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Editorial: Spring Issue 2022

We are very pleased to present Issue 6 of the WRoCAH Student Journal, the first of two Issues compiled in 2021/22. We were delighted to receive so many high-quality submissions which necessitated an extra Issue this year, and has allowed us to share even more of the exciting postgraduate research taking place across the Universities of Leeds, Sheffield and York.

These submissions vary greatly across forms, themes, and disciplines, and this variety was a strength which we as the Editorial Team aimed to reflect in the final issue. Spanning Literature, Fine Art and Cultural Studies, Philosophy, Sociology, History, and Modern Languages and Culture as well as the creative, this Issue alone reflects the impressive breadth and diversity of PhD research happening across the Arts and Humanities, and we are excited to be able to share this with our readers this Spring and Summer. The selected submissions range from consideration of the grotesque body in *American Psycho*, the concept of articulation in the work of Stuart Hall and John Akomfrah, and the interdisciplinary relationship between text and dance in the choreographic works of Jackson Mac Low and Simone Forti, through an exploration of unconscious bias and mindfulness, the marginalisation of child-led social movements, and the impact of the Mexican revolution on activism in Spain, to the role of language interpreters in ensuring equitable access to healthcare and a re-thinking of the relationship between body and soul in the work of Rene Descartes.

Putting together these Issues has been a huge collaborative effort and our thanks go firstly to our authors, for sharing your incisive, invigorating research, and for engaging meaningfully with the peer-review and editorial process over the last few months. Thank you also to our peer reviewers and proofreaders, whose comments and feedback have been invaluable as the Issues came together in their present forms. We as Editors feel very fortunate to have been part of this generative, positive process, and have greatly enjoyed working with such a thriving, diverse community of scholars.

Thank you finally to our readers - we hope that you enjoy this Issue as much as we have enjoyed compiling it.

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ASPIRATION

A tattered, monochrome feather
Curls into the grey curb as if
Trying to imprint itself.
The peacock's glossy plumage seems
Remote as the Earth
Condensed in a spaceship's window
To a blue-green marble.

The latter has received attention,
Its sequinned sea flaunted.
A flamenco dancer's fan spun
Till its colours froth, come giddily
Undone, yet still remain intact.

The scientists, enticed, claim
This myriad spread of aqua ocelli
Is what allures suitors.

The storytellers, speculative, try
To see through the sugar-dusted tail
Into its dizzy web of eyes.

Wise Penelope, crestfallen
In Ithaca (as though it were she,
Not he, who was lost at sea)
Understood that the easy way
Mist settles on a slope
Cannot be fabricated –
So she wound
And unwound
The shroud.

My eyes rest on the single feather,
As though it is the first magnolia
And I'm a newborn bee.

In its scattered, wind-tossed rhythm
I feel the slow simmer
Of my soul's blood signal itself,
And I understand

Why mist never quite reaches the sea.

CANNIBALISM, CAPITALISM AND GROTESQUE CONSUMPTION IN BRETT EASTON ELLIS' *AMERICAN PSYCHO*

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Abstract
This article revisits Brett Easton Ellis' American Psycho (1991), through Mikhail Bakhtin's notion of the grotesque body, to posit a more productive reading of this notorious novel. The novel's protagonist Patrick Bateman has been read as a 'commodity vampire' – 'a late-capitalist revision of the classic gothic vampire' with an insatiable hunger for blood and capital. While this considers the destructiveness of Bateman's consumption, how the novel literalises this through the grotesque body is underexplored.

This is best considered using the work of Bakhtin, to examine the representation of Bateman's cannibalism. Bakhtin's grotesque body 'outgrows itself, transgresses its limits'. For this body, 'eating and drinking' means 'the confines between the body and the world are overstepped'; it 'is enriched and grows'. Bakhtin locates, in the act of eating, simultaneous life and death through the body's renewal at the world's expense. This liberatory reading is allowed through Bakhtin's understanding of life as communal. Life is shared; individual death is mitigated by life's perpetual renewal - although the body of the individual may die, the people's body lives on.

Bateman's cannibalism seemingly undermines this. By eating another person, he expresses himself as a 'growing' individual through another's death. However, the communal form still exists as, through being eaten, his victims produce new, shared life through transformation into food and nourishment. Bakhtin's focus on obscured boundaries between bodies provides a new reading of Ellis' novel, elucidating upon political concerns such as the prioritisation of the individual over the community in late-stage capitalism.

> Many cultures possess a conceptual map that grasps the nature of violence and power and explains it through a metaphor of consumption. Often this is conceived as a cannibal that visits the community in hard times and that must be faced up to and addressed ceremonially so that it will not devour its own.
>
> (Deborah Root, *Cannibal Culture* 1996: xii)[1]

> Through all the stages of historic development feasts were linked to moments of crisis, of breaking points in the cycle of nature or in the life of society and man.
>
> (Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World* 1984: 9)[2]

Introduction: Marx, Vampirism, Cannibalism

Patrick Bateman, the enigmatic protagonist of Brett Easton Ellis' novel, *American Psycho* (1991), has been subject to a variety of interpretations; from postmodern archetype to serial killer to 'commodity vampire', a 'late-capitalist revision of the classic gothic vampire,' with an insatiable hunger for blood and capital.[3] The novel's plot, centred on a wealthy yuppie in 1980s New York, who pursues a seemingly desirable lifestyle involving designer clothing, prestigious restaurant appointments and economic excess by day, and sordid, violent murder by night, makes all these interpretations appear valid. It is the last of these, however, that I wish to elaborate upon here, and which can best be used to emphasise one of the novel's more transgressive horror motifs: cannibalism.

In recent decades cannibalism has frequently been used as an analogue for consumer culture. From Peter Greenaway's 1989 film *The Cook, the Thief, His Wife & Her Lover*, to Michel Faber's novel *Under the Skin* (2000), and, most recently, Mimi Cave's 2022 film *Fresh,* cannibalism has offered a means for critiquing the most harmful aspects of consumption. Despite current criticism of *American Psycho* focusing on Bateman's vampiric qualities, I argue that Ellis' novel is in the lineage of these mentioned works. Analysis of this theme will also allow for elaboration upon the novel's use of the grotesque, which remains underexplored by current Ellis scholarship. Through a consideration of Mikhail Bakhtin's ideas of the carnivalesque and the grotesque body, I will interrogate how Ellis literalises the inherent destructiveness of Bateman's consumption via grotesque imagery. The thrust of my argument can be articulated thus: Ellis, through association of the grotesque with violence, uses the former to represent late-capitalist hierarchy. In this context, the novel's scenes of cannibalism become a monstruous representation of the consequences of an individualist consumer culture.

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[1] Deborah Root, *Cannibal Culture: Art, Appropriation, & the Commodification of Difference* (Westview Press, 1996). p. xii

[2] Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World* (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1984), p. 9

[3] Amy Bride, 'Byronic Bateman: The Commodity Vampire, Surplus Value, and the Hyper-Gothic in American Psycho (1991)', *The Irish Journal of Gothic and Horror Studies*, 14 (2015), 18. (p. 12).

Amy Bride's definition of Bateman as a commodity vampire relies upon his possession of typically Gothic, vampiric traits. Bride characterises these, with reference to John William Polidori, author of *The Vampyre* (1819), as a 'winning tongue', 'irresistible powers of seduction', and the 'sensation of awe' he triggers in others.'[4] Instead of the traditional vampire's aristocratic heritage, there is Bateman's lofty role on Wall Street, which, as Helyer notes, 'represents perfectly the rich, yet troubled aristocrat of the eighteenth-century Gothic novels.'[5] Bateman also possesses a temperament that is classically vampiric; through his doubling – the smooth, polished exterior, and the violent, roiling interior - he has 'demonic compulsions lurking beneath the desirable façade.'[6] Where Bateman expands upon this type is in his consumption. Bride links the vampire's need for blood, its need for consumption in order to remain whole, with Bateman's need to consume commodities:

> Like the vampire, whose gothic villainy is defined by his blood-drinking, Bateman is monstrous specifically because of his commodity consumption, while simultaneously unable to recover any sense of humanity from this consumption.[7]

This linking of the Gothic and capitalism has precedence in Marxism. Jarvis writes that 'in criticism of this [Marx's] oeuvre it has become almost compulsory to read vampirism as a metaphor for capitalism.'[8] He goes on: 'Capital is crowded with references to vampires, the Wallachian Boyar (a.k.a Vlad Tepes, the historical inspiration for Stoker's Dracula), werewolves, witchcraft, spells, magic and the occult.'[9] This can be seen specifically in Marx's discussion of surplus value; the theory in which capital extracts the value of the worker's labour through ownership of the means of production. This allows the capitalist to buy the value of the labour, from which profit is extracted through the selling back of this labour to the worker in a form that does not encompass the labour's total value, be that a wage, a salary etc. For Marx, capital therefore contains a vampiric or parasitical quality, as it lives off the labour of the worker to survive. Therefore in order to do this, it requires the continued survival of the host: 'Capital is dead labour, that, vampire-like, only lives by sucking living labour, and lives the more, the more labour it sucks.'[10]

There is a fundamental conflict between the ideas of vampirism, which requires the survival of the host, and cannibalism, which entails its total destruction. Does it therefore follow that vampirism has proven a far more enduring metaphor for capitalism than cannibalism because of this logic? For Bartolovich, cannibalism is not equivalent to capitalism as 'capital must be less resolute in its consumption', and must

[4] Ibid., p. 7
[5] Ruth Helyer, 'Parodied to Death: The Postmodern Gothic of American Psycho', *Modern Fiction Studies,* 46 (2000), 725-746. (p. 728)
[6] Bride, p. 7
[7] Ibid, p. 13
[8] Brian Jarvis 'Monsters Inc.: Serial Killers and Consumer Culture', *Crime, Media, Culture: An International Journal*, 3.3 (2007), 326–44 <https://doi.org/10.1177/1741659007082469>. [Accessed: 30.04.22] p. 341
[9] Ibid.
[10] Karl Marx, Capital Volume I., p. 163

therefore be 'a vampire, werewolf, or parasite, who continuously feeds off a living worker.'[11] For capitalism, 'to the extent that consuming human flesh and consuming human labour are equivalent, they are equivalent only as horrors.'[12] This understanding of vampirism as a mode of consumption that pushes its source to the precipice of destruction before retreating may explain the enduring appeal of the vampire as an eroticised cultural object. As Deborah Root notes, the consumption of the vampire is far more acceptable than that of the cannibal as this skirting of danger can be perceived as an illicit thrill.[13] Such a thrill seems entirely absent in the total destruction of cannibalism. One need only look at the depiction of Hannibal 'the Cannibal' Lecter in Jonathan Demme's highly Gothicised 1991 film adaption of Thomas Harris' 1988 novel, *The Silence of the Lambs,* to see this. Lecter, with his slick hair, hypnotic gaze, and aristocratic mannerisms, mixes the imagery of the vampire with the activity of the cannibal. Indeed, as pointed out by Dubois, Lecter is compared to a vampire within the film itself.[14] Here, however, the cannibalism corrupts the vampirism, making the mood one of uncomfortable perversion, rather than the erotic. The vampire/cannibal distinction can be further established here in this context of perversion. Where, for instance, Dracula turns the victim into his like and, if female, labels them as wives, Lecter crosses a forbidden boundary by placing this relationship in the familial realm. Barbara Creed notes that Lecter adopts a sexualised paternal relationship with *Lambs'* protagonist, Clarice Starling: 'Lecter also takes up a traditionally oedipal position relative to the daughter, Clarice, whom he desires (openly in the novel) and wants to devour in an erotic/sexual manner.'[15] Placing cannibalism in this uncomfortable zone may feed into making vampirism a more palatable framework for understanding consumption, while also depicting cannibalism as a more fundamental wrong that crosses multiple taboos.

The question consequently becomes whether this reading of capitalism as vampiric leads to an eroticised, and therefore more sympathetic, understanding of it. This merging of capital with vampiric eroticism can be seen, for instance, in the recent, and incredibly successful, *Fifty Shades* franchise, with its vampiric love interest: the capitalist businessman, Christian Grey. Eroticised desire is placed centrally here through a romance plot, positioning it as an object of titillation that is, if not appealing, at least a motive for intrigue. Is the emphasis on Bateman's vampiric qualities performing a similar purpose, smoothing *American Psycho's* taboo edges, and distracting from a form of desire that is far more destructive? Bartolovich's argument is predicated on the point that a cannibalistic capitalism constitutes a threat to 'not only the reproduction of the labour pool, but of capital itself.'[16] One has to wonder whether this observation, freeing as it does capitalism from associations with a fundamental destructiveness, in conjunction with an

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[11] Crystal Bartolovich, 'Consumerism, or the Cultural Logic of Late Cannibalism', *Cannibalism and the Colonial World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 204-237 (p. 213).

[12] Ibid., p. 224

[13] Root, p. 13

[14] Diane Dubois, 'Seeing the Female Body Differently': Gender issues in The Silence of the Lambs', *Journal of Gender Studies,* 10:3 (2001), 297-310 <https://doi.org/10.1080/09589230120086502>. [Accessed: 03.05.22] p. 305

[15] Barbara Creed, 'Freud's Worst Nightmare: Dining with Dr. Hannibal Lecter', in *Horror Film and Psychoanalysis: Freud's Worst Nightmare,* ed. by Steven Jay Schneider (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 188-202 (p. 201).

[16] Bartolovich, p. 225

interpretation of capitalism as vampiric – i.e. it preserves the host – isn't ultimately performing a conservative function, as it works to excuse and accept a harmful status quo.

Bakhtin, the Carnivalesque and the Grotesque

Mary Russo locates the origins of the grotesque in antiquity, where works on aesthetics 'linked the classical style with the natural order and, in contrast, pointed to the grotesque as a repository of unnatural, frivolous, and irrational connections between things which nature and classical art kept scrupulously apart.'[17] The grotesque here is understood as a force of disorder, merging that which should not be merged, and is contrasted against classical art and architecture, which stands for fixed categorisation and order. It is a subversion of meaning that is entirely negative. For Bakhtin, this disorder, which could also be called an unfinishedness, is entirely productive.

Bakhtin's reading of the grotesque is located in the idea of the carnivalesque. Taken from the historical renaissance carnival, Bakhtin uses this moment of festivity to construct a social theory that is jubilant, celebratory, and excessive:

> As opposed to the official feast, one might say that carnival celebrated temporary liberation from the prevailing truth and from the established order; it marked the suspension of all hierarchical rank, privileges, norms, and prohibitions. Carnival was the true feast of time, the feast of becoming, change, and renewal. It was hostile to all that was immortalized and completed.[18]

Carnival's emphasis on participation allows for a blurring, and even a removal, of social rank and hierarchy on the grounds of equality. That is, everyone is equal as everyone is a participant. Identity within carnival does not consider a person's background, resulting in an inability to fit the individual into a conceived social structure which would allow for a pre-conceived fixity of identity. Identity, such that it is in the carnival space, is consequently rooted in doing. Identity formation is kinetic and established through a process of incompleteness and becoming.

Within carnival's space of feasting and becoming, we find Bakhtin's theory of the grotesque body. Indeed, feasting and becoming are intimately linked through this concept:

> Eating and drinking are one of the most significant manifestations of the grotesque body. The distinctive character of this body is its open unfinished nature, its interaction with the world. These traits are most fully and concretely revealed in the act of eating; the body transgresses here its own limits: it swallows, devours, rends the world apart, is enriched and grows at the world's expense.[19]

The grotesque body is dominantly characterised by its crossing of fixed bodily borders. This is most apparent in the orifice, here shown through the mouth. As with Russo's earlier description of the

[17] Mary Russo, *The Female Grotesque: Risk, Excess and Modernity* (London: Routledge, 1997) p. 3
[18] Bakhtin, p. 10
[19] Ibid, p. 281

grotesque disrupting fixed, classical categories, the open nature of the orifice disrupts ideas of classical bodily unity. This is not only seen in Bakhtin's work in the form of the orifice as an open space, but also in the ability of the mouth to allow for the ingestion of food and subsequent bodily expansion, in combination with the insinuation of defecation, prompting a three-pronged assault on bodily unity. The body displays its autonomy over food, but this leads to a disturbance of form. As such, it becomes clear how the orifice could be seen as either revolting or emancipatory, dependent upon underlying beliefs relating to completeness and becoming.

