them altogether? The subject of this essay is how two 20th-century Afro-Caribbean intellectuals—the philosopher Frantz Fanon (1925-1961) and his mentor, the poet Aimé Césaire (1913-2008)—answer such questions. Fanon draws on existentialist themes (such as othering, alienation, transcendence, and the particular existence of human beings) to critique the lived experience of being black in the West. Césaire, meanwhile, champions négritude, a Pan-African intellectual movement hailed as "the first diasporic 'black pride' movement" (Kelley 2002, vii). In what follows, I will compare Fanon's anti-racist existentialism to Césaire's négritude through readings of Fanon's book Black Skin, White Masks, a critical examination of black lived experience, and Césaire's play A Tempest, a postcolonial retelling of Shakespeare's The Tempest. In (I), I will argue that the black slave Caliban's experience in A Tempest exemplifies the alienated lived experience of blackness that Fanon discusses. However, I argue in (II), Césaire's Caliban departs from Fanon by drawing on a romantic vision of the Afro-Caribbean world to assert his moral equality to Prospero. Here, Césaire and Fanon are at odds: the former advances an image of essential blackness while the latter instead envisions a post-racial future. In (III), I will discuss the philosophical challenges these texts pose to each other and the prospects for humanity they together articulate.

I

In Black Skin, White Masks, Fanon's central project is to analyse the psychological damages of anti-black racism, and in doing so, to discern how to rectify them. In the book's fifth chapter, "The Fact of Blackness," he searches for a way to understand the meaning of black identity.[1] Fanon considers several accounts of the supposed essence of blackness—from primal nature magic to advanced African civilization—but finds each of them to be inadequate caricatures of the black person. He further describes how white society stymies the existential development of black people, particularly concerning their experience of their own bodies. By Fanon's account, white society renders the black body as an inhuman other, an object in the world to marvel at, attack, or fear. For this reason, the black subject cannot relate to their body without employing the dehumanizing racial categories of understanding imposed by white colonial hegemony. Thus, their bodily experience becomes what Fanon calls a purely epidermal experience: an experience of living in a given skin rather than in a richly sensorial, multifarious human body. By Fanon's account, this epidermal experience

reduces black subjectivity from a token of the general human condition to a particular historically defined racial condition. The black subject, he contends, is thereby constrained to be a particular racial object.

Fanon weaves himself into the text as a literary persona, describing his own epidermal experience from the inside. In his words, "I am the slave […] of my own appearance" (Fanon 2008, 87). As a human being, Fanon says, he "came into the world imbued with the will to find a meaning in things" (Fanon 2008, 82). But as a black man, he says, he has been unable to fully exercise this will to find meaning, obstructed as he is by the experience of being "an object in the midst of other objects" (Fanon 2008, 82). Fanon's psychological predicament as a black man, he recounts, has emerged from being an object of the white gaze. In his homeland of the Antilles, Fanon claims, the racial difference between whites, mulattos, and blacks was "not really dramatic" (Fanon 2008, 83), but his migration to white-majority France engendered in him an acute sense of racial objecthood. While the experience of being an object for others is common to all human subjects, Fanon claims, the black subject's racialized self-understanding in white society compounds this common existential problem. For this reason, Fanon argues, the ultimate legacy of slavery and colonialism is the alienation of black people from themselves. Just as he struggles to grab hold of his identity in a white world, Fanon argues, black people the world over struggle to find purchase over their identity, their labour, and their dignity. Practically speaking, black people must carefully monitor their behaviour and appearance to conform to the norms of white society. To survive their black skin, black people must don white masks.

Fittingly, Césaire opens *A Tempest with a Master of Ceremonies* directing the chorus to choose masks of different characters for the play (Césaire 2002, 7). Just as Fanon's book examines "white masks," A Tempest attends to the literal and figurative masks people don as beings in the world in relation to others. Caliban's opening line is "Uhuru!" a greeting in his native language that Prospero detests since he insists they speak in his "civilized" tongue (Césaire 2002, 17-18). As Prospero berates Caliban, he defends his colonial project as an effort to "drag [Caliban] up from the bestiality that still clings to [him]" (Césaire 2002, 17-18). Caliban, however, counters that Prospero taught him only to "jabber in [Prospero's] own language so [he] could understand [his] orders," and that without Prospero, he would be "King of the Island" (Césaire 2002, 17-18). Caliban then sings an ode to his deceased mother, the witch-queen Sycorax, much to Prospero's chagrin (Césaire 2002, 17-18).

These introductory lines frame Prospero and Caliban's conflict over the course of the play: through his tyranny over the island, Prospero has stripped Caliban of his power, his dignity, and his identity. Later scenes reveal that Caliban's experience of oppression under Prospero's rule, much like Fanon's experience of being black in white society, has an important psychological dimension. In an impassioned speech towards the end of the play, Caliban admonishes Prospero for the double consciousness his tyranny has engendered in him:

> Prospero, you're a great magician: / you're an old hand at deception. / And you lied to me so much, / about the world, about myself, / that you ended up by [sic] imposing on me / an image of myself: / underdeveloped, in your words, undercompetent / that's how you made me see myself! / And I hate that image […] and it's false! (Césaire 2002, 62)

Here, Caliban's account of his lived experience clearly mirrors Fanon's in "The Fact of Blackness," in which he claims that white hegemony continually reaffirms the idea that "the Negro is an animal, the Negro is bad, the Negro is mean, the Negro is ugly" (Fanon 2008, 86). Like Fanon himself, Caliban originally lived contentedly on a Caribbean island among only other black and mulatto people (i.e., Sycorax and the mulatto fairy Ariel), enjoying security in his identity as a human subject. But after Prospero, the white colonizer, imposed his rule, Caliban too experienced alienation from his psychological and bodily experience. As Prospero's slave, Caliban must use his body for his master's purposes (at one point, for example, the young prince Ferdinand leaves a task undone and Prospero demands Caliban finish it) while leaving his mind to develop a pathological sense of inferiority. Prospero classifies Caliban as racially distinct from both him and Ariel, thereby pushing Caliban into an epidermal experience of his own body à la Fanon. In this way, Caliban's internalized self-image as "underdeveloped […] undercompetent" (Césaire 2002, 62) dislocates his sense of himself as a human subject, replacing it with an alienating sense of himself as a racial object.

White characters in Caliban's proximity reinforce his alienation, paralleling the cries of "Look, a negro!" (Fanon 2008, 82) that Fanon describes as the typical way white people in France would react to black passersby. Upon discovering Caliban sleeping, the drunken fool Trinculo exclaims, "Ah, an Indian! Dead or alive? You never know with these tricky races. Yukkk!" (Césaire 2002, 40-42). His friend Stephano soon follows,

saying, "My God, on Stephano's word, it looks like a Nindian! And that's just what it is! […] An authentic Nindian from the Caribbean! That means real dough, or I'm the last of the idiots! (Césaire 2002, 40-42). Like the white French passersby Fanon describes, Césaire's fools see a black person first as an object— as monstrous, exploitable, less than human—before understanding them to be a full-fledged human subject. The first thought of each is how he might profit off of Caliban in European circuses. Stephano even delights when he mistakes Trinculo's head for another of Caliban's: "a Nindian with two heads and eight paws, that's really something!" (Césaire 2002, 44). In the minds of these miscreants, Caliban is rendered a mere means to the selfish ends of the would-be colonizers. Even after Stephano declares Caliban's linguistic ability to be "a scientific miracle" (Césaire 2002, 44), he and Trinculo name themselves as the island's new masters, relegating Caliban to a servant role. By Fanon's account, the white majority likewise sees him, a black intellectual in France, as a sort of miracle (Fanon 2008, 88-89). White hegemony metabolizes the abilities of Caliban and Fanon by reducing them to pet projects—objects of admiration, not revulsion, but objects all the same.

II

Caliban, as a representative of Césaire's négritude, strives to vanquish Prospero and reclaim his identity as a black Afro-Caribbean islander as a source of pride and dignity. Act Two opens with Caliban singing an ode to Shango, the Yoruba hero-god of thunder. As Caliban sings, he gives voice to his thoughts of vengeance: "May he who eats his corn heedless of Shango be accursed!" (Césaire 2002, 25). Among the targets of this curse is, of course, Prospero, who is blithely ignorant of the nature gods to whom he owes the island's bounty. Caliban sings again in this vein before heading to battle against Prospero with Trinculo and Stephano: "[Shango] strikes and lies expire!" (Césaire 2002, 52). Here, Césaire has Caliban take up his own strategy of négritude, a strategy Fanon cites critically in "The Fact of Blackness" (Fanon 2008, 100): to legitimize one's self-assertion against white overlords by invoking an idealized history of African culture. Césaire further fleshes out Caliban's conception of black pride with romantic Afro-Carribean nature imagery: in another song, Caliban describes the "[b]lack pecking creature of the savannas […] the quetzal," who joins the "ringdove [which] dallies amid the trees, wandering the islands" to complement his chorus of "Freedom hi-day! Freedom hi-day!" (Césaire 2002, 45). Since Caliban's express purpose in this song is to "sing of winning the day and of an end to tyranny" (Césaire 2002, 45), he seems to see idyllic pan-African images like these as

ideological weapons against the psychological threats of Prospero's regime. This considered, Caliban maintains that black persons must see themselves as subjects who are proudly, mythopoetically, and fundamentally black if they are to achieve disalienation. For Caliban, that is, to be unabashedly Afro-Caribbean is to be properly human. Hence Césaire, speaking through Caliban, finds the essence of blackness in an idyllic Afro-Caribbean world—the world Prospero desolated (Césaire 2002, 45).