This is something Bakhtin considers through a division between the higher and lower bodily stratum. While the higher stratum, the realm of the classical body, consisting of the arm, the hand, or the face (but not the open mouth), promotes unity, Bakhtin concerns himself with reclaiming the lower realm of the belly, bowels and genitals. He does so through a rereading of degradation that removes its negative connotations and connects it in a productive sense with the lower through the idea of rebirth: 'to degrade an object does not imply merely hurling it into the void of nonexistence, into absolute destruction, but to hurl it down to the reproductive lower stratum, the zone in which conception and a new birth take place.'[20]

Bakhtin's refutation of the destructive element of degradation leads to the first of two points of contestation with his work that are pertinent to the current argument. His liberatory focus on the productivity of degradation is allowed through an understanding of life within carnival as communal. This leads to the mitigation of individual death since life is a shared entity, allowing for its perpetual renewal; although the body of the individual may die, the body of the people lives on. Bakhtin writes of communal life: 'the material bodily principle is contained not in the biological individual, not in the bourgeois ego, but in the people, a people who are continually growing and renewed.'[21] Ryklin takes issue with this, questioning the merging of rebirth and equality. The eschewing of the individual in favour of the collective evokes, for Ryklin, a seeming disavowal of irreparable violence against both the personal and the people's body. In this reading, 'the individual body becomes the ideally replaceable, synthetic body,' and individuality itself 'constitutes a fatal sin.'[22]

The second criticism is made by Stallybrass and White, who question Bakhtin's interpretation of the physical space of carnival – the marketplace. Bakhtin sees the marketplace as a space of total pleasure and festivity. However, Stallybrass and White note that the marketplace was also a place of trade. Bakhtin therefore succumbs to 'that separation of the festive and the commercial which is distinctive of capitalist rationality as it emerged in the renaissance.'[23] This observation allows for a break with readings of carnival

[20] Ibid., p. 21
[21] Ibid., p. 19
[22] Mikhail Ryklin, 'Bodies of Terror: Theses Toward a Logic of Violence', *New Literary History,* 24 (1993), 51-74 (p. 54 - 53)
[23] Peter Stallybrass & Allon White, *The Politics and Poetics of Transgression* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993). p. 30

as a discrete space. Although Bakhtin acknowledged this dissolution of carnival, through the emergence of modernity and bourgeois economic humanity, Stallybrass and White posit that the carnival space had already been breached. This is not to say that they dispute the marketplace as the site of carnival. Indeed, they argue that the marketplace was 'the grotesque body at home with itself,'[24] by virtue of placing itself against the official, classical culture of the church and the private home. Where they differ from Bakhtin is in relaying how this was a space of carnivalesque joviality and also a space of bourgeois economics and rationality. Their unique contribution is to relate how these two qualities intermingled. What does this convergence mean for the malleable, open to influence grotesque? If Bakhtin's utopian grotesque is reliant on equality, what happens when hierarchical market forces enter the equation? In the next section, I argue that *American Psycho* displays just such an integration of hierarchy into Bakhtin's realm of optimistic potentiality.

American Psycho's **Grotesque Consumption**

Bateman's violence is inflicted against those he sees as below him in the social hierarchy; those perceived as racially inferior, queer, and/or women. This animosity also incorporates the homeless, as can seen in the novel's first depicted act of bloodshed, in which Bateman assaults a destitute man on the street. The attack is entirely founded on unequal financial and social power dynamics. He begins by taunting him: "'You want some money?" […] I reach into my pocket and pull out a ten-dollar bill, then change my mind and hold out a five instead.'[25] The man responds: "'I'm so hungry.'"[26] When the beggar explains that he has lost his job, Bateman replies "do you think it's fair to take money from people who *do* have jobs?"[27] Not bearing in mind the fact Bateman has his job on Wall Street by virtue of his father owning the company, he sees this social disparity as justification for the infliction of violence: 'I start stabbing him in the stomach, lightly.'[28] Bateman here creates new orifices. But this is not the undetermined space that joyously disrupts the classical. It is instead the product of the rending intent of a socially dominant other. Instead of the shedding of background and fixed identity and the becoming of a new self through participation, as seen in Bakhtin, there is the further establishment social inferiority. This leads to an emergence of the grotesque that has its renewing aspects removed. This intent is taken further as the violence escalates, resulting in the homeless man's eye hanging from its socket. Where, for Bakhtin, the fluidity of the grotesque allows for a liquid, transitive shift towards positive definitions, the intrusion of this dominant other leads to a hardening of the grotesque's potential into fixed categories that are entirely subservient to Bateman's desire. As these desires are malicious, the openness of the body, the site of radically conceived potentials, becomes the site of wholly negative, destructive and demeaning realities.

[24] Ibid., p. 28
[25] Bret Easton Ellis, *American Psycho* (Picador, 2011). p. 124
[26] Ibid.
[27] Ibid., p. 125
[28] Ibid., p. 126

The emancipatory, unknown potential of the orifice becomes the fixed and damaging category of the wound.

Bateman himself displays anxiety about this indeterminacy between fixed categories, and resultantly attempts to purge himself of them. This can be seen most prominently in his and, perhaps as a wider criticism of his social class, also in his colleagues' fixation on attaining a toned, sleek, classical body. Like Russo's previously cited distinction between the classical and the grotesque, this body establishes itself as an ordered object through an exercise and beauty regime that prevents disordered grotesque merging's. "Jesus, Bateman, you should see how *ripped* my stomach is.'[29] Descriptions of Bateman's body are entirely lacking in the grotesque, instead focusing on workouts and beauty products. Even when he eats, this largely takes place at upper-class restaurants and focuses on the material luxury of the food as opposed to the physical process of eating. The most detailed section dedicated to his body is the chapter 'Morning,' which covers his morning routine. Bateman is driven to maintain a smooth, unblemished surface through the application of various face creams: 'I take the ice-pack mask off and use a deep-pore cleanser lotion, then an herb-mint facial masque which I leave on for ten minutes while I check my toenails.'[30] This is done due to a deep anxiety related to ageing. When discussing his shampoo choice, he advises that 'it's especially good at getting rid of the coating of dried perspiration, salts, oils, airborne pollutants and dirt that can weigh down hair and flatten it to the scalp which can make you look older.'[31] And when discussing aftershave he remarks, 'never use cologne on your face, since the high alcohol content dries your face out and makes you look older.'[32] Bride categorises this desire for eternal youth as vampiric, writing that 'Bateman's existence is answered by purchasing commodities (typically with anti-aging properties) in the same way that Dracula's human appearance is restored by drinking blood.'[33] What this concern over youth also displays is a classically informed fear of the creased and disruptive surface of the ageing body. Bateman uses the skincare products to prevent this disruption and attain a fixed category, youth, which is entirely the preserve of those that can afford his litany of products. The implication becomes that of a desired fixity and a shunning of disorder that maps neatly onto Bakhtin's idea of high and low. The high merges the socially and financially elevated with the fixed form of the classical. The low equates the socially and financially destitute with the fluid grotesque. When we consider Bateman's encounter with the unhoused person, this becomes further evident. In contrast to Bateman's smooth skin, the lower stratum is here linked with dermatological roughness, as the homeless man's thighs are 'rashed because of his constantly urinating in the [his] pant suit.'[34] Further, he is described as possessing 'the stench of some kind of cheap alcohol mixed with excrement.'[35] The smell of the lower stratum

[29] Ellis, p. 6
[30] Ibid., p. 25
[31] Ibid.
[32] Ibid., p. 26
[33] Bride, p. 11
[34] Ellis, p. 126
[35] Ibid., p. 124

antagonises Bateman: 'The *stench*, my god […] you *reek* of…*shit*.'[36] This provokes the previously quoted act of violence: 'The stench of shit rises quickly into my face and breathing through my mouth, down on my haunches, I start stabbing him in the stomach, lightly.'[37] As can be seen here, and in the discussion of violence above, social inequality allows for a commandeering of the lowly, liquid grotesque by the social upper-class in a form that is entirely antithetical to the former's interests.

This regulating of grotesque potential reaches its extreme when Bateman, having committed a string of killings and seemingly reaching the peak before a psychotic break, begins to eat the bodies of his victims. 'There are no drugs, no food, no liquor that can appease the forcefulness of this greedy pain,' he says.[38] Possessed by an overwhelming desire to consume, Bateman sees only one way to sate his hunger:

> A Richard Marx CD plays on the stereo, a bag from Zabar's loaded with sourdough onion bagels and spices sits on the kitchen table while I grind bone and fat and flesh into patties, and though it does sporadically penetrate how unacceptable some of what I'm doing actually is, I just remind myself that this thing, this girl, this meat, is nothing.[39]

In the reduction of the human to an item of food, the body is not only opened to its absolute potential, in a dismantling of its structural whole, but, as seen before in Bateman's attack on the homeless man, this is done in a way that is entirely submissive to Bateman and his needs. Bateman here exceeds the vampiric. Whereas the vampire turns others into their like, there is a stricter hierarchy at play here, as the victim is instead turned into an item of consumption. Rather than taking on Bateman's likeness, relinquishing their agency while maintaining some semblance of their previous selves in vampiric form, they instead undergo an ontological shift into a new, inferior object. The gender dynamics here are also worthy of note. Where the vampire often feeds on women, with erotic undertones, the suggestive aspect, as with Lecter, is here removed, in favour of nihilistic debasement. The object's entire purpose here is to give itself to Bateman in a form of subservience that ensures both its inferiority and its destruction.

This transformation of the subject into the object of food produces a fundamental conflict with Bakhtin's celebratory portrayal of eating. While there is still the emphasis on grotesque transformation, devourment and a growing body at the world's expense, these qualities are once again placed in a hierarchical context, rather than one based on equality. Here, Bakhtin's proclamation that 'man's encounter with the world in the act of eating is joyful, triumphant; he triumphs over the world, devours it without being devoured himself,' takes on a distinctly negative connotation.[40] Bakhtin's formulation of communal life allows for an absorption of the destruction inherent in consumption through an appeal to the collective that in *American Psycho* is inverted. Bateman devours without being devoured himself. He also grows at the

[36] Ibid., p. 125
[37] Ibid., p. 126
[38] Ibid., p. 330
[39] Ibid., p. 332
[40] Bakhtin, p. 281

world's expense through an expansion of his own agency at the cost of another's. Through the transformation of the subject into food, the communal form of life lives on. Though his victim may die, through conversion into food and nourishment, they quite literally produce new, shared life, when absorbed into Bateman's body through his digestive system. This form of the communal, in which to give to the other is to obliterate the self, lacks the cosmic equality of Bakhtin that allows for an absorption of the destructive element within degradation, and instead presents a highly individualised form of the communal that places this destruction at the centre of its workings. In an inverse of Ryklin's concerns, the destruction of the individual in favour of the whole is replaced not just with a destruction of the whole in the favour of the individual, but also a conglomeration of the whole into the individual. That is, the whole becomes the individual and once individuated, subjective desires become communal. The wants of Bateman become the wants of society.

Although his victims become food, they also become commodities. Take the quote above, where the victim is listed, like an ingredient in a shopping list, along with a bag from Zabar's. Or, further, the equation of bodily fluids with chic alcohol: 'I want to drink this girl's blood as if it were champagne.'[41] Ellis consequently links the hunger for commodities with Bateman's hunger for flesh and also, more broadly, the desire of the economic consumer with the biological hunger of the body. Much like his face-creams, the other is an object of specific use to Bateman. They are the fixed category of the commodity, existing for one's own ends and one's own enrichment. In turning to this convergence of economic and physical hunger we have come full circle, returning to what has variously been discussed as Bateman's vampiric thirst. However, the distinction to be made here is in Bateman's seeing his victims not as a source of labour, that which must be preserved, but as a commodity, that which must be used. A different form of hunger, one that does not require the conservation of the object, is present.

This emphasis on consumption over production can be elucidated upon through Jean Baudrillard's work in *The System of Objects* (1968). For Baudrillard, the concept of use value, the quality that a commodity holds to satisfy wants and needs, has become increasingly complicated by the continued development of technology and the commodity itself. The growing complexity and abundance of production has produced commodities that often no longer primarily have a practical use value, and the emphasis is instead placed on an object's inessential qualities. Baudrillard gives the example of a coffee grinder, in which 'the mill's actual coffee-grinding function' has become secondary to 'whether it is green and rectangular or pink and trapezoid.'[42] This has led to an environment in which essential functionality is mystified and 'the inessential holds sway.'[43] As the use value of the commodity becomes characterised by the inessential, that which conveys cultural status and standing takes precedence over essential use value. This emphasis on the inessential allows Baudrillard to break from traditional Marxist understandings of

[41] Ellis, p. 331
[42] Jean Baudrillard, *The System of Objects,* (UK: Verso, 1996), p. 15
[43] Ibid.

use value in order to create a new category – sign value. Sign value is the value of cultural prestige placed on the owner of an object. However, in order to ascertain sign value, an object must be put in comparison with other objects of lesser and greater sign value themselves – the system of objects. This system entails an obfuscation not just of use value, but also the labour value of the object: 'the liberating abstractness of energy sources is thus accompanied by a concomitant abstractness of human praxis with respect to objects.'[44] Consequently:

> *Functionality is thus no longer the imposition of a real task, but simply the adaptation of one form to another (as of handle to hand) and the consequent supersession or omission of the actual processes of work.* Thus, freed from practical functions and from the human gestural system, forms become purely relative with respect both to one another and to the space to which they lend rhythm.[45]

From Bateman's infinitesimally detailed description of his morning routine to his litany of designer suits, to his appointments at elegant restaurants, *American Psycho* repeatedly conveys the dominance of sign value over use value. Indeed, while Bateman is defined by consumption, the nature of his own labour at Pierce & Pierce is never described. This untethering of not just use value, but also labour value, allows for a break from material reality and the establishment of a system of objects in which the life of the other is comparable to a glass of champagne. Moreover, this equivalation of the human with the object creates precedence for the dominance of the object, and a mandate for the infliction of unreciprocated violence. Bakhtin provides a useful framework for understanding capitalistic consumption's relation to this as his celebration of excess explicates the boundaries of consumption and brings into focus the question of material limits. His unabashed utopianism similarly creates a marked contrast with the destructiveness the novel presents when the sign and the object are given equivalent status, leading to a questioning of rationales for consumption, the pushing of limits and the consequences of doing so.

In rejecting material life in favour of an abstract, disconnected sign value, the final line is crossed, allowing for a form of capitalism that moves beyond the vampiric, in which the material source must be preserved, in favour of a cannibalistic consumption, in which this source is destroyed. *American Psycho* subsequently moves beyond metaphors of the vampiric, and instead offers the proposition of an economic and cultural system that prioritises its cultural values and hierarchies over its own material survival. That this may ultimately lead to the system's overall destruction does not escape Ellis. The novel's opening line, 'abandon hope ye who enter here,' is a paraphrase taken from Dante's *Divine Comedy,* in which it is said by the ferryman at the entrance to Hell.[46] Opening with such a statement lends Ellis' novel an apocalyptic affect which has its seed in the cannibalistic. Any coming reckoning is of course lost on the characters. As Bateman and his colleague drive past a sign with the warning written on it, Ellis writes: 'just as Timothy Price notices the words a bus pulls up, the advertisement for *Les Misérables* on its

[44] Ibid., p. 52
[45] Ibid., p. 56
[46] Ellis, p. 3; Dante Alighieri, *The Vision; or, Hell, Purgatory, and Paradise of Dante Alighieri,* trans. by Henry Francis Cary (London and N.Y.: Frederick Warne, 1892), p. 13

side blocking his view, but Price who is with Pierce & Pierce and twenty six doesn't seem to care.'[47] While this displays a moment in which the warning is literally hidden by an object of consumption – a Broadway musical -- this disregard also extends to the act of consumption itself. Bateman, while eating sushi, states 'I also like the idea that I *don't* know, will *never* know, will never *ask* where it came from.'[48] While notions of the apocalypse may indicate the end times, they also signal towards new beginnings. Perhaps, therefore, in the positive Bakhtinian sense, *American Psycho* also gestures towards renewal and new, communal possibilities.

[47] Ellis, p. 3

[48] Ibid., p. 11

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ARTICULATION, HISTORICITY, REPRESENTATION, AND IDENTITY IN THE WORKS OF STUART HALL AND JOHN AKOMFRAH

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Abstract
Working with the concept of articulation as it was utilised by Hall, this paper explores its importance both for understanding Hall's conjunctural analysis, and the influence of his work on the practice of John Akomfrah. The doubleness that articulation carries (referring at once to linkage and utterance) valuably evokes the importance of a Marxist structuralist tradition for Hall, and becomes an important point from which to access questions of identity, subjectivity, post-coloniality, and representation. The connection the paper draws between the Hall and Akomfrah is formed both as a response to Akomfrah's interest in Hall, and an effort to trace Akomfrah's relation to post-colonial thought and a British cultural studies tradition. One of the primary ways in which the paper explores this relation of theory and practice in Akomfrah's work is by studying his use of montage and embedded archive footage to reflect on post-coloniality and cultural history, and generate historical thought. In addition to working closely with a selection of Hall's writings, the paper offers readings of two of Akomfrah's The Stuart Hall Project (2013) and The Unfinished Conversation (2012) in order to recognise the affinity between the two figures, and analyse the effects of Akomfrah's formal strategies as well as the theoretical contribution the works make.

Articulation is a word which is repeatedly used in the oeuvre of Stuart Hall, and its reverberations run deep. This depth is partly produced by the history of its use in a tradition of cultural theory, recognisable under the broad banner of structuralist Marxism, and its deployment within the intellectual milieus of the

New Left, and the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies at the University of Birmingham (both of which Hall played a prominent role in).[1] This genealogy positions Hall's work and his use of the word within the larger aims of the projects of the New Left and the CCCS: to bring revived socialist thought to bear on an 'expanded conception of politics' by realising 'questions of cultural analysis and cultural politics' as part of a 'critical and deconstructive project'.[2] A comprehensive account of the use of the word and its various permutations (both within Hall's work and the discourses identified) is beyond the scope of this inquiry. The aim of this essay is to use the concept of articulation as a point from which to reflect on Hall's 'conjunctural' analytical approach, identifying it as an instrumental concept for understanding his involvement in this deconstructive project, and his intellectual affiliations and preoccupations.[3] This focus is based on a sense shared with Jennifer Daryl Slack of articulation both suggesting a 'methodological framework for understanding what cultural studies does', and providing 'strategies for understanding a cultural study, a way of "contextualising" the object of one's analysis'.[4] Slack's description contains an understanding of the relationship between theory and practice as an interpenetrative one and suggests that, if approached carefully, articulation can offer a vital key for exploring Hall's approach to a range of historical interests. While recognising the importance of articulation for the configuration of the problem of ideology, both for Hall and others, I will focus on how Hall engages it in the context of themes of identity, representation, and what I refer to as historicity. My choice of this term is a response to Sara Ahmed's introduction to *Strange Encounters: Embodied Others in Post-Coloniality*, and refers to analysis based on historical relations which does not presume a metanarrative of history.[5] Working within these parameters, I will also consider Hall's response to the post-colonial as a critical framework and as well as some of his thoughts on diasporic identity.

Stuart Hall's career as an academic, editor, and educator was a long and prodigious one which spanned decades and extended across different spheres (academia, public interviews, and TV and radio appearances), and there are many points of contact with black British filmmaking and culture.[6] This particular inquiry into his work is concerned with recognising some of the patterns and qualities of his thought, and can only be modest in its reach. It partially reflects an interest in connections between Hall's thought and Akomfrah's work. Rather than being motivated by an attempt to validate Akomfrah's work through theory however, the relation between the two is developed to demonstrate Akomfrah's unique

[1] Jennifer Daryl Slack notes that it first begins to be theorised in the 70s. Jennifer Daryl Slack, 'The Theory and Method of Articulation in Cultural Studies', *Stuart Hall : Critical Dialogues in Cultural Studies,* ed. by D. Morley, Chen, K., & Hall, S. (Routledge, 1996), pp. 113-29 (p. 117).

[2] Stuart Hall, 'The 'First' New Left: Life and Times', *Selected Political Writings: The Great Moving Right Show and Other Essays,* ed. by Sally Davison, et al. (North Carolina: Duke University Press, 2017), pp. 117-41 (p. 127); Hall, 'The 'First' New Left: Life and Times', p. 127; Stuart Hall, 'On Postmodernism and Articulation: An Interview with Stuart Hall', *The Journal of Communication Inquiry,* 10. 2 (1986), 45-60 (p.60).

[3] Stuart Hall, 'Gramsci's Relevance for the Study of Race and Ethnicity', *Journal of Communication Inquiry,* 10. 2 (1986), 5-27 (p.8).

[4] Daryl Slack, 'The Theory and Method of Articulation in Cultural Studies', p. 113.

[5] Sara Ahmed, 'Introduction: Stranger Fetishism and Post-Coloniality', *Strange Encounters: Embodied Others in Post-Coloniality,* (London: Taylor & Francis, 2013), pp. 1-17.

[6] Including Hall's role in developing film studies in the UK, his well-known and influential analysis of media at the CCCS, and his championing of the black British arts movement.

contribution to questions of black British culture, historicity, and diasporic identity in the audio-visual form of the essay film. This forms part of a larger effort to frame Akomfrah's career as a "'theoretically informed political practice'" which, in its reconfiguration of the relationships between social, economic, and political forces through the aesthetic strategy of montage "'intervene[s] in history in a progressive way'".[7] The focus on Hall is also a direct response to Akomfrah's celebration of Hall in two works: the multi-channel installation *The Unfinished Conversation* (2012) and its single-channel iteration *The Stuart Hall Project* (2013).[8] These two works form the focus of my study of Akomfrah's practice here. Given this interest, the size of both Akomfrah and Hall's oeuvres, and the integral presence of articulation which I am arguing for, my study is necessarily restricted. However, in keeping with Hall's sense of identity formation as an 'ever unfinished conversation' between self and world that is provisionally marked off by a cut, my choices are offered as (like the cut) both 'strategic and arbitrary'.[9] This essay takes a reflexive approach that is not dissimilar to the one taken by Akomfrah in his use of archival material in both projects. The two works are largely constructed out of audio and audio-visual recordings of Hall's public appearances which are woven together to produce a narrative that realises the concept of articulation in cinematic form and troubles the definition of the biopic. The reflexivity of my response is primarily evident in my embedding of direct quotes within my writing and the use of quotes as section headings which is part of my intervention. This expressive intertextuality performatively engages the concept of articulation and the collaborative relation between analysis and its object which it proposes and voices the question of authorship entertained by the citationality of the projects.

On its most basic level articulation describes the connection of two or more elements through a linkage. Hall tells us it also has a 'nice double meaning' where it is associated with speech or a 'language-ing' and can also describe an utterance. [10] Hall explicates the first definition with the tactical use of the example of an articulated lorry, describing it as a vehicle composed of two parts which can but 'need not necessarily' be unified and made to communicate 'through a specific linkage[…]that can be broken'.[11] Hall's qualification emphasises a contingency and provisionality which we learn is essential to his use of articulation as a critical concept. These qualities evoke the structuralist influence that informs articulation as well as its value for the question of identity both of which are voiced by the doubleness of the word and its implication in a process of 'language-ing'.[12] For Hall, the representation of identity is a 'position of enunciation', a moment where a subject position is constructed and a subjectivity articulated; the langu-

[7] Daryl Slack, 'The Theory and Method of Articulation in Cultural Studies', p. 124.

[8] John Akomfrah, *The Unfinished Conversation*, 2012, multi-channel installation; *The Stuart Hall Project*, dir. by John Akomfrah, (The British Film Institute 2013).

[9] Stuart Hall, 'Minimal Selves', *Identity : The Real Me,* ed. by Homi K. Bhabha and Lisa Appignanesi (London: Institute of Contemporary Arts, 1987), pp. 44-46 (p. 44); Stuart Hall, 'Cultural Identity and Diaspora', *Identity: Community, Culture, Difference,* ed. by Jonathan Rutherford (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1990), pp. 222-37 (p. 230).

[10] Hall, 'On Postmodernism and Articulation: An Interview with Stuart Hall', p. 53.

[11] Ibid.

[12] Ibid.

aged subject is encoded, and interstitial 'precisely as the result of an articulation'.[13] Following this metaphor we could say, in other words, that the moment of articulation measures the extent of a subject's legibility, and describes the conditions of its comprehensibility. Who speaks and who does not and under what historical conditions they can or cannot do this are deeply political questions which we are brought to encounter in Hall's conception of identity as a positionality which is the 'result of *an articulation.*'[14] Or, offered in the form of a question, which linkages between specific elements need to be made in order for what we learn is a divided subject to be dis/articulated? While acknowledging the presence of "'lines of tendential force'" or traces which make linkages between particular elements a stronger possibility, Hall rejects any innate belongingness or directly expressive relationship between them, emphasising instead the heterogeneity of articulated formations. [15] Hall's conceptualisation registers the influence of structuralist Marxist thought (and in particular Louis Althusser), as well as the influence of Ernesto Laclau. More generally, the concept speaks to a tradition which pitted itself against what it saw as politico-economic determinism and treated meaning as 'textually constituted'.[16]

The structuralist paradigm contains two additional propositions which are also relevant for Hall's conjunctural analysis: 'all social life is made meaningful in its capacity to signify'[17], and "'the self" is constituted out of and by difference, and remains contradictory'.[18] Both these perspectives think about the place of language in the analysis of social processes, and inform the exploration of representation as a politically significant terrain. The question of subjectivity emerges in and through, not only the individual self or the private identity, but the collective, cultural one. Both models are drawn on to realise the expanded realm of the political, and to also conceptualise identity 'as a "production" which is never complete' and is socially constituted.[19]

As well as recognising the impact of structuralism on Hall's thought we must however also address the crucial way in which he distanced himself from the main weaknesses he saw it (or rather post-structuralism) being susceptible to. Speaking in an interview with Lawrence Grossberg and considering the affinities between his concept of articulation and the post-structuralist proposition to analyse society as a language, Hall positions himself in opposition to the idea that 'the world, social practice, is language' abstracted from material reality and proposes instead that the 'social operates *like* a language'.[20] While recognising the value of language as a metaphor, Hall resists what he saw as a propensity towards a kind

[13] Hall, 'Cultural Identity and Diaspora', p. 222; Hall, 'On Postmodernism and Articulation: An Interview with Stuart Hall', p. 55.
[14] Hall, 'On Postmodernism and Articulation: An Interview with Stuart Hall', p. 55.
[15]Hall, 'On Postmodernism and Articulation: An Interview with Stuart Hall', p. 53.
[16] Hall, 'On Postmodernism and Articulation: An Interview with Stuart Hall', p. 59.
[17] Stuart Hall, 'Lecture 3. Structuralism', (New York, USA: Duke University Press, 2020), pp. 54-73 (p. 72).
[18] Stuart Hall, 'Lecture 3. Structuralism', (New York, USA: Duke University Press, 2020), pp. 54-73 (p. 72); Hall, 'On Postmodernism and Articulation: An Interview with Stuart Hall', p. 56.
[19] Hall, 'Cultural Identity and Diaspora', p. 222.
[20] Hall, 'On Postmodernism and Articulation: An Interview with Stuart Hall', p. 57.

of upward reductionism that sometimes accompanies it, and the social fragmentation it can imply.[21] As an insurance against the risk of slipping into what he elsewhere describes as a 'playful deconstructivism' Hall emphasises the importance of historical particularity, repeatedly expressing across his oeuvre the urgent imperative to capture socio-historical specificity which the Antonio Gramsci of the *Prison Notebooks* impressed on him.[22] For Hall, Gramsci's work is incredibly valuable for thinking and re-thinking the relationship between different levels of social formation and the construction of fields of struggle as incredibly diverse, complex, and mobile structures of relation. This conceptualisation of social formations and practices presents the unity of social practices and formations as an articulated process of 'unification' ,and shows how thinking articulation can allow us to perceive "'difference *in* complex unity without becoming hostage to the privileging of difference as such.'"[23] What this means is that a concept of articulation that is informed by the structuralist paradigm not only allows us to understand that any unity will be contingent and temporary, but can also enable a specific analysis of practices or formations without losing sight of the ways in which they come together.

The Coming of the Hyphen.[24]

In its resistance to essential linkages and the transhistorical status that they would imply, articulation can be seen to propose a non-teleological theory of the past. The 'moment' of articulation is presented not as a single unit of chronological time but rather as a field of possible connectivity, where several historically specific, constructed elements can be recognised in terms of their connection to other equally structured elements. Within this configuration, historical specificity is not produced as fixity but in a rigorous, critical commitment to contingency, driven by the question of ideology. It is worth emphasising here that the cogency of this approach is based on a connection to the material and the concrete, but that it crucially does not turn to them for explanations. It is an approach which rejects resolution, and actively involves the question of representation in its recognition of the material.

Writing in response to Althusser and Étienne Balibar's exposition of the relation between social formations through the concept of articulation, Hall says that,

> The scientific analysis of any specific social formation depends on the correct grasping of its principle of articulation: the 'fits' between different instances, different periods and epochs, indeed different periodicities, e.g. times, histories. The same principle is applied, not only

[21] Ibid.

[22] Stuart Hall, 'When Was the "Post-Colonial"? Thinking at the Limit", *The Post-Colonial Question : Common Skies, Divided Horizons,* ed. by Iain Chambers and Lidia Curti (London: Routledge, 1996), pp. 242-60 (p. 249); Hall, 'Gramsci's Relevance for the Study of Race and Ethnicity', p. 24.

[23] Hall, 'Gramsci's Relevance for the Study of Race and Ethnicity', p. 25; Daryl Slack, 'The Theory and Method of Articulation in Cultural Studies', p. 124.

[24] Reference to chapter title in *The Stuart Hall Project.*

> synchronically, between different instances and periodizations within any 'moment' but also diachronically, between different 'moments'.[25]

Hall's listing of historical designations here (instances, periods, epochs etc.) exhibits them as a plurality of times which the word 'periodicities' amplifies, drawing our attention to the co-existence of different modes of conceptualising history. The equivalence which forms the basis of the terms' interaction allows us to recognise the narrativizing role they each play. Hall seems to be suggesting that there is no reason an epoch and a period cannot be related or that both cannot be related to an instance since, as narratives, they are all on the same order, dispelling any myth of authenticity they might be employed to assert. This point is made radically emphatic in the pluralisation of times and histories, both of which conventionally stake their claims for truth on their singularity. The emphasis on 'fits' and diachronic connectivity suggests a conjuncture which weaves historical relations between the past and the present and is antithetical to history as metanarrative.

This shift effected here from a linear relation to a conjunctural formation is comparable to the move from the chronological to the epistemological which Hall sees the term post-colonial perform.[26] In 'When was 'the post-colonial'? Thinking at the limit', Hall reviews critical responses to the definition and applicability of the post-colonial, and the value and shortcomings of critical approaches to post-coloniality. It becomes quickly clear that its use to mark a definitive break between a chronological moment of colonialism and everything after it is not a viable one for Hall. This critique is visited along with those that draw attention to the universalising effect of the term, its celebratory connotations, its ambiguity, and even a supposed complicity with global capitalism. The arguments against it are varied and, according to Hall, not always coherent, but resistance is shown to generally address itself to the tension between the term's 'temporal dimension' and its 'critical dimension'.[27]

For Hall, the tension between the term's dual chronological and epistemological function is a productive one which allows us to recognise the indivisibility of that hybridity. To make this point Hall uses the example of colonialism, which is at once both a complex but specific historical moment and a narrating of that moment. The post-colonial (like others posts) is thus shown to mark in its hyphenated form the supersession not only of the chronological moment but also of a paradigm: the post-colonial moment both follows and exceeds the colonial one, achieving its 'theoretical gains' in a complex, generative connection it maintains between the two with the mark of the hyphen.[28] It is this relation combined with the 'retrospective re-phrasing of Modernity within the framework of "globalisation"' which allows the post-colonial to trouble the binaries of inside/outside, global/local, colonised/coloniser.[29] Its "'double

[25]Stuart Hall, 'Race, Articulation, and Societies Structured in Dominance ', *Essential Essays, Volume 1: Foundations of Cultural Studies,* ed. by David Morley (New York: Duke University Press, 2019), pp. 172-221 (p. 198).

[26] Hall, 'When Was the "Post-Colonial"? Thinking at the Limit", p. 243.

[27]Hall, 'When Was the "Post-Colonial"? Thinking at the Limit", p. 253.

[28] Hall, 'When Was the "Post-Colonial"? Thinking at the Limit", p. 253.

[29] Hall, 'When Was the "Post-Colonial"? Thinking at the Limit", p. 250.

inscription'" and 're-lay through the global' enables it to be 'sensitively attuned' to 'questions of hybridity, syncretism, of cultural undecidability and the complexities of diasporic identification', and make the move 'from difference to *différance*'.[30] In advancing this sense of the critical potential of the post-colonial, Hall stresses the need for 'those deploying the concept' to 'attend more carefully to its discriminations and specificities.'[31] This suggests that the contradictions and divisions that the post-colonial precisely registers, its 're-phrasing' and 're-lay[ing]', are the crux of its critical and political potential. It is the articulation of specific, non-essential conjunctures which grants the post-colonial the ability to reconfigure the fields of power/knowledge along entangled lines of difference, and deal with the historical violence of colonialism.[32] The hyphen emerges within this context as the sign by which we can observe the imperative asserted by the quote from Michel Foucault that opens the essay: to 'dismiss those tendencies that encourage the consoling play of recognitions.'[33] The invocation of Foucault ties the post-colonial to the question of history, and warns against the risks of replicating particular paradigms, and against the (apparently relentless) replication of the "'Western Self'" which post-colonial discourses are not invulnerable to.[34]

In addition to having an affinity with non-linear, conjunctural historical approaches, Akomfrah's treatment of history is offered specifically as an exploration of post-coloniality. The approach is a direct response to the absence specific to Afro-diasporic and black British heritage: those of black British lived experiences in institutional records, of the representation of black subjects in the British cultural imaginary, those which signify histories of slavery and colonialism as traumatic ones, as well as what Derek Walcott calls the "'absence of ruins'".[35] Akomfrah's films recognise the political significance and impact of these absences for black cultures and diasporic communities broadly, and attempt to produce aesthetic strategies for responding to this amnesia, for articulating erasure and absence as epistemological and ontological concerns, and for evoking historicity as a representational problem. Akomfrah's films signal their historical commitments in their research-led production and use of archives, but do not purport to 'do' history in any conventional sense. In many of Akomfrah's films archival sound and film is layered and embedded within a multiplicity of audio-visual sources including new sound and audio compositions, recordings of read text and photographs. Although we can see a range of approaches to historicity across Akomfrah's career, the discursive use of archives, multimodality, intertextuality and reflexivity are recurring features of his work, and date back to his involvement with the Black Audio Film Collective (of which he was a founding member). These archival extracts are quoted within non-linear,

[30] Ibid; Hall, 'When Was the "Post-Colonial"? Thinking at the Limit", p. 247.

[31] Hall, 'When Was the "Post-Colonial"? Thinking at the Limit", p. 245.

[32] Hall, 'When Was the "Post-Colonial"? Thinking at the Limit", p. 250.