By contrast, Fanon eschews nostalgia for a lost African cultural history and rejects any notion of an essence of blackness. Instead, in the dramatic conclusion to *Black Skin, White Masks*, he resolves to disalienate himself by laying claim to a common human identity in the hopes of finding fellowship with humankind in general. It is here that Fanon's existentialist influences shine through most brightly: to use Jean-Paul Sartre's terminology, Fanon calls on each black subject to transcend their facticity—the extrinsic facts of their race, their culture, their colonial history—and instead embrace their freedom as a human individual. Fanon claims solidarity with any oppressed person, not just any black person, and a connection, by way of his common humanity, to any historical human accomplishment, not just those of black people. He lays claim as much to "the Peloponnesian War […] as [to] the invention of the compass," for "none the less [sic] [he is] a man" (Fanon 2008, 175). Remarking that "the discovery of the existence of a Negro civilization in the fifteenth century confers no patent of humanity on me" (Fanon 2008, 175), Fanon cautions against pinning black dignity on historical contingencies. He thereby counters the négritude movement's concern with recovering (an ideal vision of) African heritage, saying "[he] does not want to exalt the past at the expense of [his] present and of [his] future" (Fanon 2008, 176). Rather, Fanon says, he envisions a common future for all of humankind in which "it [will] be possible for [him] to discover and to love man, wherever he may be" (Fanon 2008, 180).

As I have shown, A Tempest and Black Skin, White Masks sketch contrasting visions of black humanity and black liberation. Advocating Césaire's négritude, Caliban seeks to overthrow a white tyrant by appealing to a mythopoetic vision of the Afro-Caribbean past. Advocating anti-racist existentialism, Fanon seeks to disalienate black people by appealing to a cosmopolitan vision of universal humanity. Césaire's Caliban grounds the dignity of black people in their blackness; Fanon grounds their dignity in their human freedom. Different in theory, so too in practice: Césaire's Caliban calls on black people to fight for black sovereignty,

while Fanon calls on all human beings to build a global fellowship. On Caliban's island, it is Ariel who sounds most like Fanon, telling Caliban of his "uplifting dream that one day Prospero, you, me, we would all three set out, like brothers, to build a wonderful world, each contributing his own special thing" (Césaire 2002, 27). If Fanon, not his mentor, had written *A Tempest*, I suspect that Ariel, not Caliban, may well have been the central sympathetic character.

III

Césaire's exploration of black lived experience in A Tempest illuminates the damages of racialized alienation that Fanon examines. The play dramatizes the kind of epidermal experience Fanon describes, inviting the audience to empathise with a black character alienated from himself. Yet it also challenges Fanon's view that black disalienation could and should come by trading in one's racial identity for global fraternity. For Caliban to give up his black identity would be to accept the identity Prospero has imposed on him, the identity of the monstrous slave (Césaire 2002, 65-66). And Ariel's sentiments, if admirable, are naïve: Caliban can never expect Prospero to lay down his arms and accept him as an equal, let alone as a friend. Indeed, the play ends with Caliban and Prospero locked in a bitter and unending battle for the island (Césaire 2002, 65-66). Similarly, working-class black people, for example, cannot expect human fellowship from white capitalists. Contra Fanon, Caliban's narrative arc suggests that black people grappling with oppression can effectively use pride in their African heritage as motivational fuel for their goals of liberation. To use Fanon's example against him, "the Negro who works on a sugar plantation in Le Robert" could profit from "the discovery of a Negro past" (Fanon 2008, 174-175), since such a past could help support their claims of human equality to their oppressors.

That said, Fanon's critique of the négritude movement reveals the shortcomings of Césaire's Caliban. Caliban romanticizes the Afro-Caribbean world most forcefully in opposition to Prospero's rule. Hence, without Prospero as his enemy, Caliban's songs of Shango would lose their teeth. In the dialectical terms used by Sartre, whom Fanon cites approvingly (Fanon 2008, 101-102), Caliban's songs are the antithesis to the thesis of Prospero's tyranny. Yet neither combatant provides a synthesis, each thus condemning himself and his enemy to an eternal war. Likewise, essentialized black pride à la négritude is an apt antithesis to the thesis of white supremacy. Yet as Sartre and Fanon point out, négritude is only the middle term of the dialectic; Fanon's affirmation of universal human freedom provides the

necessary synthesis. If the story of Caliban is to be believed, Césaire's négritude has the power to mobilize black liberation. But to defeat Prospero, Caliban needs Fanon to come to his aid. That is, Fanon's anti-racist existentialism is the necessary next step after négritude: it unburdens human beings of their racial facticity, casting them as subjects with no essence but their common freedom. Imbued as we are with the will to find a meaning in things—if Fanon is to be believed—we, as free human subjects, have the power to freely reimagine ourselves and our world. Armed with such a power, we can hope and strive, as did Fanon, for a future of cosmopolitan solidarity among us all.

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[1] "The Fact of Blackness" is the fifth chapter's title in Charles Lam Markmann's English translation. However, Fanon's original French title, 'L'expérience vécue du noir" is better translated as "The Lived Experience of the Black Man."

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[2] The title of Kelley's essay omits the acute accent elsewhere found on the "e" in "négritude."

John Boyd and his Gulf War

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ABSTRACT: This paper investigates the critical role that United States Air Force Colonel John Boyd played in the Gulf War of 1991 leading to the Coalition's swift victory over Iraqi forces. John Boyd's presentations to U.S government officials several years before the Gulf War would eventually prove to be a critical, if not unheralded moment in the development of the modern American military strategy. Boyd's theorems about military strategy proved to be revolutionary as one writer has claimed that John Boyd is one of the great military strategists of all time, comparing him to the likes of Sun Tzu and Carl Von Clausewitz. Indeed, Boyd may be partly responsible for injecting the American war doctrine with a fresh perspective following the debacle known as the Vietnam War. Alongside his development of a modern doctrine of war, Boyd was responsible for helping develop the F-15 and F-16 aircrafts. Clearly, the efforts of Colonel Boyd played an important role in the revitalization of the American war machine.

Operation Desert Storm in early 1991 stands as an impressive military victory for the United States-led Coalition against Iraq. The allied Coalition quickly gained the upper hand using their aerial capabilities, and then engaged the Iraqi army on land, routing the enemy within four days ("The Gulf War, 1991" n.d.), with the campaign itself lasting only forty-two days. The seeds of this victory were sown by Colonel John Boyd. Colonel Boyd's work on military strategy in the 1970's proved to be invaluable to Operation Desert Storm. In this paper I will argue that Boyd's 1976 presentation Patterns of Conflict, a seminal work on military strategy, greatly influenced Operation Desert Storm and that a victory in such a short period of time with so few allied casualties, would have been impossible without Colonel Boyd.

Born in 1927, Colonel Boyd's early life was dominated by the need to be a productive member of society since his father died early on in his life (Brown 2018, 5). He enlisted in the Air Army Corps at the end of World War II, and later gained a limited amount of experience serving as a fighter pilot in the Korean War (Brown 2018, 6, 9). He made a name for himself in the 1950s as a fighter pilot. Nicknamed "Forty-Second Boyd", he challenged and defeated any opponent under forty seconds in simulated air combat (The Aviation History On-Line Museum 2002). Eventually he rewrote the book for fighter-pilot tactics because he was so good at these practice dogfights. (Greene 2006, 132). In 1972, he served as the Vice-Commander of Task Force Alpha in the Vietnam War (Brown 2018, 24). By 1975, Colonel Boyd retired from active service, but arguably his most important contributions lay ahead (Brown 2018, 29).

Colonel Boyd's Patterns of Conflict emphasized speed and unpredictability to induce an internal collapse of the enemy's system. According to Frans Osinga, Colonel Boyd's goal was to have the enemy's system collapse due to the ambiguity caused by your actions, which is only possible in a fluid environment that gives little time to react and a lack of good options at hand for your enemy (2007, 156). Colonel Boyd argues that the key to this strategy is through, "variety, rapidity, harmony, and initiative" (Boyd 2014, 12). Variety is the means of actions you can take, rapidity is at the speed you can achieve those actions, harmony is the co-operation between separate units to prevent lost time, and initiative is the ability to act and adapt as the situation requires (Boyd 2014, 12).