[33]Hall, 'When Was the "Post-Colonial"? Thinking at the Limit", p. 242.

[34] Hall, 'When Was the "Post-Colonial"? Thinking at the Limit", p. 248.

[35] John Akomfrah, 'An Absence of Ruins: John Akomfrah in Conversation with Kodwo Eshun', *The Ghosts of Songs : The Film Art of the Black Audio Film Collective, 1982-1998,* ed. by Kodwo Eshun and Anjalika Sagar (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2008), pp. 130-39 (p. 135).

lyrical narratives where sound and sight are often asynchronous and montage is drawn on as both a technique and a principle to articulate constellations of disparate material. Recontextualised in this way, the value of archival material as historical document, and the stability of its meaning is unsettled. As the material's significance is reinscribed the question of its authority is shown to rely on the status of the photographic image as proof and on framing. Just as for Hall, meaning is articulated in non-necessary links between parts, for Akomfrah representation and historicity are (provisionally) secured within multi-modal montages. Much like the slash or the hyphen in writing, montage brings parts into what Akomfrah has called an "'affective economy'" whereby elements emerge in encounter.[36] The layering of archival material through a disjunctive montage allows movement across times, and the narrating of stories through other stories (or 'the ghosts of other stories') to produce complex temporalities and non-causal historical reflections.[37]

In an essay which presents an account of black British filmmaking in the 80s, David Marriott traces these interests in the archive, politics of representation, and theory to its contact with semiotics, psychoanalysis, feminism, British cultural studies and, in particular, the work of Hall. Part of the essay takes Akomfrah as its focus and uses *The Stuart Hall Project* to explore the particular influence of Hall's conjunctural approach and theory of articulation through the expression these find in the technique of the intercut and the notion of documentary as critique.[38] Marriott's use of the intercut addresses many of the same concepts that I have explored with montage, however it has a weaker connection to constructivist and avant-garde cinematic practices. In addition to tracing many of the intellectual influences that I have presented, Marriott's essay offers allegory and translation as ways of understanding the non-coincidence of material in the film, and the signifying chains it forms. Although many scholarly responses to the film recognise the affinities between Hall's work and the formal strategies of the film, Marriott's piece is unique in the importance it grants articulation, both as a characterising preoccupation of black British independent cinema, and a concept which marks 'Hall's first major essays' in the 80s.[39]

Identities are formed at the unstable point where the 'unspeakable' stories of subjectivity meet the narratives of history. Identity is an ever unfinished conversation. [40]

The Unfinished Conversation (UC) is a three-channel, 45-minute piece which takes as its focus the life and work of Stuart Hall. It premiered at the Liverpool Biennial in 2012 and has been shown at art venues since. Focussing roughly on the 50s and 60s it is made up of fragments of TV and radio recordings of

[36] John Akomfrah, 'John Akomfrah', *ArtReview* (2014) <https://artreview.com/december-2012-john-akomfrah/> [accessed 24/01/2022].

[37] In *Handsworth Songs* (1986) the narrative voice tells us that a woman questioned by a reporter about the events of the 'riots' in Handsworth says 'there are no stories in the riots, only the ghosts of other stories'— a line which has received repeated attention and come to stand for the historical approach of the film and the BAFC. See *Handsworth Songs*, dir. by John Akomfrah, (Black Audio Film Collective, 1986).

[38] David Marriott, 'Bastard Allegories: Black British Independent Cinema', *Black Camera,* 7. 1 (2015), 179-98 (p.180).

[39] Marriott, 'Bastard Allegories: Black British Independent Cinema', p. 182.

[40] Presented as an epigraph for *The Unfinished Conversation*. Extract from Hall, 'Minimal Selves', p. 44.

Hall's personal and professional reflections, family photographs, news footage, photographs of jazz performers, block-red frames, and filmed tableaux. This material is interwoven with a soundscape that combines Hall's voice with those of jazz and gospel music, audiobook recordings of canonical literary texts (Virginia Woolf's *The Waves*, Charles Dickens' *Hard Times*, and Mervyn Peake's *Gormenghast* series), and Mathison's own sound design. The piece brings the personal and political repeatedly to intersect and, troubling the space between biography and autobiography, re-articulates Hall *in his own* words together with the histories of Empire, migration, 20th Century global politics, and of the advent of Cultural Studies in the UK. The montage of archival material is ultimately an elaborate, intertextual practice of articulation, and Hall emerges within it as an authorial figure, ceaselessly disappearing in an inscription of expressivity— an effect which the mimetic nature of film emphasises.[41] Implicated within this operation is Akomfrah's gesture of expression which describes his response to Hall's work as coproduction. This relevance of the question of the author is also evident in the readings of literature in the piece. Working in conjunction with this the combination of topics performatively realises the CCCS' aim of expanding the space of politics and engages the politics of culture. For Akomfrah the concept of articulation and concern with identity demand a reflexivity which the form of the essay film, with its characteristic concern with the conditions of its audibility and visibility, can meet. As the film moves across channels, and between personal, generational memory, and collective (national and international) and transgenerational memory, it disrupts the fixity of chronology and location. Its organisation into thematic chapters applies frames which reposition the material again. The multiple temporalities this brings together and the analytical role it performs has been read to engage with the early theory of the British cultural studies tradition and its aim, as Hall saw it, 'to reconstitute the thick texture, or structures of feeling, of lived experience which constitute different groups or classes or communities or societies.'[42] The ethnocentric space which Paul Gilroy has argued British cultural Studies' 'imaginary founding fathers' configured, and the intervention which Hall, and Edward Said made within it, allow us to see Akomfrah's work as an engagement with the legacy of the field and its transformations.[43] In this context the readings of texts from the English literary canon which run through the installation are an attempt to pose the question 'when was the post-colonial?' to a Western literary canon.[44] The film stages an encounter with cultural identity and history in the literary canon, and treats it as something which is available for re-writing; interrupting the linearity of tradition it makes a case for the inescapable relevance of the Western canon for post-coloniality and the centrality of Afro-diasporic experiences for a conceptualisation of modernity. Taken in this way, Akomfrah's response to the literary canon appears as another effort to

[41] This reading was developed in response to the conceptualisation of the auteur in John Mowitt, 'Auteur Da Fé-the Geopolitics of the Author', *Écrans,* 2016.6 (2017), 117-32.

[42] Jackie Stacey, 'The Unfinished Conversations of Cultural Studies', *Cultural Studies,* 29. 1 (2015), 43-50 (p.45); Stuart Hall, 'Cultural Studies 1983', *Lecture 2. Culturalism,* ed. by Slack Jennifer Daryl and Grossberg Lawrence (Duke University Press, 2016), pp. 25-53 (p. 47).

[43] Paul Gilroy, 'British Cultural Studies and the Pitfalls of Identity', *Black British Cultural Studies : A Reader,* ed. by Houston A. Baker, Manthia Diawara, and Ruth H. Lindeborg (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), pp. 223-39 (p. 237).

[44] A strategy also taken in *The Nine Muses The Nine Muses*, dir. by John Akomfrah, (The British Film Institute, 2010). Through the invocation of the nine muses the film additionally extends its reach into mythic tradition and time.

think about the problem signified by '*Présence Européenne*' and pondered in terms of the question 'can we ever recognise its irreversible influence, whilst resisting its imperialising eye?'[45]

As a single-channel translation of the installation *The Stuart Hall Project* (TSHP) offers a unique opportunity to understand what the use of multiple channels does for Akomfrah.
Unlike TUC the 1 hour 43-minute single-channel film was released first theatrically and then on DVD soon after before making it onto the British Film Institute streaming platform (BFI player). Although a detailed comparative study exceeds the brief here, it is worth noting a few key differences: while TUC follows Hall till the end of the 60s and his embrace of blackness as a cultural identity.[46] TSHP runs to the turn of the millennium, around the time of Hall's withdrawal from public life; in TSHP readings of literary texts are replaced by the music of Miles Davis whose songs/albums (accompanied with names and years) perform a structuring role, and place Hall and Davis who Hall identifies a formative influence in conversation. The red frames which occasionally interrupt the flow of images to produce a rhythm across the channels are absent in TSHP; there is a greater prominence given to the theme of identity in TUC where it opens the piece; TSHP is divided into more chapters and TSHP feels as though it expands out elegiacally to gesture to the possibilities Hall's legacy, contrasting against the unsettling and politically charged end of the TUC. At the end TSHP carries us into the 21st century, to a new problem space, and a recording of Hall in which he says 'I feel out of time for the first time in my life' while the sound of Brian Eno's 1983 'An Ending (Ascent)' carries us through to the end of the sequence. Although the moment Hall is speaking in here is in the 90s, its location in the film and combination with the Eno track which at one point takes the fore as Hall's voice fades out and his image is gradually replaced by an image of the cosmos presents it is as a farewell, and an invitation to engage Hall's thought in the contemporary moment. The TUC in contrast closes with tense, unsettling music, a black and white photo of Hall in the middle screen, the iconic photo of the Tommie Smith and John Carlos giving the black power salute (also as a black and white image) at the 1968 Olympics held in Mexico to its left, and a bird's-eye view shot of a horse running across a snowy field. The triangulated screens are punctuated by a reading of an extract of *The Waves* which compares the waves to the rippling backs of horses and ends the piece with the words: 'The waves fell; withdrew and fell again, like the thud of a great beast stamping'.

There are two additional differences between the works which a comparative study emphatically demonstrates. The multi-channel piece draws on triple the amount of visual material at the same time, and this is turn multiplies and complicates the effect of the sound. Writing on TUC Tina Campt refers to this element as 'phonic substance' and distinguishes it from a soundtrack by the immanent relation it has to the flow of images in which we are enmeshed as witnesses to 'the creation of black, postcolonial

[45] Hall, 'Cultural Identity and Diaspora', pp. 233-34. *Présence Européenne* or European presence is one of three presences (including African presence and American presence) which Hall in this essay borrows from Aimee Cesaire and Leopold Senghor to rethink Caribbean identities. See p. 230.
[46] J. Harvey, "The Kaleidoscopic Conditions' of John Akomfrah's Stuart Hall', *Transnational Screens* (2022), 1-13 (p.2).

subjectivity'.[47] Although it can be argued that the associative fabric of TSHP offers a similar proposition, there are possibilities for rhythmic play which the three-channel piece uniquely effects. An additional consequence is that visitors must engage the question of positionality physically, potentially making different connections depending on where they are sitting. This impression is reinforced by the spatialisation of the 'unstable point[s]' between subjectivity and historical narrative which the juxtaposed channels achieve. Set alongside this plurality, TSHP cannot but seem more didactic.[48]Despite this there is clearly an effort to create with TSHP something autonomous, and to resist resolution, as the word 'project' indicates or the overflow of archival footage beyond the end of Hall's appearance suggests.

'It seemed to me that I was rapidly becoming unrecognisable'.[49]

The relation between culture and identity, and the effort to explore it as a political and aesthetic concern takes us back to thinking about Hall. For Hall, as we have seen, identity is perceived as an ongoing process constituted in relations of difference. What enables identity to be articulated within this network of difference and gives it the effect of unity is 'the "cut" of identity' which marks its limits and makes it comprehensible.[50] The cut operates like the non-necessary links of articulation (or rather, disarticulation) in that it negotiates relationships between structured elements.

Making open-endedness a condition of identity does not mean that it is a 'mere phantasm'.[51] Just as Hall acknowledges the existence of historical 'tendential forces', this model of identity proposes itself as one positioned by and within 'narratives of the past'.[52] It is this contingency, and the mutually reorganising but non-necessary relations between identity and historical narratives which allows the cut of identity to be at once both 'strategic and arbitrary.'[53] In 'Cultural Identity and Diaspora' reflections on identity are developed in order to think about the constitution of black, diasporic identities, and part of the essay addresses the question of representation, and, in particular, cinematic representation. Having established representation as the realm in which identity is constituted, Hall moves on to pick out cinema as a form which has the capacity to 'constitute us as new kinds of subjects' by 'allowing us to see and recognise the different parts and histories of ourselves'.[54] This relation between cinematic representation and identity treats cinema as the privileged site for the realisation of diasporic identity and is based on the film's capacity to model the 'necessary heterogeneity and diversity' of such identities, and its consequent potential for post-colonial work.[55] Recovering earlier thoughts in this essay on recognition it is worth

[47] Tina Campt, 'The Self-Moving Imagery of the *Unfinished Conversation* ', *John Akomfrah: Signs of Empire,* ed. by Thea Ballard, et al. (New York: New Museum of Contemporary Art, 2018), pp. 38-41 (p. 40); Campt, p. 39.

[48] It is also potentially more geared towards the wider and more general audience that TSHP was probably expected to reach.

[49] Extract from Samuel Beckett's Molloy (1951) quoted in *The Nine Muses*.

[50] Hall, 'Cultural Identity and Diaspora', p. 230.

[51]Hall, 'Cultural Identity and Diaspora', p. 226.

[52] Hall, 'Cultural Identity and Diaspora', p. 225.

[53] Hall, 'Cultural Identity and Diaspora', p. 230.

[54] Hall, 'Cultural Identity and Diaspora', pp. 236-237.

[55] Hall, 'Cultural Identity and Diaspora', p. 235.

emphasising that here it is not a positivist identification but a contingent, arbitrary stop in difference which corresponds to an ongoing process of becoming. As well as contesting idealistic notions of identity this version of recognition registers the discontinuities and fragmentation of diasporic pasts, and, emphasising heterogeneity, evades the risk of colluding with the essentialism of the colonial gaze.[56] Recognition also registers the necessity of that (fictional) stop or the 'fictional necessity' of 'arbitrary closure' in the constitution of subjectivities and political action.[57]

The post-cinematic.

The similarity between the effects of the cut of identity and of montage, coupled with Hall's theorisation of cinema, amplifies the significance of Hall for a theorisation of Akomfrah's practice. On the question of representation, we might move to thinking about Akomfrah and the shifts between cinema, TV, gallery spaces and biennials, and streaming platforms as one motivated by this question of recognisability, combined with a career-long interest in the development of a black aesthetics in audio-visual media and critique of regimes of representation. Akomfrah's more recent engagement with the notion of the 'post-cinematic' is consistent with these interests, and additionally voices a resistance to a phenomenon referred to in an interview Dr. Mark Anthony Neal as overexposure.[58] Responding to a prompt about the presence of blackness in mainstream cinema Akomfrah asks at what expense this overexposure is produced, suggesting that the mainstream has the capacity to obscure or displace less popular forms of audio-visual practice. This point also comes up in a conversation between Akomfrah and the Otolith group. Here, in an explicit discussion about the relation between blackness and the post-cinematic, Akomfrah describes his refusal to concede to requests to provide 'some detail of Blackness' which is missing from the cinematic frame and desired. He conceives this thwarting of this desire in terms of 'hierarchies of expectation' where their disappointment is a gesture which makes recognition a problematic closure. This is not to say that there are no dangers in exhibiting in the context of a gallery or a biennial —the expression 'hierarchies of expectation' is used in the interview in reference to the art world— but to offer the post-cinematic as a conversation with the cinematic which tries to articulate a position within and against dominant regimes of representation. Much like the vital impermanence of meaning we encounter in Hall's configuration of identity, the question of representation for Akomfrah contains a futurity and 'continues to unfold, so to speak, beyond the arbitrary closure which makes it, at any moment, possible. It is always either over- or under-determined, either an excess or a supplement. There is always something "left over"' and deferred.[59]

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[56] It is worth briefly noting that Hall was for a while ambivalent about the use of the word diaspora. See for example, Stuart Hall, 'Six the Formation of a Diasporic Intellectual: An Interview with Stuart Hall by Kuan-Hsing Chen [1996]', (New York, USA: Duke University Press, 2020), pp. 185-205 (p. 193).

[57] Hall, 'Minimal Selves', p. 45.

[58] John Akomfrah, 'Blackness and Post-Cinema: John Akomfrah and the Otolith Group in Conversation', *Frieze*, (2020), <https://www.frieze.com/article/blackness-and-post-cinema-john-akomfrah-and-otolith-group-conversation> [accessed 24/01/2022]; John Akomfrah, 'Left of Black with John Akomfrah', <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=va-Z_aLBc8o> [accessed 23/22/2020].

[59] Hall, 'Cultural Identity and Diaspora', p. 230.

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MINDFULNESS AND UNCONSCIOUS BIAS: HOW PRACTITIONERS CAN (AND CAN'T) INTROSPECT UNCONSCIOUS BIASES

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Abstract
Mindfulness practices have been claimed to provide greater introspective access to how we are feeling and what we are thinking in the present moment. One of the obstacles to reducing the harms caused by bias is the real-time introspective access that unconsciously biased individuals lack. This lack of access makes the harms caused by a bias less tractable, allowing for even those agents with egalitarian motivations to act in biased capacities. So, on the face of it, mindfulness practices may allow unconsciously biased people to become aware of the instances in which they are implementing biases and to thereby make the harms caused by their biases more tractable (i.e. preventable or limitable). Here I argue, however, that the experiential nature of mindful introspection poses a problem for this application of mindfulness practices. In short, the problem here is that many of the utilised mindfulness practices characterise introspection in exclusively experiential ("non-conceptual") terms. It is typical, for instance, to identify this mode of introspection as that of witnessing one's mental processes, or otherwise experiencing the features of those processes. Here I argue that unconscious biases are unlikely to be the kind of mental phenomena which can be directly experienced; instead the presence of these biases will require some conceptual, inferential steps to be successfully introspected. And so, without accompanying resources to aid in this inferential process, strictly experiential mindfulness practices are unlikely to help people become aware of their unconscious biases, or render the harms of these biases more tractable.

Several researchers have proposed that mindfulness practices be used to pre-emptively reduce the harms brought about by one's own unconscious biases, and these proposals have been accompanied by empirical support.[1] One way that practising mindfulness might have this effect is via the development of a skill in the practitioner – a skill which enables one, in instances when they are implementing a bias, to become aware of the effect that their bias is having. This in turn will enable the practitioner to take steps

[1] Diana J. Burgess, Mary Catherine Beach, and Somnath Saha, 'Mindfulness Practice: A Promising Approach to Reducing the Effects of Clinician Implicit Bias on Patients', *Patient Education and Counseling,* 100 (2017).

that reduce or prevent the harms which they would have caused had their bias remained unconscious. I begin this paper by explaining what is meant by 'unconscious bias' and the nature of the problem posed by the harms brought about via these biases. Then, having also explained the proposed use of mindfulness practices, I argue that a practical problem is neglected by this proposal. Namely, that the discussed mindfulness practices typically focus exclusively on the development of skills, neglecting the information which has historically accompanied mindfulness practices. This leaves the practitioner without the information necessary for them to introspectively identify the effect that their bias is having upon them. I conclude by briefly discussing alterations which may improve the efficacy of mindfulness practices, and thereby allow us to reduce the harms brought about by unconscious biases.

To begin, biases incline an individual to make particular responses: avoid them, doubt that, notice this, etc. These mental constructs serve a large number of purposes (processing language, perceiving environments, etc) and are sensitive to many different parameters. Here I am just concerned with *social* biases, i.e., those biases which incline an individual to make certain responses *on the basis of some attributed social category*. These may include, for example, the inclination to doubt a claim *because the speaker is old,* or to avoid a person *because they are working class*. Sometimes social biases (from here on, simply 'biases') operate in an unconscious capacity. That is, they incline the individual to make a particular response without the individual becoming aware of the bias' effect. When this is the case, the harms caused by the bias may be intractable, i.e., particularly hard to prevent or diminish.

The harms of unconscious biases may be intractable in the sense that, even given that the biased individual holds egalitarian values, the biased individual may remain unmotivated to take actions which would have diminished the harms caused by their bias. To illustrate, suppose that one person is interviewing another. If the interviewer is aware that a bias of theirs is inclining them to form a negative opinion of the interviewee, then egalitarian values may motivate the interviewer to discount or amend their opinion. If, however, the interviewer remains unaware of their bias' effect (i.e., the bias remains unconscious), then even with egalitarian values, the interviewer may not be motivated to discount their negative opinion. In this example, the unconscious nature of the bias could result in the interviewee being unfairly evaluated – a harm that could otherwise have been avoided. The challenge posed by the intractable nature of these harms motivates my focus on unconscious biases. The urgency of this challenge can be seen in the prevalence of unconscious biases,[2] the cumulative severity of the harms caused by even seemingly innocuous unconscious biases,[3] and the limited success found by other attempts to reduce the harms caused by unconscious biases.[4]

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[2] Frank Xu, Brian Nosek, Anthony Greenwald, Kate Ratliff, Yoav Bar-Anan, Emily Umansky, … Nicole Frost. (2021, January 12). *Project Implicit Demo Website Datasets*. https://doi.org/10.17605/OSF.IO/Y9HIQ

[3] Anthony G Greenwald, Mahzarin R Banaji, and Brian A Nosek, 'Statistically Small Effects of the Implicit Association Test Can Have Societally Large Effects', Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 108 (2015).

[4] Chloë Fitzgerald and others, 'Interventions Designed to Reduce Implicit Prejudices and Implicit Stereotypes in Real World Contexts: A Systematic Review', *BMC Psychology,* 7 (2019).

Burgess et al. survey studies that utilise a range of data sources, including MRI scans and measures of emotional reactions.[5] In each study the effects of an individual's unconscious biases are measured before and after the individual has engaged in a mindfulness practice. And in each study a reduction in the measured effects of the unconscious biases is found after the implementation of the mindfulness practice. I set aside the veracity of these results and focus instead on the explanation which is provided for the surveyed results. There are several means by which mindfulness practices are claimed to have their reductive effect. For example, via the reduction of stress and cultivation of compassion. But there is only one means which is plausibly unique to mindfulness practices, and this is via the development of an introspective skill. With the development of this skill, mindfulness practices may increase the chance that the practitioner will be aware of the effect which their unconscious biases are having upon their mental processes, enabling them to counteract the effect of their biases, and thus reducing the intractability of the harms caused by these biases.[6] The remainder of this paper focuses on the use of mindfulness practices to develop an introspective skill.

To draw out the nature of this introspective skill, I'll first lay out the activity typically involved in a mindfulness practice. The mindfulness practices I discuss here are those which Dreyfus identifies as typical of experimental and therapeutic contexts.[7] From here on, I'll just refer to these as experimental mindfulness practices (EMPs).

> Step 1) Relax.
>
> Step 2) Limit your focus to the sensations you are experiencing.
>
> Step 3) Further limit your focus to the sensations of the breath at the tip of your nose.
>
> Step 4) Whenever you notice that your focus has wondered, celebrate this realisation and return your focus to the sensations of the breath at the tip of your nose.

Procedures like this really are practice, conventionally understood: the individual is repeatedly performing an action with the goal of doing so better, just as one might do so as to improve their musical or sporting performances. For those engaged in EMPs, the goal is to enter and sustain a mode of awareness which is present centred, non-judgemental and non-conceptual.[8,9] Celebration follows the introspective act of realising that one is no longer focusing on the sensation of the breath at the tip of one's nose. It does so to positively reinforce successful performances of the introspective act. Successful performances of this

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[5] Burgess, Beach, and Saha. 'Mindfulness Practice: A Promising Approach to Reducing the Effects of Clinician Implicit Bias on Patients', p.1

[6] Burgess, Beach, and Saha. 'Mindfulness Practice: A Promising Approach to Reducing the Effects of Clinician Implicit Bias on Patients', p.2

[7] Georges Dreyfus, 'Is Mindfulness Present-Centred and Non-Judgmental? A Discussion of the Cognitive Dimensions of Mindfulness', *Contemporary Buddhism,* 12 (2011).

[8] Burgess, Beach, and Saha. 'Mindfulness Practice: A Promising Approach to Reducing the Effects of Clinician Implicit Bias on Patients', p.2

[9] Dreyfus. 'Is Mindfulness Present-Centred and Non-Judgmental? A Discussion of the Cognitive Dimensions of Mindfulness', p.1

act are desirable because the ability to establish when one has lost focus, or when one is about to lose focus, will help the practitioner to extend the time for which they can sustain the desired mode of awareness. Here my focus is on this introspective act, as opposed to the cultivated mode of awareness. The important thing here is that, for EMPs, the means of developing introspective skill (the same procedure as is used to extend the time for which one can sustain the desired mode of awareness), is strictly *non-conceptual*.

To elaborate, knowledge can be divided into conceptual and non-conceptual varieties. Conceptual knowledge is of the same kind as the knowledge you might memorise for an exam; crucially, this form of knowledge concerns information about things. Such knowledge is explicitly excluded from experimental mindfulness practices – there are no teachings to accompany these practises, no information about anything at all. Instead EMPs are supposed to develop introspective skill, via the cultivation of non-conceptual knowledge. To illustrate the difference here, consider how a tennis player learns to serve accurately. This learning process involves the adaptation of aspects of the player's motor faculties for the pursuit of the practised goal. With these adaptations the player comes closer to knowing, in a non-conceptual capacity, how to serve accurately. They will be able to do so across a range of contexts and from multiple angles, but none of this will require them to know, in a conceptual capacity, how their actions must be adapted for a successful performance. Instead, this serving skill may consist exclusively in non-conceptual knowledge.

Something similar can be said for those engaged in EMPs. These practices do not involve the memorisation of information, but instead the acquisition of non-conceptual knowledge. More precisely, the individual is adapting their attentional faculties so that they can introspectively determine when they have left the intended mode of awareness. To draw out the nature of this introspective ability, suppose you were asked how certain you are that you bought bread when you last went shopping. You could use conceptual knowledge to complete this task (vis. perform the task *conceptually*); you might, for example, reason that you made toast for breakfast and so you probably bought bread recently. Alternatively, you could introspect your level of certainty with non-conceptual knowledge (vis. perform the task *non-conceptually*) – paying attention to the level of certainty that is exhibited by your belief as to whether you bought bread. Similar examples can be drawn regarding degrees of aversion or frustration. It is this second mode of introspection which is utilised in an EMP when the practitioner realises that they have become distracted, and this same mode of introspection which can help the practitioner to identify the effects of their unconscious biases.

Developing the practitioner's ability non-conceptually perform introspective tasks may alleviate the harms of unconscious bias by making it more likely that, when they are implementing an unconscious bias, the individual will become aware of the effect that their bias is having. Returning to the interviewer example,

the proposal is that practising mindfulness will increase the chance that this person will become aware of the effect that their biases are having. This may, for instance, involve the interviewer realising that their mental processes have taken on a degree of unwarranted aversion. In this way the practitioner may become aware of the effect that a bias of theirs is having, turning the unconscious bias into a conscious bias. As discussed, conscious biases do not exhibit the same form of intractability as unconscious biases. Instead, if someone holds egalitarian values, and they are aware that a bias of theirs is going to harm members of some specific social category (i.e., they hold a conscious bias), then they will be (at least to some extent) motivated to counteract the effect of their bias. In this way, and via the development of introspective skill, practising mindfulness may render the harms of unconscious biases tractable and help to alleviate the harms caused by the interviewer's unconscious bias.

I will now consider a problem with the proposed use of mindfulness. It is essential to what follows that non-conceptual introspection is performed in an experiential manner. That is, by way of the individual experiencing aspects of their own mental states and processes. The examples of certainty, frustration and aversion provide intuitive support for this – when we determine the presence of one such feature, we do so by paying attention to the way in which our mental states present themselves to us. In other words, their experiential aspects. Further evidence may be drawn from the literature on animal cognition. Proust considers one case in which a rhesus monkey demonstrated the capacity to make decisions *on the basis of how certain they were*.[10,11] This is significant because these monkeys are not thought to have the capacity for conceptual thought or knowledge, meaning that the introspective act must have been non-conceptual in nature. What these animals do have is the capacity to experience things, and it is this capacity which most plausibly explains their sensitivity to degrees of certainty.[12]

Considering the strictly non-conceptual mindfulness practice alongside the experiential nature of non-conceptual introspection, we find a practical obstacle to the utility of mindfulness practices. This obstacle consists in the fact that, even having undergone some non-conceptual introspection, the practitioner must still make an inferential step to identify the introspected experiences as the result of an unconscious bias. Strictly non-conceptual mindfulness practices do not prepare the practitioner for this step. To illustrate, suppose that practising mindfulness helps the interviewer to introspectively establish that their mental processes involve a degree of aversion in the company of some interviewees (but not others). The interviewer is still faced with the task of inferring that they are experiencing this degree of aversion *as the result of an unconscious bias*. So, why is this problematic for someone like the interviewer? Anyone in this position will have to deal with competing explanations. The interviewer will, for instance, have to decide whether the introspected experience of aversion is best explained by the possibility that they themselves

[10] Joëlle Proust, *The Philosophy of Metacognition: Mental Agency and Self-Awareness*, (OUP Oxford, 2013). p.84

[11] Robert R Hampton, 'Rhesus Monkeys Know When They Remember', *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences,* 98 (2001).

[12] Joëlle Proust, 'From Comparative Studies to Interdisciplinary Research on Metacognition', *Animal Behavior and Cognition,* 6 (2019). p.5

have an unconscious bias. Alternative explanations include such possibilities as: the attitude of the present interviewee merits aversive reactions, the interviewee is an untrustworthy individual, etc.

I return to these possibilities and the threat they pose shortly. But first, and to be clear, 'unconsciously biased' is not a feature of our mental processes which can itself be introspectively experienced. Instead to introspectively establish that one holds an unconscious bias, one must *infer* that they hold unconscious biases with appeal to those qualities that can occur in our experiences. By way of analogy, consider how our visual experiences vary along certain basic dimensions. Colour and shape are, for example, features which visual experiences may include. And so we may come to see coloured objects in our environment. But other features – the breed of a pet, or the flavour of an object, for instance – must be inferred on the basis of those features which can be experienced. The same can be said of introspection. That is, we experience features in our cognitive processes along certain basic dimensions: valence and magnitude, for instance. And so we may come to introspectively experience things like certainty, aversion and frustration. However, because the feature 'unconsciously biased' is not amongst the qualities we introspectively experience, the presence of such a feature must instead be inferred on the basis of those qualities are experienced. The problem for EMPs, then, is that whilst they may improve the individual's ability to introspect some features of their mind, they leave open the possibility that the individual will confabulate an erroneous explanation for the mental features which they introspect.[13]

To recap, I have so far discussed the problem posed by unconscious biases. Namely, that their harms are intractable – even with egalitarian values, one might remain unmotivated to counteract the harms of one's unconscious bias, for one is not aware of the effects that their unconscious biases have upon them. Mindfulness practices may help here by making the individual aware of the effect that their biases are having. This renders the harm tractable, meaning that – given egalitarian motivations – the biased individual will be moved to alleviate the harms caused by their biases. I am now arguing that there is a problem with this picture. So far, I have highlighted that the introspected skill cultivated by EMPs consists in non-conceptual knowledge. I have also demonstrated that introspective act of this variety are carried out in an experiential capacity, i.e. with the individual paying attention to the experiential qualities of their mind. I have just argued that unconscious biases are not the kind of mental quality which one can directly experience; instead, inferential reasoning is required for one to identify the effects of an unconscious bias. I will now discuss why this is problematic. In short, the process of inferentially identifying the effects of an unconscious bias is made fraught by the possibility of confabulation, and whilst one can guard against this possibility, doing so requires conceptual resources which are excluded from EMPs.

[13] Some contest this construal of experiences. Susanna Siegel (2005), for instance, contends that complex qualities like the variety of a tree or the breed of a dog can in fact occur in our experiences. That said, it seems that there is something about the experience of unconscious bias that is even more complex than these examples – namely that it emerges as a pattern across our introspected experiences, with differential responses being given to (non)members of social categories. For this reason, unconscious bias is particularly unlikely to be amongst the qualities which can be introspected in a non-conceptual capacity, i.e., experientially.

When someone attempts to infer the cause of their introspected experiences, they run the risk of confabulation. Confabulation consists in the production of an erroneous explanation, when one really ought to have access to the correct explanation. To illustrate, suppose that the interviewer was to explain their introspected experiences of aversion by positing that various interviewees are untrustworthy, when in actual fact these experiences are the result of an unconscious bias. In such cases we would say that the interviewer's chosen explanation is a confabulation. Such instances of confabulation are problematic because they have the potential to entrench the harms caused by unconscious biases. Given that the interviewer arrives at a confabulatory explanation for their experiences, deserving interviewees will be less likely to be hired, the interviewer would be unlikely to confront or check their unconscious bias, and these problems would likely persist. For EMPs to be an effectively method for making the harms of unconscious bias tractable, practitioners must ward against the possibility of confabulation. So as to draw out the options for doing this, I'll first discuss the ways in which correct explanations might be unavailable to confabulators.

Sullivan-Bissett identifies three senses in which a correct explanation may be unavailable for the confabulator.[14] Firstly, the correct explanation may be strictly unavailable. This would be the case if, for instance, the interviewer was unaware that unconscious biases are even possible, never having heard of them. Secondly, the correct explanation may be explicatively unavailable. The interviewer may be aware, for instance, that some people have unconscious biases, but they may believe that it is incredibly unlikely that they themselves are unconsciously biased. And so, the correct explanation for their introspected experience of aversion will remain explicatively unavailable. Lastly, the interviewer may be aware that they could have an unconscious bias; they may even know that this is relatively likely. But the correct explanation for their aversive experience will remain unavailable to them if they are sufficiently motivated to not think of themselves as biased. We can imagine, for instance, an avowed egalitarian being so mortified at the prospect of harbouring an unconscious bias that they do not consider this an option.

To improve the efficacy of EMPs, we should reduce the likelihood of confabulation. To do this we should increase the availability of the correct explanation for the practitioner's introspected experiences. The introduction of conceptual content is one option for achieving this goal. Pairing an EMP with even a basic understanding of unconscious bias could prevent the correct explanation being strictly or explicatively unavailable for someone like the interviewer. But of course, this addition requires a departure from the strictly non-conceptual nature of EMPs. Here we should not hesitate – whilst there are aspects of mindfulness practices which are non-conceptual, and have been for millennia, historically there is a strong precedent for conceptual teachings being delivered alongside mindfulness practice. (Indeed, the stripping back of mindfulness practices for secular contexts may strike people as problematic on other

[14] Ema Sullivan-Bissett, 'Implicit Bias, Confabulation, and Epistemic Innocence', *Consciousness and Cognition,* 33 (2015).

grounds.) Reintroducing those teachings which originally accompanied mindfulness practices may serve to increase the availability of the correct explanation for the practitioner's unconscious biases. This is because many of these accompanying teachings emphasise the mind's role in the construction of experiences.[15,16] This emphasis may aid in diminishing explicative unavailability, and make it more likely that someone in the interviewer's position will inferentially arrive at the correct explanation for their introspected experiences.