The key pillar of Iraq's system was their air force. To incite panic and confusion amongst Iraqi command, the Coalition targeted and destroyed Iraqi control and communication centers (Tucker-Jones 2014, 41). Colonel Boyd emphasized that speed combined with numerical mismatches would cause a sufficient amount of chaos that will lead to a quick collapse of enemy resistance (Boyd 2014, 24). The Coalition's adherence to Colonel Boyd's theory proved to be decisive as the Coalition achieved air-dominance within a day, as Iraq lost fifty-percent of their holdings and nearly two-hundred aircraft (Tucker-Jones 2014, 41). Through following Colonel Boyd's advice, the Coalition destroyed Iraq's air force with a variety of attacks like sorties and bombing missions, demonstrating that the key Iraqi system was shattered early-on, which caused widespread panic and defections within their own army (Tucker-Jones 2014, 42). This forced Saddam Hussein into an impossible situation leading to his downfall, as he could no longer rely on his air force to help him. (Tucker-Jones 2014, 42).

Next, Colonel Boyd emphasized using maneuver warfare as the prime strategy for future campaigns. Colonel Boyd's theory about using speed and unpredictability to foster internal chaos works seamlessly with the intent of maneuver warfare. As a result of this, Colonel Boyd viewed frontal assaults as unimaginative bloodbaths (Boyd 2014, 42). According to Colonel Boyd, the aim of maneuver warfare is to, "disorient, disrupt, or overload those that adversary depends upon, in order to magnify friction, shatter cohesion, produce paralysis, and bring about his collapse" (Boyd 2014, 117). When General Schwarzkopf went to then-Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney with plans of a frontal assault, Cheney promptly dismissed Schwarzkopf (Kelly 2003).

Cheney credits Colonel Boyd with the critical "left hook" maneuver of the campaign which devastated Iraqi forces and saved many American lives (Kelly 2003). Now, a "left hook" is a military term where an army attacks the enemy's flank, and eventually surrounds the enemy's forces. Initially, Schwarzkopf wanted to conduct a frontal assault through the Kuwaiti oilfields, despite the Iraqi plans to set minefields and ignite 600 oil fields on fire. (Tucker-Jones 2014, 77). The Iraqi plans would cause an environmental disaster and create a situation where Coalition forces would struggle to push through the mess, leading them vulnerable to Iraqi counterattacks (Tucker-Jones 2014, 77). If successful, the Iraqi plan could have demoralized Coalition efforts and led to the mass media questioning Western involvement in the war. Colonel Boyd theorized that a force who was committed to attrition

warfare wanted to break the enemy's will and hold the terrain. In order to achieve victory, Iraq attempted to use attrition warfare to their advantage. (Boyd 2014, 113). The only way to defeat an entrenched enemy was to move with speed, unpredictability, and a well-placed maneuver. Colonel Boyd theorized that this maneuver, if it was done correctly would, "tie up, divert, or drain away adversary attention and strength in order to expose as well as menace and exploit vulnerabilities or weaknesses elsewhere" (Boyd 2014, 114).

To Colonel Boyd, maneuver warfare would result in, "the widespread onset of confusion and disorder, frequent envelopments, and high prisoner counts" (Boyd 2014, 114). Allied commanders tested Colonel Boyd's theory. They had convinced Iraqi commanders that a frontal assault would come from the south, which thereby tied up enemy attention and allowed for the "left hook" (Citino 2004, 281). By the end of the first day, progress was achieved almost everywhere, as some Iraqi soldiers had already surrendered. (Citino 2004, 284). The right flank drove north to the city of Basra, where they cut communications, and found themselves twenty-five miles into Iraq undetected (Citino 2004, 285). The "left hook" of the plan went virtually unopposed as the Coalition swept through the unguarded western Iraqi desert and into Kuwait so the Coalition could surround the Iraqi forces. As a result of this, the Coalition gained thousands of prisoners of war (Citino 2004, 286). Coalition forces found unprepared Iraqi divisions with their flanks exposed and as a result, destroyed them without suffering many Coalition casualties. (Citino 2004, 286). The U.S VII Corps and XVIII Airborne Corps, who were responsible for the "left hook," caught Iraqi defenders by surprise, since some of them were facing the wrong way when Coalition forces emerged (Citino 2004, 287). The U.S Corps involved managed to destroy multiple Iraqi divisions, including the Iraqi reserve and some of the Republican Guard (Citino 2004, 287). In one encounter with a Hammurabi Republican Guard force, the 24th Infantry surprisingly, despite the result of the attack, only had one wounded (Citino 2004, 288).

Colonel Boyd's theories on maneuver warfare achieved its goal because, "Coalition forces destroyed more than thirty divisions, captured or destroyed nearly four thousand tanks, and took almost ninety thousand prisoners in less than four days of fighting" (Citino 2004, 288). Despite the pre-war estimate of possible casualties in the tens of thousands, only less than 300 American deaths occurred" (Citino 2004, 288).

In this paper I have argued that Colonel Boyd's 1976 presentation Patterns of Conflict greatly influenced Operation Desert Storm and that a victory in such a short period of time with so few allied casualties, would have been impossible without Colonel Boyd. His theories on variety, rapidity, harmony, initiative, and on the broader themes of maneuver and attrition styles of warfare, gave Coalition commanders an example from which they could overwhelm and surround Iraqi forces without suffering high losses. Through the use of Colonel Boyd's theories, Operation Desert Storm ended with a low amount of American casualties and a Coalition victory in just forty-two days. Indeed, Colonel Boyd's seminal Patterns of Conflict presentation may have contributed to his need to be a productive member of society based upon the impact that his theories had on American war strategy.

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She Rages on History's Pages:

An Analysis of Women's Anger in Media

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ABSTRACT: The history of women's rage is a long, tired, and tediously unheard one. By analyzing media demonstrations of women's rage from history to contemporary time, this paper explores the performances of women's anger as demonstrations of empowerment and repudiation against structures upheld to methodically invalidate and undermine women's experiences, knowledge, and embodied rising power. From the written word to music, women's rage contains a deep well of information and lived stories. Therefore, the disregarding of that anger is the disregarding of knowledge, realities, and much-needed voice. More than that, the disregarding of women's anger is also the destruction of powerful acts of simultaneous strength and vulnerability. The statements in this paper stand to demonstrate that women's rage must be allowed room to spark, breathe, and ignite – from the carefully orchestrated speeches to the raw and unruly fury that comes from every walk of life. Throughout history, the rage of women has been speaking prominently, and it must be heard.

When I think of women's anger, I see a history of swelling rage: unheeded, powerful, and constantly reaching to be heard. Sometimes this rage is the more accepted eloquent anger that has been sharpened with years and thousands of dollars in expertise, or it is the potent kind coming from a place that could not be more authentic, and sometimes it is both. However, in all versions, this valid and honest rage is too often met with doubt, discomfort, and trivialization. Interestingly enough, rage also seems to be most easily witnessed in empowered women; those who are regarded as such through the lens of their force and assertion. Alexandra Ocasio Cortez or Julia Gillard, sharp and erudite in their words. Serena Williams, defending her right to feel, and rejecting the racist stigma of the belligerent Black woman. Phoebe Bridgers, performing gutturally, destroying her guitar live on SNL, devising viewers with awe and discomfort. American musician, David Crosby, even called Bridgers' display of emotion and passion "Pathetic" (@thedavidcrosby), providing a perfectly simplified example of the reception women's anger receives on the world stage. By analyzing media examples of women's rage through time, I argue that the performance of women's anger is a demonstration of empowerment and repudiation against structures upheld to methodically invalidate and undermine women's experiences, knowledge, and embodied rising power. Furthermore, the release and embrace of women's rage can be both internalized as a form of self care and externalized as outgoing community care in the pursuit of radical change.