The final hurdle to clear for the implementation of EMPs, is motivational unavailability; specifically, any reluctance the practitioner may feel when considering an explanation which attributes an unconscious bias to themselves. This may not fixable via mindfulness practises – individuals who would rather risk harming others than consider the possibility that they themselves are biased, will certainly cause harms that are particularly intractable. Again, however, it is possible that progress will be made here with the re-introduction of the conceptual knowledge that has historically accompanied mindfulness practices. This conceptual knowledge often includes lessons on the importance of non-discriminate compassion, as well as methods for the cultivation of this loving disposition.[17] This combination of conceptual and non-conceptual knowledge plausibly helps in at least two ways. First, by bolstering one's motivation to avoid acts of bias – a factor which has proven efficacious for the diminishment of even unconscious bias.[18] This increased motivation may alleviate the motivational unavailability of correct explanations (and thus the risk of confabulation) if it brings the biased individual to a state where they are more motivated to avoid acts of bias than they are to avoid attributing themselves a bias. The second way that these lessons on non-discriminate compassion might help here is with the generation of self-compassion. If biased individuals can generate a robust disposition to feel compassionately towards themselves, then the prospect of attributing a bias to themselves may, in some cases, become less threatening. This in turn may diminish the motivational unavailability of the correct explanation for some of their behaviours, and thereby reduce the likelihood of confabulation.

In summary, this paper establishes that the strictly non-conceptual mindfulness practices typically used in experimental conditions neglect a practical problem. That is, even having successfully implemented their introspective abilities, the practitioner must still inferentially establish that the introspected features of their mental processes are the result of an unconscious bias. In this position, the individual is liable to confabulate, producing an erroneous explanation for the mental features they introspect in place of the correct explanation. Those mindfulness practices which, unlike EMPs, include conceptual learning are

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[15] Keya Maitra, 'Testimonial Injustice and a Case for Mindful Epistemology', *The Southern Journal of Philosophy,* 58 (2020).

[16] Dreyfus, 'Is Mindfulness Present-Centred and Non-Judgmental? A Discussion of the Cognitive Dimensions of Mindfulness', p.45, 47.

[17] Stephen Jenkins, (1999). The Circle of Compassion: An Interpretive Study of Karuna in Indian Buddhist Literature. PhD Dissertation, Harvard University. (Unpublished.)

[18] Alexander Stell, and Tom Farsides. "Brief Loving-Kindness Meditation Reduces Racial Bias, Mediated by Positive Other-Regarding Emotions." *Motivation and Emotion* 40.1 (2016): 140-147.

better positioned to deal with the threat of confabulation. In particular, conceptual knowledge on the nature of implicit bias, the mind's role in the construction of experiences, and the cultivation of non-discriminate compassion may reduce the likelihood of confabulation. My proposal here, then, is that conceptual knowledge be re-integrated into those meditative practices which are intended to make the harms caused by unconscious biases more tractable, so that individuals may introspectively establish the instances in which unconscious biases are influencing their behaviour. Body text (Normal)

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"ALL THESE STRIKING KIDS WANT IS A DAY OFF SCHOOL.": AN EXAMINATION OF THE MARGINALISATION OF CHILD-LED SOCIAL PROTEST FROM THE 19TH CENTURY TO THE 2019 SCHOOL STRIKE MOVEMENT

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Abstract
Young people, such as Greta Thunberg, and the movement she started, 'Fridays for Future', are at the forefront of contemporary protest. The idea of children intervening in daily life through protest and participation in social movements has been presented as a 21st century phenomenon by the UK press and politicians. However, child-led social protest is, as historical accounts support, far from novel. For over a century such protest has been underreported by the press, under-researched academically, and often simply discounted. This article examines how and why young people's protest has been marginalised. Firstly, the article will review a variety of literature documenting the various forms of protest children have participated in. This review will highlight how children's participation was ignored, forgotten, and marginalised. The article will then utilise qualitative data collected by the author from a wider study into climate denial in the U.K press. This data will be analysed to examine the UK press response to the child-led 2019 school strike movements. This will allow an examination of how techniques employed to marginalise child-led social movements have changed to better fit our changing media landscape. Additionally, it will also demonstrate that regardless of the method employed such techniques continue to be operationalised to undermine the participants, and their message and perpetuate the historical marginalisation of child-led protest.

In August 2018 a Swedish 15-year-old, worried over the climate crisis, skipped school and staged a sit-in protest outside the Swedish Parliament with a placard reading '*Skolstrejk för klimatet*', which translates as school strike for climate. Greta Thunberg repeated her protest every Friday until the Swedish General election in September 2018, became a global figurehead, and inspired millions of children worldwide to stage school strikes. Although reported as novel academics like Diane M. Rodgers, Louise Raw, Steve Cunningham and Michael Lavalette have demonstrated that child-led protest is common.[1] This article will examine the marginalisation of child-led protest by firstly examining the forgotten histories of the Bryant and May 'Matchgirls' and civil rights protestor, Claudette Colvin.[2] Following that, using a dataset drawn from British Newspapers, it will examine the language and framing employed by journalists in their coverage of the child-led 2019 school strikes. Finally, in the discussion this article will compare and contrast the ways that the Matchgirls, Claudette Colvin, and the 2019 school strikers have been marginalised identifying similarities across the 19th, 20th, and 21st centuries.

Defining key terms and theories within social movement studies

Firstly, it is necessary to define the terms protest and social movement before outlining the theoretical perspectives used in social movement studies. Verta Taylor and Nella Van Dyke define protest as 'the collective use of unconventional methods of political participation to try to persuade or coerce authorities to support a challenging group's aims'.[3] Mario Diani emphasises the informal nature of social movements.[4] So whereas members of a political party will share a broad political stance, social movements can encompass politically diverse groups of people who may not always share the same views but have a shared aim, for example a traffic calming scheme.[5] However, there can still be a political element to social movements. Charles Tilly, Ernesto Castaneda and Lesley J. Wood, view social movements as a form of 'contentious politics'.[6] Contentious because the aims of the social movement will

[1] D Zoe Bergmann, and Ringo Ossewaarde, 'Youth Climate Activists Meet Environmental Governance: Ageist Depictions of the FFF Movement and Greta Thunberg in German Newspaper Coverage', *Journal of Multicultural Discourses*, 15 (2020), 267-290 (p. 268).

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Steve Cunningham and Michael Lavalette, *Schools Out! : The Hidden History of Britain's School Student Strikes* (London: Bookmarks, 2016).

[2] Raw, p. 1.

[3] Verta Taylor and Nella Van Dyke, "Get up, Stand Up': Tactical: Repertoires of Social Movements', in *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*, ed. by David A. Snow, Sarah A. Soule, and Hanspeter Kriesi (Oxford: John Wiley & Sons, 2004), pp. 260-93 (p. 263).

[4] Mario Diani, 'The Concept of Social Movements', *The Sociological Review*, 40 (1992), 1-25 (p. 2).

[5] Ibid., p. 2.

[6] C Tilly, L Wood, and E Castaneda, *Social Movements, 1768-2018*. 4th edn. (Abingdon: Routledge, 2020), p. 6.

have a material impact on others within society, and political because some form of Government intervention would be required for the aims of the social movement to be met.[7]

As Francesca Polletta and Jasper James show social movements have been studied since the late 19th century. Early crowd theory adopted a behaviourist perspective believing that the irrational behaviour of crowds was contagious. In the 1970s behaviourist theories were challenged by resource mobilisation and political process models that studied how structural shifts within society enabled groups to mobilise and protest long-standing material grievances. However, while mobilisation and process models helped study causes with understandable grievances, such as the civil rights movement, these models were less effective at explaining protest when social movements were specific to certain locations, for example, the pro-life movement in the United States. To study these movements theorists began to focus upon collective identity to explain membership. This focus upon identity gave rise to the new social movements model. This model argued that protestors no longer wanted to overthrow the state but gain state concessions for their chosen cause, for example, LGTBQ+ rights. However, Rodgers argues that the different models and theoretical changes within social movements studies had had little impact on the recognition of child-led protest within social movement studies. [8]

Rodgers posits that in the 1970s when theorists moved from behaviourist theories to studying how people social movements mobilise and gain the resources to coalesce around causes, young-people were seen as lacking political agency and were overlooked. So, whereas other marginalised groups became topics of new social movement child participants within social movements went under researched. Rodgers cites Verta Taylor's research into the women's movement as an inspiration for other researchers to focus upon the women's movement.[9] This piece of work has been inspired by Rodgers argument.[10]

Review of literature on child-led protest and social movements in the 19th and 20th centuries.

The Matchgirls strike of 1888

Raw's study of the Matchgirls strike of 1888 demonstrates how protests mobilised by young people can be marginalised.[11] Raw cites historian E.H. Carr who argues that historical accounts are not neutral as historians pick which aspects of an event to discuss therefore deciding what becomes 'historical fact'.[12]

Prior to Raw investigating the strike, the accepted details of the Matchgirls strike were as follows. Annie Besant was a 40-year-old middle-class woman and prominent member of the Fabian Society. In the June

[7] Ibid., p. 6.
[8] Ibid., p. 94-97.
[9] Taylor and Van Dyke, p. 263.
[10] Raw, p. 1-7.
[11] Raw, p. 2.
[12] Edward Hallett Carr, *What Is History?*, 2nd edn. (London: Penguin Books, 1987), p. 7.

of 1888 Besant wrote an article revealing the squalid working conditions suffered by the Bryant & May Matchgirls who worked in the Bryant & May factory in Bow in London.[13] Contemporary newspapers report that Besant's article and intervention caused 1400 of the Matchgirls to strike. This narrative of blaming Besant for the strike was also reported by management of Bryant & May. Claims that Besant instigated, organised, and lead the strike are then repeated in academic articles throughout both the 20th and 21st centuries. For example, Lowell J. Satre, in an article about the aftermath of the 1888 strike, posits that 'Annie Besant was the key figure in the strike'.[14] This is despite Satre in the same article citing Annie Besant's' autobiography which contradicts this claim. Besant's own account credits the Matchgirls themselves as instigating their walkout in response to the sacking of one of the most outspoken girls. However, at no point in Besant's account of the two-week strike does Besant directly name any of the Bryant & May strikers, but instead Besant refers to the Matchgirls leaders throughout as the 'girls'.[15] Another example of how history becomes fact through repetition appears in a peer-reviewed article published in 2015, six years after Raw's study in 2009. The article repeats the claim that Annie Besant was 'leader of the London Matchgirls strike in 1888'.[16] Additionally, Raw's own literature review outlines how multiple historians have wrongly accredited the strike to Annie Besant. These examples give weight to Carr's argument about the (mis)construction of historical facts.[17]

The actual historical truth that Raw uncovers is very different. Besant's article criticising working conditions at Bryant & May was published about 26th June 1888. On 27th June the management of the factory ask the Matchgirls to sign a form refuting Besant's expose. When on July 2nd one of the girl's refuses to sign the form, so she is sacked. It is this dismissal that triggers the strike.[18] According to Raw's timeline Besant becomes aware of the strike on the 6th July when 100 Matchgirls turn up unannounced outside Besant's Fleet Street offices.[19] Raw also discovers that Bryant & May were happy to blame Besant and her article for causing the strike and feed that narrative to the press. However, internally Bryant & May actually blamed five Matchgirls from the factory as the instigators. Two of these ringleaders were sisters Mary and Margaret Driscoll who were 14 and 16. At least one of the strikers, Martha Robertson, was as young as six years of age.[20]

Raw identifies newspaper reports as being one of the sources that led to the strike being misreported.[21] Raw outlines how it was advantageous to frame the strike as instigated by Annie Besant as this provided

[13] Raw, p. 6.
[14] Lowell Satre, J, 'After the Match Girls Strike: Bryant and May in the 1890s', *Victorian Studies*, 26 (1982), 7-31 (p. 11).
[15] Annie Besant, *An Autobiography* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1893), pp. 334-338.
[16] Mytheli Sreenivas, 'Birth Control in the Shadow of Empire: The Trials of Annie Besant, 1877–1878', *Feminist Studies,* 41 (2015), 509-37 (p. 511).
[17] Carr, p. 7.
[18] Raw, p. 130.
[19] Ibid., p. 133.
[20] Ibid,, pp. 210-212.
[21] Ibid., p. 5.

The Times with a platform to criticise the Fabian society and socialism.[22] Additionally, reports of the strike also played up gender stereotypes such as that of the factory girl.[23] Factory workers such as the Matchgirls were viewed in Victorian society as innocent victims in the mould of Hans Christian Andersen's fictional, *The Little Match Girl*. The idea that such an innocent child could lead a strike without adult help was to Victorians unthinkable.[24] Further examples of gendered reporting can be found in Taylor's article regarding the suffragette, Mary Leigh.[25] The Suffragette movement and in particular suffragettes themselves challenged the Victorian ideal of how a woman should conduct herself. This meant that often Leigh would be reported as both frail, because she was a woman, yet also agile, as Leigh often climbed onto roofs. The newspapers would also misreport Leigh's actions as criminal damage rather than political protest. [26] Parkin shows that as suffragettes were denied political agency women like Leigh chose to enact politics through direct protest.[27] The Matchgirls, as Raw highlights, were even more marginalised politically than the suffragettes and that is why, Raw argues, that the incorrect history has endured and might continue to endure depending on which articles academics cite in their own work.[28]

Claudette Colvin

On the 15th March 1955 whilst on a bus in Montgomery, Alabama, a 15-year-old African-American Claudette Colvin, refused, as the law required, to give up her seat for a white woman.[29] Subsequently, Colvin was arrested and tried. However, despite refusing to give up her seat nine months before Rosa Parks, Colvin was not chosen by the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People (NAACP) to be the face of the Montgomery bus boycott. There are several mitigating factors as to why Colvin was overlooked.[30]

Montgomery was central to the civil rights movement. Juan Williams notes that the Montgomery bus system was a 'microcosm of prejudice' that African-Americans suffered every day.[31] Yet the NAACP saw Colvin as an unsuitable role model. At the time of her arrest, Colvin was 15 years of age. There was concern that Colvin would be presented in the press in a negative light and that her age would hamper her ability to give a strong testimony. In comparison, Rosa Parks was a well-known member of the Montgomery NAACP, middle-aged, could pass as middle-class and, the NAACP felt, would attract more sympathy from the jury and the press.[32]

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[22] Ibid., p. 88.
[23] Ibid., p. 26.
[24] Ibid., p. 26.
[25] Wendy Parkins, 'Protesting Like a Girl: Embodiment, Dissent and Feminist Agency', *Feminist Theory,* 1 (2000), 59-78 (p. 66).
[26] Ibid., p. 66.
[27] Ibid., p. 63.
[28] Raw, p. 26.
[29] Juan Williams, *Eyes on the Prize: America's Civil Rights Years, 1954-1965* (New York: Penguin Books, 1988), p. 57.
[30] Philip Hoose, *Claudette Colvin: Twice toward Justice* (New York: Square Fish, 2009), pp. 53-60.
[31] Williams, p. 57.
[32] Hoose, pp. 53-60.

Philip Hoose argues that the Colvin case demonstrates that it is not just political agency that young people are denied but also responsibility.[33] Hoose also writes that when Colvin was tried for her bus boycott she was an exemplary witness and maintained her composure when cross examined. In fact, Colvin was so impressive on the stand that in summing up the judge cited Colvin's testimony as the overriding factor for him ruling bus segregation unlawful.[34] The belief that teenagers are unreliable, disinterested, and even potentially dangerous is, in the press especially, an noted trope.[35]

In the 1960s Stanley Cohen researched newspaper reports of scuffles that would often occur over Bank Holidays in English seaside towns. The fights were largely between Mods and Rockers. Cohen's work showed that reports in the press were sensationalised and exaggerated. Cohen called this type of reporting, EG a largely exaggerated fear of a problem that threatens society, a moral panic. However, the belief that teenagers are politically disinterested has been countered by the research of Steven Cunningham and Michael Lavalette's and their social history of school strikes.[36]

School strikes

Although the 2019 school strike movement was seen as novel Cunningham and Lavalette's research shows that school strikes date back to the 19th century.[37] They also describe a 'second history' of teachers, politicians, and journalists marginalising, undermining and misrepresenting child-led protest.[38] Cunningham and Lavalette posit that school strikes are often wilfully not recognised as strikes and instead are typified as truancy or acts of delinquency. Often school strikes are blamed upon a single problematic ringleader, who is punished as an example to others, or the corrupting influence of an adult organiser.[39] This view of teenagers as problematic has been fuelled by repeated 'moral panics' in the media as the discussion of Cohen's work highlighted.[40]

Cunningham and Lavalette argue that adults struggle to view children as having sufficient need, motivation, or even the right to protest.[41] Adults often believe that young people are not engaged politically however theorists such as Brian Loader, Ariadne Vromen, and Michael A. Xenos directly

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[33] Ibid.

[34] Ibid, p. 92.

[35] Stanley Cohen, Folk Devils and Moral Panics: The Creation of the Mods and Rockers (Abingdon: Routledge, 2011).
Brian D. Loader, Ariadne Vromen, and Michael A. Xenos, 'The Networked Young Citizen: Social Media, Political Participation and Civic Engagement', *Inf. Commun. Soc.*, 17 (2014), pp. 143-50.

[36] Cunningham and Lavalette, pp. 35-37.

[37] Ibid.

[38] Ibid., p. 30.

[39] Ibid., p. 33.

Richard Hartley-Parkinson, 'Greta Thunberg Is an "Ignorant Brainwashed Child Being Abused by Adults", Says Corbyn's Brother', *The Metro* (London: Associated Newspapers, 2019).

[40] Cohen, pp. i-xii.

[41]Cunningham and Lavalette, p. 30.

challenge this truism.[42] As this literature review has shown so far young people are often denied political agency, adults are often seen as the catalyst instigating youth protest and teenagers are viewed as politically disengaged. This review will now examine the role newspapers play in constructing these narratives.[43]

Newspapers and the social construction of knowledge

Newspapers have been consumed in various forms across the 19th, 20th, and 21st centuries and as such have had a considerable influence within civil society.[44] John Richardson argues that newspapers do not just factually report the news but also, through editorials and 'opinion' pieces, contribute to the construction of knowledge, for example the argument that Besant led the Matchgirls strike.[45] Richardson also argues and Raw's study demonstrates that mixtures of fact and opinion can, through repetition, become accepted as part of the popular consciousness or when used as sources for academic studies historical fact.[46]

The presentation of child-led climate protest in the UK media: an empirical study

This article will now analyse a dataset of articles about the 2019 school strikes collected from newspapers published in the UK between August 2018 and the end of 2019. These will be analysed to examine how the protest and the protestors are framed. As Richardson demonstrates newspapers articles play a role in the constructing knowledge and opinion on subjects they report.[47] Raw's study supports this argument by showing how newspapers published in 1888 initially took away the political agency of the Matchgirls and then were used by historians as a source of historical information.[48] It is this work and argument that has informed this piece of research.

Data Collection

The data set for this article was collected from the NEXIS UK database which collates newspaper articles for use in research. A search was carried out across the following UK newspapers and their online equivalent: The Times, The Guardian, The Daily Telegraph, The Independent, The Daily Mail, The

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[42] Rodgers, p. 117.

Loader, Vromen and Xenos, p. 143.
[43] Raw, p. 26.
Cohen, p. xi.
[44] John Richardson, 'The Discursive Representation of Islam and Muslims in British Broadsheet Newspapers' (University of Sheffield, 2002), p. 1.
[45] Richardson, p. 1.
Raw, p. 88.
[46] Richardson, p. 1.

Raw, 2009, p. 88.

Carr, 1987, p. 7.
[47] Richardson, p. 1.
[48] Raw, p. 88.

Mirror, The Express, and The Sun. The search term used was 'school strike'. The timeline of the search was set from 15/08/2018 to 31/12/2019. This period was chosen as it covers the period between Greta Thunberg first sitting outside the Swedish parliament and 2019 when the school strike movement in the UK was at its peak. The dataset was then sifted to remove duplicates and articles that were unrelated but retrieved due to their wording. A .TXT file was then produced of the remaining articles. The detail of the sample sizes broken down by size both pre- and post-sift are given below in Figure 1. Additionally, the arguable political stance of each paper is given informed by a study by James Painter and Neil T. Gavin.[49]

NEWSPAPER	ALL	SIFTED	POLITICAL STANCE
The Guardian	248	76	Left-wing
The Times	99	36	Right-wing
The Daily Telegraph	61	39	Right-wing
The Independent	148	53	Center-right/left
The Daily Mail	169	108	Right-wing
The Mirror	69	33	Left-wing
The Sun	42	26	Right-wing
The Express	39	20	Right-wing
TOTAL	875	391	

Fig. 1: Search results for searches on the term "school strike" between 15/08/18 and 31/12/19 carried out on NEXUS UK*

Data Analysis

The data has been examined using thematic analysis.[50] This method of examining qualitative data is used to identify patterns and themes within written texts and is well established.[51] Thematic analysis was applied using the six steps Virginia Braun and Victoria Clarke outline: data familiarisation, data coding, theme generation, theme development, theme naming, and writing up.[52]

Additionally, the data was analysed both inductively and deductively using the hybrid method outlined by Jeni Ferreday and Eimear Muir-Cochrane.[53] This allowed the dataset to be examined deductively, to establish thematic similarities, drawn from the existing literature, in how protesting children were framed

[49] James Painter and Neil T. Gavin, 'Climate Skepticism in British Newspapers, 2007–2011', *Environmental Communication*, 10 (2016), 432-52 (p. 433).

[50] Virginia Braun and Victoria Clarke, *Thematic Analysis* (London: Sage, 2021), p. 6.

[51] Ibid., p. 6.

[52] Ibid., p. 6.

[53] Jennifer Fereday, and Eimear Muir-Cochrane, 'Demonstrating Rigor Using Thematic Analysis: A Hybrid Approach of Inductive and Deductive Coding and Theme Development, *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 5 (2006), 80-92 (p. 81).

and written about in the 19th, 20th, and 21st centuries and inductively, to find how school strikes are critiqued in contemporary newspapers.[54]

Results/Themes

Political bias

In reading and re-reading the articles during analysis, the theme that was the most prominent was the political bias across the papers. As Figure 1 shows UK newspapers arguably have a clear editorial stance: five of the eight daily papers analysed are considered right-leaning and report upon topics, such as protest or climate change, from a right-wing perspective. Of the articles collated for analysis about 42% were from the three left-leaning newspapers. Within the 58% of articles that are drawn from right-wing papers the majority, approximately 70%, negatively frame the school strikes. However, it was also found that within the remaining 30% of articles that were not negatively framed any balance is often undercut by giving the article a headline that presents a negative view of school strikers. This bias is most blatant in the 'opinion' pieces published in the right-leaning tabloids. This percentage should be balanced against the fact that within the left-leaning papers the articles are either 95% universally supportive of the school strikes or impartial throughout.

Age

Age was a theme throughout the articles, for example, in this article by printed in The Express, a right-wing newspaper, titled 'Our cowardly MPs are paralysed by a 16-year-old's pigtails'.[55] The headline alone shows a novel, interesting, and less than serious framing. The article discusses Greta Thunberg meeting three MP's at the House of Commons. It is telling that at no point are the ages or hairstyles of the adults referred to either in the body of the article or the headline. Reminding us of Thunberg's age throughout the text and referencing her 'pigtails' is arguably being employed method of infantilising Thunberg. Ferrari is, with his prose, pulling Thunberg's pigtails.[56] Ferrari somewhat patronisingly praises Thunberg's 'commitment and enthusiasm' and then after yet again pointing out that Thunberg is sixteen asks the reader if they would take advice from Thunberg on matters such as surgical procedures, stock market investment, or the defence of the realm? This setting up of false equivalences is another technique that is prevalent.[57]

Stereotypical tropes

[54] Ibid., p. 81.
[55] Nick Ferrari, 'Our Cowardly MPs Are Paralysed by a 16-Year-Old's Pigtails', *The Express*, 28/04/19, p. 15.
[56] Ibid., p. 15.
[57] Ibid.

The well-known commentator, Janet Street-Porter, appears various times in the dataset. Her first piece is from the Daily Mail, 'I am thrilled the younger generation is so idealistic and committed to a better future for us all. I'd just be more impressed if they gave up their Saturday morning lie-ins to fight for their cause'.[58]

Street-Porter uses the age of protestors to push back against school strikes by alluding to 'lie-ins' thus employing the trope that teenagers are lazy and feckless.[59] Street-Porter also demonstrates how which paper a commentator is writing for has an influences their work and stance. For example, having left The Daily Mail, right-wing, for the Independent, centre-right, Street-Porter has had a change of heart:

> Initially, I thought that the school strikes would have been more effective if they happened on a weekend because adults would have swelled the number, but the enthusiastic way the school strike movement has been adopted by students from a large variety of backgrounds has made me rethink.[60]

It should be noted that The Daily Mail article in which Street-Porter alludes to teenagers as lazy makes no mention at all of adults. It also suggests Street-Porter thinks that youth climate activism lacks legitimacy unless adults participate despite that being arguably the antithesis of youth led protest.[61]

Another way in which age is employed to critique the school strike movement is through the idea that the school strikers need to be protected from harm as well as subtly conjuring up ideas around truancy and even parenting. Such a narrative is suggested by The Scottish Times who suggest school strikes, 'raise legitimate concerns about child safety at a time of day when parents might reasonably expect their offspring to be in school and not wandering the streets.'[62]

However, this editorial in The Scottish Times is in fact aimed at parents or even the school strikers. The Scottish Times is using the school strike movement as a way of criticising Nicola Sturgeon, the First Minister of Scotland.

Adults are behind the school strike movement

The Scottish Times editorial asks if parents are happy 'for their children to campaign on green issues would they be equally understanding if it were a different issue? What if children were being encouraged

[58] Janet Street-Porter, 'I Applaud Young People Making the Effort to Protest but Why Can't They Do It on Their Own Time?', MailOnline (London: Associated Newspapers Ltd, 2019). https://www.dailymail.co.uk/debate/article-6704159/JANET-STREET-PORTER-young-people-protest-time.htmlin

[59] Ibid.

[60] Janet Street-Porter, 'Greta Thunberg Has Managed to Shame My Generation into Action - She Deserves the Nobel Peace Prize; a Global Protest Entirely Run and Promoted by Teenagers Has Far More Impact Than One Hijacked by Adult Do-Gooders', *The Independent*, 15/03/19 2019, p. 38.

[61] Street-Porter 'I applaud', 2019.

[62] Times Editorial, 'The Times's View on the Scottish School Climate Protests: Pupil Power; the First Minister Is Wrong to Back Children Skipping Class. They Should Be in School', in The Times (London: 2019). https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/the-times-s-view-on-the-scottish-school-climate-protests-pupil-power-8k2kt27vb

to walkout in support of hanging, or the legalisation of drugs?'.[63] It is the use of the word 'encouraged' that is in criticism of Nicola Sturgeon, the First Minister of Scotland, who had stated she was relaxed about school strikes. The Scottish Times continues arguing it is hard, 'to believe that no adult would try to use children - with their photogenic appeal and newsworthy potential - to further a contentious view'.[64] Again we have clear examples of false equivalences. Arguing that adults will use school strikes movement about the climate crisis as a gateway drug to get young people to support causes that not even adults are protesting for such as the death penalty. However, the tabloids, in this case the Daily Mail are even more alarmist:

> Militant Green activists urge children to hold climate "strike nights" and encourage their classmates to skip school to protest against coal. Truancy school strikes promoted by shadowy funding groups that hide donors. Spontaneous' children's protests have logistics support from outside agitators.[65]

Despite the headline the article itself provides no evidence that supports the headline. The journalist provides no evidence that the school strike movement has been infiltrated and the protestors deny that they are being organised by adults. The article does directly criticise the Sunrise Foundation, a charity that funds climate awareness programs, because the foundation refuses to reveal the identities of their funders. However, the Daily Mail is happy to platform right-wing think tanks such as the Taxpayer who similarly keep their doors secret a platform to print comment pieces.[66]

This discussion will use the literature review and the analysis of my dataset as a lens to compare and contrast how the Matchgirls, Claudette Colvin, and the school strike movements have been framed and reported.

Misrepresentation through age

In 1888 the Matchgirls were framed as the waif-like heroine of the Little Match Girl.[67] However, this representation is directly at odds with the biographies of the Driscoll sisters, two of the instigators of the strike who grew up in a family with a proud tradition of Irish Republicanism and protest.[68] Raw argues that by typifying the Matchgirls as innocent functioned to save the narrative Annie Besant.[69]

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[63] Ibid.

[64] Ibid.

[65] Alison Bevege, 'Militant Green Activists Urge Children to Hold Climate 'Strike Nights' and Encourage Their Classmates to Skip School to Protest against Coal', *MailOnline Australia* (Australia: Associated Newspapers Ltd., 2019).

[66] Núria Almiron, Maxwell Boykoff, Marta Narberhaus, and Francisco Heras, 'Dominant Counter-Frames in Influential Climate Contrarian European Think Tanks', *Climatic Change*, 162 (2020), 2003-20.

Duncan Simpson, 'How We Can Stop the Blob: The Vaccine Tsar Is Right - Our Stultifying Civil Service Has Been Holding Britain Back for Years. Taxpayers Alliance Research Director Duncan Simpson Has a Bold Plan for Real Change', *The Daily Mail* (London: Associated Newspapers, 2021), https://www.dailymail.co.uk/debate/article-10236565/Taxpayers-Alliance-research-director-DUNCAN-SIMPSON-bold-plan-real-change-civil-service.html

[67] Raw, p. 26.

[68] Ibid., p. 210.

[69] Ibid., p. 26.

In the 21st century articles about the school strikes we see similar ideas of innocence used to frame children. Rodgers states that, 'contemporary childhood is a protected and universalized space.'[70] The Scottish Times use this idea of childhood as a protected space to oppose the school strikes. They overstate the innocence of children describing them as ripe for exploitation because of their 'photogenic appeal and newsworthiness'.[71] However, once children become older the framing changes. Cohen's work on moral panics shows how newspapers often use exaggerated portrayals of teenagers as risky. The marginalisation of Colvin clearly demonstrates this dichotomy.[72]

So, while innocence and naivety deny the Matchgirls and school strikers political agency as a teenager, Colvin is viewed and portrayed in historical accounts as a liability. As Colvin herself stated years later as an adult, 'Maybe adults thought a teenager's testimony wouldn't hold up in the legal system'. Yet it was because she was a teenager that Colvin acted that day stating, 'as a teenager, I kept thinking, "Why don't the adults around here just say something?"'. In fact, acts of youth protest are often attributed to shadowy adult agitators. [73]

For years it was seen as historical fact that Bessant organised and mobilised the Matchgirls strike.[74] Newspapers, Bryant & May, and peer reviewed articles reinforced this idea. The treatment of the Matchgirls is echoed in contemporary coverage of the school strikes. Headlines such as 'Militant Green activists urge children to hold climate "strike nights"' from The Daily Mail suggest that school strikers are being coerced and influenced by adults even more so if someone reading the paper only reads the headline. Additionally, newspaper reports are often co-opted to criticise others. The Daily Mail wishes to condemn adult environmentalists, those that run the NAACP reject Colvin as not sympathetic enough to front their bus boycott, Bryant & May wants to distract from the working conditions in the Bow factory and the press of 1888 want to criticise the Fabian Society and socialism. Such newspaper reporting not only denies children political agency but, as Richardson and Carr argue, constructs knowledge.[75] This knowledge is then reproduced through subsequent texts and becomes accepted fact. It will be interesting to see how the school strikes and Greta Thunberg becomes remembered.

Tilly et al., argued that social movements were a form of 'contentious politics'. Contentious because there will be a material impact upon the interest of other and political because at some point to achieve an aim, such as climate crisis mitigation, Governments will need to intervene. Based on this definition the

[70] Rodgers, p. 1.
[71] *The Scottish Times*, 2019.
[72] Cohen, p. viii.
[73] Hoose, p. 67.
[74] Raw, pp. 1-2,
[75] Carr, p. 7.

Matchgirls, the school strikes and Colvin fit Tilly's model. This also demonstrates that across the 19th, 20th and 21st century newspapers are arguably creating a narrative for a reason. As the material interests of those who own Newspapers, or factories are challenged then they need to push back. What better way, then, through a newspaper article. However, as Colvin and Besant show us, those on the other side can be just as manipulative in trying to frame their narratives.[76]

[76] Tilly et al., p. 6.

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COLLABORATIVE CHOREOGRAPHICS: DANCE AND POETRY IN THE WORKS OF JACKSON MAC LOW AND SIMONE FORTI

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Abstract
In this paper I will examine the interdisciplinary relationship between text and dance in the choreographic works of Jackson Mac Low and Simone Forti. Within their experimental compositions, choreography functions as the meeting point of the two mediums of movement and language to create the whole work, consisting of both text and performance. For Mac Low, collaborating with dancers allowed him to seek new possibilities of movement within his poetics. Equally so, Forti's engagement with literary text as the starting point for her dance works furthered her experimentation with movement; abstracted from stylised narrative ballet. Both artists also sought to challenge ideas of the hierarchal author in their works, striving instead to produce works that invited creative response from reader-performers. The texts are therefore reliant on their subsequent completion through performance. Interdisciplinary collaboration opened up this possibility, in which the initial written work served as a call to action for subsequent performance by someone other than the text's author. In works such as Mac Low's Nuclei for Simone (Morris) Forti and The Pronouns: Forty Dances for the Dancers, and Forti's published 'Dance Report' and 'Dance Construction[s]', literature and dance both perform the dual functions of choreography and performance.