To begin, I must look backwards in order to demonstrate the building blocks of empowered women's anger and to fully witness how the world has changed, and how it has not. Soraya Chemaly, activist and writer of Rage Becomes Her: The Power of Women's Anger, states in her TEDTalk, "In the same way that we learned to cross our legs and tame our hair, we learned to bite our tongues and swallow our pride. What happens too often is that for all of us, indignity becomes imminent in our notions of femininity." Chemaly explains this entanglement of femininity, docility, and beauty to be connected through the social behaviours projected onto the image of the 'ideal' woman. These interlocking systems of punishing expectations and social oppression can be traced all the way back to the 18th century. For example, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu was a bold English aristocrat who addressed androcentric structures that shaped femininity and utilized her anger to smite them. In 1732, Jonathan Swift wrote "The Lady's Dressing Room," a derogatory poem that attacked the filth behind femininity and the disgust owed to a woman if she was not a pure beacon

of feminine behaviour and beauty. This poem describes a young man perceiving the utterly human contents of his lover's dressing room; famously, upon discovering her chamber pot, he exclaims, "Oh! Celia, Celia, Celia shits!" (Swift, line 118). In response to Swift's poem, which upheld the dehumanization of women's bodies and lives, Montagu responded with "The Reasons that Induced Dr. S to Write a Poem Called The Lady's Dressing Room." Montagu, in her easily identifiable, scathing tone, described a hypothetical sexual encounter between Swift and a lover. Within a few stanzas, he experiences impotence and begins to blame the woman's filthy dressing room and bodily functions:

> He swore, "The fault is not in me.
> Your damned close stool so near my nose,
> Your dirty smock, and stinking toes
> Would make a Hercules as tame
> As any beau that you can name."
> (Montagu, lines 69-73)

In a direct mockery of Swift's poem, Montagu writes:

> "I'll be revenged, you saucy queen"
> (Replies the disappointed Dean)
> "I'll so describe your dressing room
> The very Irish shall not come."
> She answered short, "I'm glad you'll write.
> You'll furnish paper when I shite."
> (lines 84-89)

Montagu's invocation of scatological humour retorts that not only do women defecate, but Swift's lover will use his derogatory poetry to wipe herself. With her pen, Montagu singlehandedly defies the sanitized and repressive feminine narratives Swift perpetuates and steps out of the bounds of 'ideal' femininity herself. In her coarse writing, a voice of quick-witted anger can be heard speaking through the metaphors and allusions, undermining the larger oppressive regulations on women's natures. In her poem, Swift's lover, who is described as the conventionally written and titled pastoral "nymph," is capable of "[growing] furious" and "[roaring]" in her own empowered defence (Montagu, line 74). Today, a poem like Montagu's might be dubbed simply as an early 'clapback.' However, in 1734, Montagu was a ground-breaking powerhouse, using her direct epistolary talent and privilege in high society to wield women's anger in the face of the deafening circulation of androcentric social pressures.

Like Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, other women from the 18th century also paved their way in literature and wrote to make their unrest heard. However, unlike

Montagu, not everyone had the funds, connections, and privilege to leverage from; most of them were even forgotten, only to be rediscovered and valued in the 20th century for their early activism. Mary Collier is one of them; she was a labouring class poet who aimed to expose the realities of lower-class life to upper society. Collier's most notable poem is akin to Montagu's: an epistle aimed at refuting the misogynistic knowledge that was spread by another male poet, Stephen Duck. In a popular piece by Duck, "The Thresher's Labour," he attempts to explain the daily hardships of the labouring-class. However, as he relays the sufferings of men, he simultaneously berates women labourers as idle, unfocused, and inferior: "Ah! were their Hands so active as their Tongues,/How nimbly then would move the Rakes and Prongs?" (Duck, lines 168-169). In response to this celebrated piece that fore fronted class issues, Mary Collier interjected and challenged Duck's misrepresentation and ignorance of the labouring woman's reality. Collier even paid with her own funds to publish her words– which were made honestly from being a woman in the labour field herself (Jones). In her piece, "The Woman's Labour: To Mr. Stephen Duck," she speaks unapologetically and directly, throwing just as much reproach back at Duck as he cast on the women labourers. To begin, Collier invokes a biting and satirical tone, to not only expose Duck's unrecognized privilege within a patriarchal society, but also as a labourer with access to a literary sponsorship from Queen Caroline: "Immortal bard! Thou favourite of the nine!/Enriched by peers, advanced by Caroline!" (Collier, lines 1-2). Collier also writes through an intersectional lens, which demonstrates the ways that class and gender interlock in their structured oppression. Through examining wage-earning labour to domestic work, Collier rebukes the idea of idle women and instead reveals the never-ending cycle of physical and emotional toil women must perform. She shares that many women must simultaneously perform paid labour and domestic caregiving as unpaid labour – including the care of fellow-labouring husbands. Collier then rewrites the simplified narrative from Duck's poem and paints a more realistic image: while Duck may work hard, at the end of the day he arrives home to be bolstered by the woman of his household. Meanwhile, many women labour through the day only to arrive home to the same exertion of a different kind:

> When ev'ning does approach, we homeward hie, And our domestic toils incessant ply;
> Against your coming home prepare to get our work all done, our house in order set;
> [...]
> Early next morning we on you attend;

Our children dress and feed, their clothes we mend;
And in the field our daily task renew,
Soon as the rising sun has dried the dew.
(Collier, lines 75-78, 83-86).

In her poetry, Collier describes a deep and tired "pain" (line 123) that is thrust upon women, one that is inescapable and structurally built into their daily lives. Above all, the anger and frustration of this piece is not only derived from the systemic exhaustion these women face, but also from the silencing, ridiculing, and blatant ignorance from the men within their own class. Collier's final words address this cyclical structure of patriarchy — one designed to maintain a hierarchy of gendered power:

> So the industrious bees do hourly strive
> To bring their loads of honey to the hive;
> Their sordid owners always reap the gains,
> And poorly recompense their toil and pains.
> (lines 243-246)

Collier's work is exemplary in demonstrating the effectiveness of women's anger in framing and relating their experiences. Within Collier's piece, the amount of personal knowledge, lived-truth, and pain that is shared through her poetic rage is immense – to ignore this rage would be to ignore the profound information within it. Additionally, Soraya Chemaly states that "[Women's] anger brings great discomfort, and the conflict comes because it's our role to bring comfort." (Chemaly, "The Power of Women's Anger", 8:45-8:53). Collier defiantly brings discomfort forth to trouble the idealized images of women in 'private,' domestic spaces as consistently lovely, nurturing, and motherly figures. Collier rejects the idea of natural comfort-giving, instead she exposes its tedious and draining nature, and thus utilizes her frustration with these narratives to jolt the reader from their gendered assumptions. No change or upheaval is comfortable so therefore, women's anger as a tool which sparks discomfort indicates our need to stoke that fire and sit within the blazes of our discomfort to transform outdated narratives – narratives that have survived since in the 18th century.

As I look back and read the rage-filled experiences of women from long ago, it is disheartening to deeply recognize and identify with the same issues causing such anger today. Although Montagu and Collier have long left us with their written activism, women are still raging against the same widespread patriarchal systems and are still being criticized, unrecognized, and vilified for it. However, nevertheless we persisted, and women's

rage has also underlined decade-defining movements, driven political transformation, as well as effectively fought against the very systems of oppression that try to extinguish it. For example, through her songs "Four Women" and "Mississippi Goddam," Nina Simone wielded her frustration and fury to give a voice to the oppressed and tired Black women of the world – unapologetically embodying her words and repudiating the racialized stereotype of aggressive, demonized Black women's rage. Her anger enacted power, her protest music became a revolution, building the soundtrack for the Civil Rights Movement and all the movements that followed in the justice-seeking fight of asserting that Black Lives Matter. Like Mary Collier, Simone's words utilized rage to carry across information, authenticity, and lived experience. However, while Collier wrote in the spirit of intersectionality, Simone also addressed intersectionality and enacted much more. She not only advocated against the vast marginalization of Black people, but also expressed how systems of race and gender oppression interlock to profoundly harm Black women. Ultimately, Simone's music overflows with stories that carry the earnest anger and ignored injustice of generations. On a recorded track of Simone's live performance of "Mississippi Goddam," one viewer, Destiny Jackson, commented "she wasn't performing, she was informing!" (Aaron Overfield, "Nina Simone: Mississippi Goddam"). From the legacy of Nina Simone and forward, other women artists have also embodied their rage to tell important stories and truths, such as Alanis Morrissette. In an interview, Morrissette explained her rage:

> …it became this invitation. If some people were afraid of their own anger, there I was onstage emoting my anger and having no apologies about it. […] Anger is so empowering for me. It pulled me into this sense of agency […]. I was giving myself permission to not sublimate […] feelings we're told not to feel, especially women. There are certain feelings you can't allow yourself to feel, but our bodies are built to feel them. So we either implode or explode. We either act out or get sick or depressed.
>
> - Morrissette, "Why Alanis Morrissette Feels Empowered By Anger"

Therefore, anger is not only an effective and empowering tool for change, but it also becomes a pathway to wellbeing. Consequently, the act of denying and devaluing women's anger does not only invalidate mobility, empowerment, and voice, but it is also a definite act of harm against the body and mind. This includes an internalized misogyny in which one's anger is rejected in favour for a false, amenable composure. Through upholding and investing in women's anger, perhaps a healthier state can be discovered for not only women, but also larger systems of gendered and racialized emotional marginalization. If the cost of valuing that anger is widespread discomfort, then to invoke Soraya Chemaly once again, I agree that "We should be making people comfortable with the discomfort they feel" (Chemaly, "The Power of Women's Anger", 9:43-9:47). I argue that we must normalize that discomfort, sit deep within it, learn from it. We must explore why women's anger makes us uncomfortable and angry in return; why we racialize anger and weaponize adjoining stereotypes; why we overlook the active voice in anger and sentence it to be unheard.

In conclusion, women's anger contains a deep well of information and lived stories - I know, I hold my own well within me and I often dip into its contents to make my voice heard. Ultimately, the disregarding of our anger is the disregarding of knowledge, realities, and much-needed voice. More than that, the disregarding of women's anger is also the destruction of powerful acts of simultaneous strength and vulnerability. This rage, so deeply embodied by so many of us, not only contains the ability to dismantle and deconstruct long standing structures of harm, but this rage, when given space, can also birth paths of healing. Women's rage must be allowed room to spark, breathe, and ignite – from the carefully orchestrated speeches on the world stage to the uncensored and unruly fury that comes from all of us, in all of our diverse and resilient embodiments. From the calculated language spoken over the podium, demanding accountability in no uncertain terms to the reclaimed power in the streets, similarly demanding autonomy, respect, and liberation. Whether it be in the 18th century aristocracies, the labouring fields, the protests, the marches, the courts, the government halls, the poems, songs, art – the rage of women is speaking prominently, and it must be heard.

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The Constraints of Literary Merit in Heidi L. M. Jacobs' Molly of the Mall:

Literary Lass and Purveyor of Fine Footwear

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ABSTRACT: The purpose of this paper is to examine how Heidi L. M. Jacobs' Molly of the Mall: Literary Lass and Purveyor of Fine Footwear deploys Molly MacGregor's experience within the academy as a critique of the constraints that literary merit standards place on scholarly work. First, I analyze how Jacobs manifests this argument through Molly's professors, who criticize and penalize her for straying from the traditional essay format in her written assignments. Next, I look at how Molly's struggle to reconcile her identity as a Canadian writer functions as a commentary on the academic presupposition that authors can only achieve valuable content through the reproduction of canonical literary modes. Furthermore, I consider how Jacobs challenges the concept of literary merit by positing that written works that do not meet this standard can still have scholarly value. However, I argue that, because the novel centers around a white, heteronormative, academically-inclined protagonist, its investigation into the constraints of literary merit may be limited. I conclude that Molly of the Mall leaves readers to question what it means that even a character with a privileged relationship to the academy encounters these constraints.

In her novel Molly of the Mall: Literary Lass and Purveyor of Fine Footwear, Heidi L. M. Jacobs explores the constraining effects of literary merit standards within her protagonist, Molly MacGregor's, academic discipline. First, when Molly's professors disapprove of her departure from the formalities of scholarly writing, Jacobs criticizes the academy's insistence that following a particular format is required for a piece of writing to be considered meritorious. Molly also struggles to reconcile her Canadian identity with her writing aspirations due to the scholarly presumption that only texts that reproduce canonical narratives can be included in the literary tradition. Furthermore, through Molly's attempt to restore James McIntyre's poetry to the Canadian canon, Jacobs posits that literary merit, as it is defined by the academy, may not be the only valuable standard to which written work should be held. Nevertheless, the novel's investigation into the constraints of literary value may be limited because it only explores these limitations from the perspective of a white, heteronormative character who can navigate academic spaces with relative ease. Therefore, I argue that through Molly's relationship to her studies and environment, Jacobs is able to examine the limits of literary merit and their consequences; however, as a result of Molly's privileged perspective, this examination remains incomplete.

In my analysis, I will use the term 'literary merit' to refer to texts that meet particular standards of excellence as determined by scholars in the academy. Specifically, in her book, The Ulysses Delusion, Cecilia Konchar Farr suggests that scholars have established "traditional standards of aesthetic merit," to which writing must adhere in order to be granted literary value (19). Additionally, she explains that academics only identify value in texts by "'serious literary artists' who tend to resemble the great writers who came before them" (24). In effect, literary merit is intrinsically related to both the academy and the reproduction of traditional literary models. I will, therefore, use the term 'literary tradition' to refer to the set of texts that academics have historically deemed valuable.

Through Molly's unconventional approach to her assignments, Jacobs highlights the constraints literary merit standards impose on academic work. For instance, when Molly completes assignments that do not conform to the traditional essay format, her professors question the literary value of her ideas. This scrutiny is most apparent when Molly submits "Pride and Prejudice: The Mixtape Paper," in the place of a formal essay (Jacobs, "Molly" 132). In response, Molly's professor admits that she is "uncertain how to mark

this assignment" because it does not adhere to the prescribed format and should, therefore, "undoubtedly deserve an F" (Jacobs, "Molly" 132). However, she notes Molly's "keen insights into Austen's work," and calls her ideas "masterful" and "pioneering" (Jacobs, "Molly" 132). Arguably, the quality of Molly's ideas should have earned her a perfect grade, but the professor gives her a B as a punishment for straying from the academic model (Jacobs, "Molly" 132). Here, Jacobs demonstrates how the university expects Molly to both adhere to the formalities of scholarly writing and reject ideas conveyed in alternative formats, thereby exposing a constraint within her academic discipline. Nancy DaFoe reinforces Jacobs' critique when, in the introduction to her book, Breaking Open the Box, she suggests that creative techniques lead students "to divergent thinking [and] to analyze in ways that might not have been considered prior to the writing process" (xxi). This point further supports Jacobs' claim that creative writing styles, like those employed by Molly, can benefit scholarly work and therefore should not be disregarded by the academic institution. So, while academia insists that scholarly language and format are prerequisites for achieving literary merit, Jacobs argues that this insistence hinders students' creativity, as well as their opportunities for success.

Jacobs' novel also exposes the ways in which literary merit standards exclude narratives that do not conform to canonical writing models. It makes this argument particularly clear through Molly's attempt to marry her identity as an Edmontonian with her writing aspirations. In her article "Talking Back to a Tote Bag: Or, How a Tote Bag inspired Molly of the Mall: Literary Lass and Purveyor of Fine Footwear," Jacobs explains that Molly "assumes Edmonton is not worthy of literary depiction because she never [witnesses] anything like it in the literature she reads" (2). Put differently, Molly struggles to imagine how a text set in Edmonton could achieve literary merit because her city differs significantly from those depicted in canonical novels. Instead, she imposes existing literary models onto Edmonton in an attempt to "remedy [its] literary invisibility" (Jacobs, "Talking Back" 2). She deploys this strategy when she rewrites "Ye Banks and Braes o'Bonnie Doon" (Jacobs, "Molly" 149) by Robert Burns in order to feature Edmonton's neighbourhood of the same name (Jacobs, "Talking Back" 2). Through this example, Jacobs suggests that literary merit standards depend on the reproduction of existing writing models and consequently fail to make space for new ones. As a result, she asserts that literary merit standards are limiting because they exclude texts that neglect and challenge these standards from the academic canon.

After emphasizing the restrictive effects of literary merit standards, Jacobs disputes the presumption that texts must meet certain requirements in order to be granted access to academic discourse. This challenge is most evident in Molly's "Adopt-A-Canadian Poet" (Jacobs, "Molly" 199) assignment, for which she chooses the poet James McIntyre with a desire to restore "his place of glory within the Canadian literary tradition" (Jacobs, "Molly" 235). The narrative emphasizes that critics have excluded McIntyre from this tradition because they consider his poetry to be cheesy, poorly written, and focused on the "local, the mundane, and the minute" ("Molly" 240). Notably, Molly's parents and her professor, who are all connected to the university, disapprove of Molly's adoption of McIntyre. Their disapproval is reflective of academia's deciding influence on which texts are considered to possess literary value. However, in her assignment, Molly claims that McIntyre's role in this tradition is "not his aesthetic importance, but his insistence upon writing the Canadian experience as he saw it" (Jacobs, "Molly" 241). Furthermore, she posits that while "'literary merit' is not what we should be seeking in McIntyre's poetry," it is still important to "include [his] work within discussions of the Canadian literary tradition" (Jacobs, "Molly" 241). In other words, Jacobs' novel insists that the literary tradition suffers a loss due to its exclusionary nature and goes as far as to claim that literary merit is not the only important metric by which to assess written work. Farr similarly argues that texts "aren't only…products of genius," and that their value lays in their ability to be "both accessible and skilled" and bridge "the everyday and the artistic" (26). These points reinforce Jacobs' problematization of literary merit standards, particularly that a text should not have to meet this standard in order to be considered worthy of academic study.

Molly's privileged position relative to the academy may limit the novel's investigation into the constraining effects of literary merit standards. Notably, Molly comes from an academic family and has been versed in scholarly discourse and the literary canon since childhood. Her experiences and ideas are also informed by her position as a white, heterosexual intellectual. Therefore, while the ways in which Molly presents her ideas challenge the academic system, they originate from and effectively reinforce this system. This reinforcement is most evident in Molly's attempt to restore McIntyre to the Canadian literary canon. While her work contests literary merit as a concept, the restoration of a white male poet does not challenge the canon's existing structure or, more specifically, its lack of diversity. Admittedly, Molly faces certain barriers to achieving success in the academic sphere, as she is a woman in a male-dominated environment. However, she ultimately has the tools to navigate these spaces, unlike people who are actively excluded from them. For example, in her article "Notes on Leslie Marmon Silko's 'Lullaby': Socially Responsible Criticism," Jo-Ann Episkenew states that, as a result of colonization and the ongoing effects of residential schools, early Indigenous writers "could not be expected to be familiar with the language of academia" (320). Episkenew further explains that while Indigenous writers have become more versed in academic language, they continue to write intentionally in a way that ensures that "their works are accessible to a variety of educational levels and not solely for an academic audience" (320). As a result, Indigenous authors are often excluded from academic study and the Canadian literary tradition (Episkenew 320). Based on Episkenew's argument, it seems that Jacobs' critique of literary merit is incomplete because it fails to evaluate this standard's constraints on those who do not have privileged access to the literary world.

I have argued that, while Jacobs' novel functions as an exploration of the limits of literary merit through Molly's unconventional approach to academia and her relationship to her environment, these limits are only tested from a position of privilege. Specifically, Jacobs claims that academic work should not need to conform to a particular format in order to achieve literary merit. Similarly, the novel suggests that there should be space in the literary tradition for different kinds of narratives and that these scholarly standards are not the only important factor to consider when including a text in academic discourse. However, because of her protagonist's identity as a white, heteronormative academic, Jacobs can only explore the constraints of literary merit through a privileged lens. Therefore, Molly of the Mall may encourage us to consider what it means that Molly encounters these constraints in spite of her scholarly and social advantages. What does her struggle mean for those who do not benefit from a similar privilege?

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Theatre as an Exemption to the Economic Base

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ABSTRACT: Despite living in a capitalist society, theatre still is able to maintain a level of autonomy in the creation of its work. In the essay, I explore how Marx's idea of base and superstructure, being the social framework of society, although relevant when examining the socio-political structures of our society does not allow for a deep understanding of theatre and capitalism. This is relevant in how some aspects of Marx's superstructure are able to seem untouched by the economic mode of production. Despite theatre's reflection in different aspects of its production, it has been able to separate itself from the economic base by creating an art form that does not necessarily fit into Marx's idea of a commodity. Thus, not allowing for traditional labour relations and commodity fetishism that results. Althusser's understanding, on the other hand, allows for a more autonomous structure, where theatre both reflects the economic base but also critiques it. I use the example of Hamilton the musical to exemplify how features of this economic base can be present in a theatrical production. I also examine a local Edmonton retelling of Shakespeare's Titus Andronicus by Colleen Murphy called The Society for the Destitute Presents: Titus Bouffonius which uses techniques found in Brechtian style theatre. It is through these techniques that this theatre performance has been able to skirt the totality of economic production and provide a critique of the ideology present in society.

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Introduction

In 2015 Hamilton the musical, which tells the story of the United States Founding Fathers, premiered Off-Broadway at the Public Theatre in New York City. Years later the show has now accumulated millions of dollars, awards and success. With "Hamilton's" recent deal with Disney plus, one may question if theatre and art are simply destined to be a reflection of the capitalist system in which it was produced. I explore how the ideas of Karl Marx and Louis Althusser are present or not in the production of theatre, and furthermore, how their ideas of ideology, commodification and class consciousness are a feature of how theatre is produced, documented and viewed. Lastly, I examine how theatrical styles introduced by Brecht can be used to create a politically inflected theatre.

Theatre within Capitalism

Karl Marx, a German philosopher and critic of capitalism, had theorized the way in which society is organized, is based on the modes of production. Marx explains this through the ideas of base and superstructure, with the base being the societies mode of production and the superstructure being the political, social, religious, artistic, morals, scientific and other cultural productions (Auslander 17). It is the base (the economic mode of production) which informs all other aspects of society. There is a direct relationship and reflection between these two. Thus, in the terms of theatre and theatrical production, Marx would understand the creation of theatre to mimic the modes of productions present in the given society. When interrogating a theatrical production, it can be easy to see the capitalist modes of production prominently foregrounded (through the cultural organization and labour roles i.e., production manager). As Beech states in his book *Art and Value* "Art has often adopted (capitalisms) latest forms of management marketing and values, not to mention the visual styles and advertising, popular culture and administration" (1). He then continues by stating that although there appears to be a "cozy relationship" between art and capitalism, there is in fact a difference between the incorporation of capitalist culture, social and political versus its economic incorporation (1). This is due in part to the nature of performance not aligning with the classical features of a commodity, which will be touched upon later. The relationship theatre has to the capitalist system would align more closely with Althusserian's understanding of the base and superstructure relationship. Where Marx understands the base as the determiner of the superstructure, Althusser depicts a more autonomous relationship, however, still acknowledging the ultimate

determining factor as the mode of production/economic make up (Auslander 24).

It can be argued that a theatrical production's incorporation of capitalist elements is thus subsumed by the system in itself; it is a capitalist production in and of itself. However, as discussed, the end result of the production is the performance, which does not fit the same standards and value a commodity holds, nor does the relations which are entered reflect the industrialized production process. In *Theory for Performance Studies*, Philip Auslander defines the Marxist characterization of capitalism as "an unjust system of labour and production, centers on social relations and the tools used in the production of goods" (16). The system is unjust because the labourer is paid in the form of a wage that is "less than the total value a worker confers to the final product" (Boyle). Theatre is able to avoid this by predominantly working on a contract basis, which is "freely and directly agreed upon by a capitalist and a worker" (Boyle). This does not necessarily mean that the artists are not exploited; rather that a theatrical production does not prescribe to the capitalist form of production relations where a labourer sells their time in exchange for a wage as described by Marx. And thus, the labourer (in this case, the actor, director, set designer, etc) does not become alienated from their labour/work.

Theatre as a Commodity

The alienation of the worker results in two ways; firstly, through production in which the worker does not directly benefit from their personal labour rather the capitalist which employs them; and secondly, when workers become commodities themselves they must sell their "alienated labour" just like a good to the capitalist (Auslander 17). Marx calls this commodity fetishism, for which he explains as a mystification we have with the goods we produce and the labour we use to do so, which is shown in his book Capital:

> "A commodity is therefore a mysterious thing, simply because in it the social character of men's labour appears to hem as an objective character stamped upon the product of that labour; because the relation of the producers to the sum total of their own labour is presented to them as a social relation, existing not between themselves, but between the products of their labour. This is the reason why the products of labour become commodities, social things whose qualities are at the same time perceptible and imperceptible by the senses" (47).

Marx understands that commodity fetishism arises because the capitalist society places inherent value in the commodities of labour. The qualities of a commodity are perceptible, meaning one can see for example a chair/object, but imperceptible in that we perceive the chair/object as inherent in value rather than the labour which was used to create it. This idea of commodities and value latent objects is difficult to transition into a theatrical production, as the given nature of live theatrical performance cannot be used for surplus value or exchange value in the traditional sense. For the production of theatre to become profitable in the capitalist sense, it would need to be "organized as wage labour for the purposes of creating commodities that yield surplus value" (Boyle).

Although theatre in its traditional form does not hold any surplus value or pose as a true commodity, in the Marxist sense it does not mean it is exempted from the capitalist system. With the development and advancements of filming technologies, documenting theatrical performances has allowed audiences around the world to experience a version of a theatrical production from their own home. It is through the process of documentation in which theatre is transformed from a non-conforming commodity into a true commodity. Let us examine Lin Manuel Miranda's award winning musical and Broadway success story, Hamilton. On June 21st, 2020, Lin Manuel Miranda tweeted "may you always be satisfied" with an attached trailer of the original Hamilton cast. The video ends with the original Hamilton poster and the words "streaming exclusively July 3rd (on Disney Plus)." Hamilton officially made it to the "big screen" of your home television, accessible through your Disney Plus account at the cost of $8.99 per month (in Canada). It cost Disney $75 million for the worldwide rights to the show. What occurred through this deal, is the commodification of the performance. Disney's acquisition of the rights allows them to then sell the performance to other buyers. Using the theory of exchange value, this documented version of Hamilton now acts in accordance with Marx's understanding of a commodity. The process of documenting live theatre has allowed for the commodification of its own value.

Theatre and Class Consciousness

Despite the risk Lin Manuel Miranda took by creating Hamilton, it is unsurprising that it surmounted its level of success. The combination of catchy music, high caliber of performers and an easily digestible story line made it an accessible piece of entertainment and theatre. However, in creating a digestible and accessi-

ble storyline about the founding fathers of the United States of America, Miranda conveniently leaves out entire chapters in American History, and in particular, the involvement of the founding fathers in the American Slave Trade. In her essay "Race-Conscious Casting and the Erasure of the Black Past" in Lin-Manuel Miranda's Hamilton, Lyra D. Monteiro uses the term "founder chic" to describe a recurring trend within "popular history writing" to valorize the founding fathers and reproduce a form of history which gives the impression the only people who mattered during these periods were "wealthy (often slave owning) white men (89)" In theatre such as this, where entertainment is held to a high degree over truth, the viewing experience becomes a part of what Marx describes as "class consciousness". Marx explains the idea of class consciousness in his essay German Ideology, in which he describes how the idea of base and superstructure are the formations to class consciousness.

> "The production of ideas, of conceptions, of consciousness, is at first directly interwoven with the material activity and the material intercourse of men, the language of real life. Conceiving, thinking, the mental intercourse of men, appear at this stage as the direct afflux from their material behaviour. The same applies to material production as expressed in the language of the politics, laws, morality, religion, metaphysics of people" (9).

For Marx, ideas/consciousness results in "material activity", with this being the economic base. It is then the ruling class that instead controls the intellectual ideas, as they have the means of production and the abilities to create written doctrine. The viewing experience of Hamilton is a reflection of the class consciousness. However, this is not to paint all theatre and performance as a direct result of the ruling class's consciousness - it is instead the contrary. Theatre's ability to step in between the lines of capitalist production allows it to take a critical lens at the dominant capitalist culture.

The idea of a reproduction of a capitalist society through class consciousness is shared with Althusser. Althusser expands on this notion explaining reproduction occurs on two levels through the coercion of force in the Repressive State Apparatuses and Ideological State Apparatuses (ISAs) (Auslander 35). The Ideological State Apparatuses are the cultural, social and political institutions which work together to reproduce a capitalist discourse or ideology (Auslander 35). The idea of ideology for Althusser is viewed as "a narrative or story we tell ourselves in order to understand our relationship

to modes of production. A real, objective world is not accessible to us, only representations of it" (Auslander pg 35). For Althusser, viewing a play is an extension of the "spectators consciousness". In his essay, The "piccolo Teatro': Bertolazzi and Brecht, Notes on a Materialist Theatre Althusser states:

> "The play itself is the spectators conscious-
> ness - for the essential reason that the
> spectator has no other consciousness than
> the content which unites him to the play in
> advance, and the development of this con-
> tent in the play itself." (Althusser).

The play for the spectator is an extension of their consciousness. What the play does, is further the ideological notions. If theatre is understood as a representation of the familiar, it is a representation of society's consciousness. As Althusser states "what is the ideology of a society or a period if it is not that society or periods consciousness of itself" (Althusser).

Althusser found the classical theatre which gave us tragedy as an exemplifier of the capitalist reproduction system through ideology. He argues that ideology is represented in the "consciousness of the central character (Althusser), and in classical theatre for which is uncritical of itself, its themes such as politics, morality, religion, honour, etc, are reproduced in alignment with the ideological thought of the time. However, theatre is not necessarily a reproducer of ideological thought. It is when a theatrical production chooses to ignore the classical aesthetic (the unities) in which theatre becomes a critique of the ideology. This idea is presented by the theatre practitioner Bertolt Brecht, who has been known as the creator of a political theatre to do so.

Bertolt Brecht and the Alienation Effect

Bertolt Brecht, was born in 1898 in Augsburg Germany. He has become known for his style of "epic theatre" or political theatre, which actively attempted to remove the illusion of theatre and create a politically charged performance that required the audience to think critically of the subject matter present. Brecht created a plan for a drama that would use political and social issues as a form of public discourse (Styan 128). This idea of a political theatre found its emergence in theories from Karl Marx, who explained that theatre was explicit in the support of capitalism, as it shielded and distracted society from true problems, like class struggle (Chemers 4). Therefore, the main purpose of this type of theatre was not to entertain, but rather to teach. Brecht wanted the audience to leave with thoughts in their heads. Brecht accomplishes this

through the introduction of the "Alienation Effect," in which Brecht would use theatrical devices to separate the audience from the spectacle of performance. Brecht would reject performances such as Hamilton in which the drama emphasized plot, feeling, linear development, growth, and "thought to determine being", in favour for his Epic theatre which emphasized disjointed narrative, reasoning, development through curve, montage and "social being determining thought" (Brecht 37).

Althusser found Brecht's theatrical techniques to be successful in dismantling ideological thought. For Althusser, if Brecht's plays were to "destroy the intangible image" of ideology, then the play is really the development of a new spectator consciousness (Althusser). This is accomplished through Brecht's alienation technique, or as understood by Althusser in relation to Brecht renouncing "the thematization of the meaning and implications of a play in the form of a consciousness of self" (Althusser). This implies Althusser means to favour a "new, true and active consciousness in his spectators".

Theatre has the possibility to both reflect and critique capitalist ideology. As we have discussed, Althusser provides a relative degree of autonomy to the superstructure. What this means for theatrical productions, is that the social relations that go into making theatre can reflect capitalist modes of production, and the material itself doesn't necessarily need to reflect the capitalist ideology. Our examination of the Broadway Musical Hamilton, paints a bleak picture if the goal was to critique ideological ideas. However, this isn't the inherent goal of theatre. Theatre begins to become politically active when it starts to utilize techniques favoured by Althusser and created by Brecht. For example, the adapted play The Society for the Destitute Presents: Titus Bouffonius" by Colleen Murphy features a dual storyline of a company of clowns as they embark on the presentation of Shakespeare's play Titus Andronicus, known to be one of Shakespeare most bloody plays. This rewritten version did not follow along the traditional features of classical theatre. It often broke the 4th wall, had actors speaking their lines as their clowns and not as their Shakespearean characters, and featured a disjointed narrative as the Clowns often broke up the story to inform the audience of a manner the Clowns thought of as important. The play featured many elements of Brecht's alienation technique, allowing for the audience to understand themes of revenge, family, sexual violence, and morality in a modern time. For instance, during the reveal of the brutality enacted on the character Lavina (who had her hands and tongue cut off after being raped by Tamora's

sons), the Clowns broke Shakespeare's character to ask the audience if they witnessed this, and begged the audience to call 911. To which, following in the roles of theatre, no audience member responded. This interaction "alienated" the audience. It forced them to think critically of our cultural norms which perpetrate and allow for rape and sexual violence to occur on the most vulnerable members.

Conclusion

Theatre has the unique ability to create in a capitalist world while still maintaining autonomy in its production. When examining the production structure of a theatrical performance or art in general one must take into account the social relations at play. Asking how has the economic base influenced a given production? Theatre and art in general will forever be in a battle with the capitalist system due to art's critical nature. However, it more so reflects Althusser's base and superstructure relationship in which there is a level of autonomy present. Hamilton and The Society for the Destitute Presents: Titus Bouffonius, provide us with a unique perspective in the theatre production, one of which has been informed, at least narratively, by the social consciousness of the upper class. Incorporating alienation techniques, as depicted by Brecht's, has opened a new form of capitalist critique within the performing arts. Using Brecht's theatre practices such as the alienation effect allows for a politically inflected theatre today.

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Understanding European Colonization:

in Francis Bacon's "Of Plantations" and Michel de Montaigne's "Of Cannibals"

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ABSTRACT: This paper focuses on Francis Bacon's essay, "Of Plantations" (1625), and Michel de Montaigne's essay, "Of Cannibals" (1580). I will argue that the essayists discuss colonization through similar, yet conflicting lenses shaped by Humanism, religion, and political authority. Both essayists discuss purity, sin, and Edenic landscapes in the "New World" and fear European-led corruption in the new space. They, however, arrive at different conclusions regarding the justification for colonization. Examining the literature produced during this period is relevant as contemporary readers can gain a deeper understanding of the ideas that contribute to ongoing colonization today.

KEYWORDS: colonization, Eurocentrism, Humanism, Indigeneity, political authority, religion

Introduction

Throughout Francis Bacon's "Of Plantations"(1625) and Michel de Montaigne's "Of Cannibals" (1580), the writers provided insights into the ways the "New World" and Indigenous communities were understood by European thinkers during the Age of Exploration. Bacon describes how to establish successful and fruitful colonies, and Montaigne discusses the cultural practices, values, and landscape of the Tupinambá tribe in Brazil. In this paper, I will argue that comparing the two essays is productive because it opens up an interesting discussion involving how the writers' notions of Humanism, religion, and political authority shape their perspectives on colonization during the early modern period in Europe.

I will first begin this paper by discussing both writers' Humanist and religious beliefs and political positions, which I also argue, are the reasons behind the opposition between these two writers' views on colonization. As an ideology, Humanism is multifaced, but it is generally the belief that positions human interests and welfare above all else ("Humanism n5"). Second, I will apply a comparative reading to "Of Plantations" and "Of Cannibals" in order to explain how a shared understanding of religious literature, specifically the Bible, provides both writers a fascination for purity and visualizing Edenic landscapes in new spaces. They also both recognize the potential for the "New World" to be tainted by Europeans. I will then extend this conversation of religion to the essays' implicit invocation of the story of Adam and Eve, which simultaneously complicates European notions of superiority and the colonial project. Finally, I will further explain the tension between Bacon and Montaigne's work. Bacon insists that only the European colonizers can cultivate the landscape and teach the inhabitants how to be more "civilized." He justifies colonization through profit as the land and its inhabitants are commodities that will inevitably make his country wealthier. Meanwhile, Montaigne applies a cross-cultural analysis to the Tupinambá tribe and condemns colonization. He encourages Europeans to confront their own insecurities. By looking at these factors, readers can gain a deeper understanding of what influences the writers to approach conversations about the "New World" in their respective texts.

Humanism in Bacon and Montaigne's Life

If readers wish to understand why the writers are in opposition, it is important to discuss Humanism's application in the text. First, we must situate Bacon and Montaigne in their historical context and understand their

credibility as thinkers. Both writers were well educated and hold authority in European society. Their opinions have swayed both historical and contemporary readers. Bacon was a Humanist, philosopher, essayist, and politician. He was raised as a Calvinist and was also the inventor of the Scientific Method (Klein and Giglioni). Montaigne was also a Humanist, philosopher, and essayist, but he was a Catholic (Foglia and Ferrari). As Humanists, they valued human agency and exploration as means to learn more about the world. While Humanism is not a monolithic philosophy by any means, I argue that for Montaigne and Bacon, Humanism was inseparable from religion. The combination of their respective religions and versions of Humanism is what separated them from justifying colonization. However, Bacon's position in politics and science also played a role in his attitudes towards colonial project.

Colonization Through Bacon and Montaigne's Notions of Humanism, Religion, and Political Authority

Bacon's Humanism took on a more pragmatic form because he was a man of science and government, yet he was also informed by his religion. For example, Sarah Irving argues that Bacon's concerns regarding Indigenous dispossession were not primarily moral but instead, epistemological as he wants to return to "mankind's original empire of knowledge." (252). Irving's argument is compelling because the use of the word "original" evokes this sense of beginning and genesis, which is quite relevant in biblical terms (the Original Sin). Irving's comments simultaneously contribute to why Bacon may have justified the colonial project; to him, it was a science experiment. His work on the scientific method allows us to make an inference about "Of Plantations," as it can certainly be read as a guide on how to manipulate certain variables, like the "savages", to reap the benefits of the responding variable (Bacon 395).

Montaigne, however, admires Indigenous nations, their culture, and their knowledge systems, whether it is their traditional cuisine, such as the root drinks, or their values around war (Montaigne 338, 34). I argue that Montaigne's Catholic upbringing may have been why he could not rationalize imposing European ideas on the Indigenous nation in the essay, as it could be interpreted as a sin to indoctrinate or deceive innocent people. For example, when Montaigne discusses the prophets of the Tupinambá tribe, he asserts that false revelations made by the prophets led to severe punishment; Montaigne is fascinated with this idea as he writes, "divination is a gift of God; that is why its abuse should be punished as imposture" (339). Montaigne's

asserton demonstrates his belief in the sanctity of the Word of God and how it should never be manipulated. He seems to be quite rigid in the idea of religious agency and justice.

Moreover, Montaigne was not in the same political position as Bacon. It was likely that he was not compelled to compromise his belief system in ways politicians around him had to. In Alain Legros' work, we learn that Montaigne was a very religious person but chose to express his ideas in a more secular way because of his belief in Humanism, where he "considers the Human aspect of Christian faith and religion to be within his purview" (12). Legros' comments suggest that despite Montaigne's attempts at secularism, inevitably he is influenced by his religion, meaning his Humanism was also informed by his Catholic upbringing. Both Montaigne and Bacon employ Biblical ideas such as purity and Edenic spaces in their writing, indicating that both writers are heavily influenced by their respective religions.

The Language of Purity and the Garden of Eden in "Of Plantations" and "Of Cannibals"

The writers' discussions of purity and nature interact with the Garden of Eden. In Bacon's work, he emphasizes how he prefers colonies in "a pure soil" and expands on this sense of purity as he dedicates a large part of the essay to the crops that the colonies will yield. He even takes the time to list and categorize the crops (Bacon 393-4). While there is economic importance throughout Bacon's essay, he begins the piece by saying colonies are "ancient, primitive, and heroical" spaces (393). Bacon's comments about purity and primitivity, I argue, are inherently connected to the Garden of Eden as his choice of diction invokes this Biblical story that his society believes is the precursor to European society.

In "Of Cannibals," Montaigne's discussions about purity focus primarily on Tupinambá' culture as he compares them to the landscape: "those people are wild, just as we call wild the fruits that Nature has produced by herself and in her normal course" (Montaigne 337). Montaigne's emphasis on nature and fruits is comparable to the crops that Bacon discusses in his work. Montaigne also stresses that the purity and order that comes with being "uncivilized." He claims that this is essentially non-existent in European society (337). Montaigne further extends the comparison to the land and climate of the Americas. He says that his witnesses have told him that the mild climate is why the people are so healthy: "they [Montaigne's witnesses] have assured me that they never saw one palsied, bleary-eyed,

toothless or bent with age" (338). Montaigne's claims steer the reader towards the understanding that the Tupinambá tribe live in the kind of paradise conceived in the Garden of Eden as it is free from sickness and pain. While the language of purity and the use of landscape in Montaigne and Bacon's work function differently, both implicitly invoke the story of Adam and Eve. Due to Eve's misdeed in the Garden, all humans are born with the capacity to sin. If the land is as pure and Edenic as the writers describe it to be, then the inhabitants of that landscape must also be pure. An influx of otherness, or, in this case, colonizers, into the region will certainly taint the land. Montaigne's discussions about the Tupinambá tribe resemble the Garden of Eden before Eve ate the fruit. Montaigne imbues the same ignorance and innocence that Adam and Eve exemplified onto the Tupinambá people. He also insists that contact with European knowledge systems would result in the Indigenous peoples being "tricked" as they would regret learning from the Europeans since they will no longer have the innocence they once held (343). Montaigne reassigns the role of the Serpent from the Garden of Eden to the Europeans. His essay works against the colonial project as it complicates ideologies of European superiority.

Bacon disagrees with Montaigne and is happy for Europeans to take on the Serpent-like role as he encourages colonizers to send the "savages" to Europe so they can appreciate a place "better" than their own (Bacon 395). Interestingly, Bacon's claim that Europe is a better place than the "New World" conflicts with his earlier discussions about how not all Europeans are inherently good and civilized. For the colonial project to be successful, he states that the "scum of people and the wicked condemned men" cannot be sent to the colony because they will "spoileth the plantation" (394). If Bacon wants motivated workers to come to the colonies, why would he send the Indigenous people to Europe if they could witness the "scum of people" (394)? Unlike Montaigne, Bacon believes that there are Europeans pure enough to manage and cultivate the colonies, like noblemen and gentlemen (394-5). Bacon justifies his colonial project by stressing that men should be allowed to profit off the wilderness because "they have God always, and His service, before their eyes" (394). Bacon never really thinks of religion in his essay, unless it is to push his own agenda.

This particular agenda can be attributed to his political power in England at the time. As someone who held titles like Lord Chancellor and Solicitor-General, he was likely writing for an English audience who was funding or exerting political influence over the colonial

project (Klein and Giglioni). It is perhaps most evident towards the end of the essay as he argues, "it is the sinfullest [sic] thing in the world to forsake or destitute a plantation once in forwardness" (395). Given that European colonization of new lands was heavily driven by economic gain, Bacon was in a position predicated on evaluating the wealth that was to be accumulated from the colonies. If he were to discuss and critique European influence over Indigenous communities in ways Montaigne had, I argue that Bacon would have likely been stripped of his political titles. Bacon's comments, whether he stood by them or not, were inevitably reflective of a political agenda.

Conclusion

By applying a comparative lens to "Of Plantations" and "Of Cannibals," we witness how Humanism, religion, and political authority inform the writers' perspectives on colonization and whether or not they could justify its purpose. Montaigne and Bacon share some similar views on colonization in their essays, given their discussion of Biblical ideas such as purity and corruption of Edenic spaces. However, they ultimately conceive the colonial agenda differently. Bacon's political position and focus on profit and commodifying the land and its people enable him to support colonization. Montaigne's essay stands in stark contrast to Bacon's as his writing reflects skepticism around European superiority and colonization. These works urge those interested in the discourse about ongoing colonization to trace colonial attitudes and mindsets back to literature from early modern Europe. As contemporary readers, we recognize the inherent issues at play in both works and can understand how Montaigne and Bacon's views shape our notions of colonialism, economics, religion, and Humanism. Moreover, many more contemporary readers are exploring the functions of ongoing colonialization and its effects on Indigenous nations across the globe today.

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