In a poetic practice that sought to resolve the concerns raised by his Buddhist-anarchist beliefs through experimental compositional practice, Jackson Mac Low turned to dance and performance to compose a choreographic poetics rooted in interdisciplinary collaboration. One of the key founding members of the Fluxus movement, his works were often written with live performance in mind. Striving towards creating artwork free from the authorial 'ego',[1] Mac Low also experimented with compositional methods

[1] James Brown, 'The Zen of Anarchy: Japanese Exceptionalism and the Anarchist Roots of the San Francisco Renaissance', in *Religion and American Culture: A Journal of Interpretation,* 19.2, (2009), 207-242, (p. 209)

predicated on chance operations, often relying on pre-determined rules. Whereas many of Mac Low's previous works had been written for live performance by musicians or vocalists,[2] Mac Low's 1964 poetry collection, *The Pronouns: A Collection of Forty Dances for the Dancers*, 'was written both as poems and instructions for a dance. Created from an earlier work, *Nuclei for Simone Forti* (1961), using chance composition, it consists of "groups of words and of action phrases around which dancers build spontaneous improvisations."'[3] In this sense, Mac Low's composition of the poems was never intended to serve as the final work, but rather, by constructing poems that address the body in motion, the collection appeals to dancers to complete the literary works through performance. Unlike other mediums that the poet had worked with, such as music and sound poetry, *The Pronouns* requires dance specifically, as literature's Other in representing embodied human experience. Furthermore, in looking to dance, Mac Low discovered new possibilities for his poems as literary texts by exploring the limits and dynamics of both words in action across the page, and capturing the body in action through dance performance.

Mac Low dedicated *The Pronouns* to the dancers 'Merce Cunningham, Simone Forti, Trisha Brown, Meredith Monk, Kenneth King, Lanny Harrison and the late Fred Herko.'[4] He had met these pioneers of dance and choreography in Robert Dunn's composition and choreography classes, 1956-1960, that were taught at the Merce Cunningham studio and organised by Mac Low's mentor, John Cage.[5] A space for experimenting with textual composition, dance improvisation, and the moving body, these classes introduced Mac Low to the dance world, and to Simone Forti in particular, and provided inspiration for Mac Low's eventual writing of *Nuclei for Simone Forti* and *The Pronouns*. As a collaborative piece, *The Pronouns* raises crucial questions around what makes an artwork complete, as whilst the project as a whole was one of collaboration across disciplines, from its process of composition to its ties to subsequent performance, the poems themselves possess a single author. In addition, by functioning across artistic mediums, *The Pronouns* presents further challenges to the hierarchal valuing of the literary text as the original, true, document of performance.

Simone Forti, to whom *Nuclei* and *The Pronouns* were written, regarded herself 'as a "movement artist" – rather than specifically a dance artist, having no wish to divide the arts into separate categories.'[6] As such, she utilised literary composition as a means to further explore the possible ways of abstracting dance from its traditions of stylised and narrative balletic origin, towards something closer to an embodiment of common human experience. Having previously trained under Anne Halprin's strict practice of

[2] Paul Hoover, *Postmodern American Poetry: A Norton Anthology*, (London: W. W. Norton & Company, 2013), p. 52
[3] Ibid.
[4] Jackson Mac Low, *The Pronouns: A Collection of 40 Dances for the Dancers, 3 February – 22 March 1964*, (New York: Station Hill Press, 1979)
[5] Sally Banes, *Democracy's Body: Judson Dance Theatre, 1962-1964*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993), p. 1
[6] Wendy Perron, 'Simone Forti: bodynatureartmovementbody', in *Radical Bodies: Anna Halprin, Simone Forti, and Yvonne Rainer in California and New York, 1955-1972*, ed. by Ninotchka Bennahum, Wendy Perron and Bruce Robertson (Oakland, CA: University of California Press, 2017), 88-119, (p. 89)

improvisation, it was through Dunn's classes that Forti developed a style that merged bodily improvisation and more structured choreographic procedures grounded in task-based textual accompaniment. One such written dance, titled 'Dance Construction', reads:

> Three people stand on a [*sic*] 8 by 8 foot square platform inclined at 45 [degrees], using for support five or six ropes which hang from the top of the incline. Each person keeps moving from side to side and from top to bottom of the plane picking up and dropping different ropes as needed. No one is to get off the board during an allotted time of about 10 or 15 minutes. Any mover may rest whenever tired using the ropes in any way to facilitate resting. It is suggested that the movers wear tennis shoes.[7]

Here, Forti's suggestive rather than explicitly instructive language demonstrates the interpretive freedom given to the performers. Her use of the phrase 'movers', rather than 'performers' or 'dancers', illustrates her desire to democratise movement performance by de-emphasising the specialised, trained practitioner. The action of the text itself remains vague and open to various possibilities, and in opposition to the demonstrative tradition of the dance class or rehearsal. Much like Mac Low's objective of egoless poetry, devoid of a single, authoritative voice, Forti strove towards a mode of choreography beyond individualist-artistic expression, typical of long held contemporary traditions of narrative-driven dance. By starting a dance-work with a text-piece, Forti offered her performers a starting point from which to individually interpret, and realise, the actions set out on the page.

In 1961, Forti was invited by La Monte Young to perform as part of a series of Fluxus Happenings held at Yoko Ono's Chambers Street loft. Forti presented her piece *Huddle*. Although she had not provided written instructions for this particular performance, she later published a version that reads:

> A group of seven or eight people standing together in a very close huddle. One member of the group would climb up the mass of people and then down again, becoming once more part of the mass. Immediately another is climbing. The movement must be constant but not hurried. Sometimes it happens that there are two climbing at once. That's all right. The dance construction should be continued 'long enough', perhaps ten minutes.[8]

For many, including Mac Low, this performance marked a seminal moment for modern dance, and opened the floodgates for a new mode of pedestrianised, task-oriented choreography. These are reflected in Mac Low's later experiments in *The Pronouns*. Writing on his experience of being involved in this first performance of *Huddle* at Chambers Street, Steve Paxton remembers 'I had a chance to come to some understanding of her vision because she asked me to perform in her first New York performance […] Simone did not employ the body as a highly trained dance technician. She used it as a pedestrian body. It wasn't a fictional body at all. The work was task-oriented; the tasks were unusual, but each person did the

[7] Simone Forti, 'Dance Construction' in *An Anthology of Chance,* ed. by La Monte Young & Jackson Mac Low (New York: L. Young & J. Mac Low: 1963), p. 97
[8] Forti, p. 97

task."[9] Here Forti breaks away from the normative 'highly trained dance technician'[10] ideal of the ballerina, towards an exploration of the body's inherent capacities, derived from what Cunningham first coined as a pedestrianised use of the body, focused on more everyday modes of movement, such as walking or running, associated with people moving through public streets. Task-oriented choreographies also characterised much of Forti's dance-works, in which she provided her performers with instructions or objectives of an activity to be completed, rather than a set of stylised dance steps to be learned and performed.

The formation of *Huddle* demonstrates the principles of collaboration that were at the core of Dunn's classes and the Fluxus group that Forti and Mac Low had both been involved with. Forti may have choreographed the piece solo, but it is a work wholly predicated upon the principles of collaborative experiment. If one person begins to climb the huddle, the next must perform their responding move accordingly, always looking back and forth to respond to those around them. Paxton goes on in his account of the performance to state:

> In *Huddle* we huddled and took turns climbing up the huddle to the top, then down to the other side. What is this thing? It coheres into a random geometry much as a bunch or a mound is geometric. Its members individuate, aspire, achieve, and then return to the mass. One sees a scrambled group—arms, legs, heads, and torsos obscured by one another. It is semi-fluid and adjustable, but retains its overall identity. It resembles a swarm of bees. Forti did not provide this image, however. She provided no images at all. We were performing in a metaphor-free zone. This attitude was new.[11]

Here Paxton provides a vivid image of the dance-structure as viewed by the audience, at once mustering an image of careful coherence and abstract disorder. This is reflective of Forti's approach to choreography in general, setting clear instructions that necessitate corporeal struggles as the dancing body improvises responses to realise the proposed task. Most significantly, Paxton's assertion of Forti's 'metaphor-free' approach to choreography marks her innovative stripping-back of choreographic practice; for Forti, movement was not to be utilised as a means to an end of expressive imagery. Rather, the exploration of the moving body and its various capabilities was an end in itself. By not setting any pre-designed movement phrases for the performers, and instead allowing the performers to come to their own approach to executing the movement-task, Forti's dance allows the choreography to write itself, in the momentary time and space of the performance. Crucially, the emphasis of the work is placed on the textual element of the choreography, the performance relying on the performers' realisation of her written instructions through movement.

[9] Steve Paxton, 'The Emergence of Simone Forti', in *Simone Forti: Thinking With The Body,* ed. by Sabine Breitwesier (Munchen: Hirmer, 2014), 59-62 (p. 60)
[10] Ibid.
[11] Paxton, p. 60

In 1962, a year after Forti's *Huddle* performance, Mac Low produced *Nuclei for Simone (Morris) Forti* – from which *The Pronouns* were developed – as source texts for dancers to improvise movement from. In this way, creating *Nuclei* was an experiment for Mac Low in composing abstract linguistic works that sought to transfer authority of interpretation to the reader-performer. Where each filing card that made up the collective *Nuclei* simply consists of a collection of randomly selected 'words' and 'actions',[12] free of pronouns and adverbs, they equally resist subjectivity and imagery. For example, one card reads:

> words—
> slip, ray, basin, summer, such, finger.
> ACTIONS:
> WALKING ON HEALS, SHAKING A LIMB, DOING A DOUBLE-TAKE.[13]
> Words:
> Polynesia, grain, brick, night, window, waiting
> ACTIONS:
> BLESSING, KNEELING, SCRATCHING.[14]

From this pack of cards, the dancers were instructed to select one at random, and perform an improvisatory response to the words and actions given. *Nuclei* thus enacts a metamorphosis as it begins as the end-product of Mac Low's engagement with the word list, until it is presented to the dancers as a source text, from which they create their own, subsequent work. This is reflective of Mac Low's diastic composition in which the letters selected from the source text – say, the second letter of the first word of a line – are transferred onto the secondary work, for example, as the first letter of the first word of the newly composed line. In the case of *Nuclei,* however, publication of the poems enact a reversal of this gesture, in which the finished texts – the cards produced by the word list – become source texts in themselves, awaiting completion by the dancers.

The opening notes to *Nuclei* state that: 'This material may be used as basis of individual improvisations (one card at a time) & was so used by Simone Morris [Forti] – 925 Madison NY 17 June 1961,'[15] and it was in this year that Trisha Brown also performed two of the poems at the Yam Festival held at the Smolin gallery. Mac Low's wife and collaborator, Anne Tardos, recalls that *Nuclei* was '[written] on a set of 3x4-inch filing cards on which there are groups of words and of action phrases around which dancers build spontaneous improvisations. These can also be read as poems, as either accompaniments to dances or as themselves.'[16] Here, Tardos opens up an important component of the work, as its proposed function as either poems *or* choreographic scores characterises the two modes as mutually exclusive, rather than intrinsically interlinked. In fact, the duality of the work as both poetic text and dance notation

[12] Jackson Mac Low, 'Nuclei for Simone (Morris) Forti', in *Doings: Assorted Performance Pieces 1955-2002,* ed. by Steve Clay, (New York: Granary Books, 2005), p. 63
[13] Mac Low, 'Nuclei for Simone (Morris) Forti', p. 63
[14] *Nuclei Cards,* B52, F9, The Jackson Mac Low Archive, UCSD
[15] Mac Low, 'Nuclei for Simone (Morris) Forti', p. 59
[16] Anne Tardos, *Things of Beauty: Jackson Mac Low, New and Selected Works*, (London: University of California, 2008), p. 133

is at the heart of the work's experimentalism, and is precisely what marks the collection as being fundamentally choreographic in function and composition.

Just as Forti's dance instructions explore the body's pure potential, Mac Low equally wished to explore the possibilities of his chosen medium through his use of language. In particular, Mac Low's writing through, or diastic, compositional devise, alongside his own metaphor-free poetics, placed emphasis on the limits and potentials of pure language as a series of symbols and sounds free from any broader meaning or imagery. To compose each of the poems, Mac Low first used chance procedures to randomly select fragmented 'words' alongside a collection of unrelated 'actions' from the 'the 850-word Basic English Word List'. These words and actions were then written onto a new 'pack' of filing cards, similar to those of *Nuclei*.[17] These newly devised filing cards then became seed texts through which Mac Low wrote the poems that make up *The Pronouns*.

These newly devised filing cards then became seed texts through which Mac Low wrote the poems that make up *The Pronouns*. For example, one of the new filing card reads:

> Words:
> Property, music, here, interest, I, space.
> ACTIONS:
> DOING THINGS WITH THE MOUTH AND EYES,
> MAKING GLASS BOIL,
> HAVING POLITICAL MATERIAL GET IN,
> COMING BY.[18]

Each poem's title was selected by shuffling the pack, selecting a random card, and then "point[ing] blindly" to one of the words listed on it.[19] 'Once the title was determined', Mac Low explains, it was then used as a 'diastic index': 'That is, the letters of the title determined the actions drawn for the dance: turning the cards over, one at a time, with occasional shufflings, I let the title letters 'select' the successive actions'.[20] In his active engagement with the filing cards, such as his 'pointing blindly', Mac Low uses physical action as a compositional process, whilst composing poems intended to be read, or realized through further physical action. The poem '18TH DANCE – PLANTING – 1 March 1964' reads:

> Anyone begins by **p**enning anything or anyone,
> c**l**eaning something,
> bl**a**ckening something,
> doi**n**g waiting,
> & then plan**t**ing.
> A little later anyone may be react**i**ng to orange hair.
> Then anyone is printi**n**g.

[17] Mac Low, *The Pronouns*, p. 69
[18] *Nuclei Cards,* B52, F9, The Jackson Mac Low Archive, UCSD
[19] Mac Low, *The Pronouns*, p. 72
[20] Ibid.

At the end anyone is sponging.[21]

As in the title above, the first-position 'P' of 'Planting', led to the action 'penning anything or anyone'; the second-position 'l' of the title resulted in the action 'cleaning something'. This diastic method of selecting the poem's syntax via a pre-existing set of rules, alongside the chance procedure of dictating the words to be used, demonstrates a means of composing literary works void of expressionism and metaphor. Instead, Mac Low's poems explore the potentials of language itself, enacting a choreographic experimentation of linguistic movements. The placement of certain letters at certain points of each line determines the transitions and movements of the words and letters surrounding it. Just as in *Huddle* the movement of the performers' bodies were dictated by their task of realising the set positions the choreographic score required of them – X performer must climb to the other side of the formation, however they see fit – *The Pronouns* poems come to fruition by the same principle: the third letter of the first line must be *M*, the third letter of the second line must be *a*, and so each phrase is completed accordingly. In addition, the organisation of linguistic phrases in *The Pronouns* comes into being only through Mac Low's choreographic act of going through his diastic method; writing through the body of another text, and placing them there. In the same sense as the movements of *Huddle*, Mac Low's poems are choreographed only as they happen, and resist subjective intervention from the artist.

Following the Chambers Street performance, Mac Low and Young published *An Anthology* in 1963, with a second edition published in 1970:

> The full title, for which An Anthology is a minimal nickname [is], An Anthology of Chance Operations/ Conceptual Art/ Meaningless Work/ Natural Disasters/ Indeterminacy/ Anti-art/ Plans of Action/ Improvisation/ Stories/ Diagrams/ Poetry/ Essays/ Dance Constructions/ Compositions/ Mathematics/ Music. The title itself, referencing chance operations, 'plans of action', and indeterminacy, points to the significance of Cage's influence on the new works and suggests the directions in which artists were extending these ideas.[22]

Young invited Forti to submit works for the anthology, of which a written report of *Huddle* was included, as well as two dance reports of events she had seen, one score for a dance, and an additional description of a past performance.[23] With no accompanying images, Forti's contribution to the anthology reemphasises the textual element of her dance works. The first of Forti's 'Dance Reports' describes an abstract scene of an onion sprouting: An onion which had begun to sprout was set on its side on the mouth of a bottle. As the days passed it [transferred] more and more of its matter from the bulb to the green part until it had so shifted its weight that it fell off.'[24] In response to this dance report, Wendy Perron writes: 'Why was this a dance? For Forti, observation, time, and change were part of dancing.'[25] Meredith Morse, on the other hand, argues that 'as a *text piece* it can be read as detailing an occurrence that

[21] Mac Low, *The Pronouns,* p. 35
[22] Meredith Morse, *Soft is Fast: Simone Forti in the 1960s and After*, (London: The MIT Press, 2016), p. 70
[23] Ibid., p. 69-70
[24] Forti, p. 97
[25] Perron, p. 100

may or may not have come to pass.'[26] Interestingly, in each criticism of the work it is rigidly labelled as either dance *or* text. In light of the climate of intermedia experimentation and the culture of Happening performances, Forti's dance report in fact functions as a binding together of text and dance to form the whole of a single choreographic work. Morse's observation of the report's possible reading as 'detailing an occurrence that may or may not have come to pass'[27] is an entry way into understanding Forti's exploration of the limits and potentials of working across the two mediums. On the one hand, written in past tense and without poetic flourishes, the report appears to simply be recounting an observed event. Alternatively, if taken as dance instructions, it may instead be read as a source for improvisatory dance realisation to occur in the future, after the fact of the work's publication. On the other hand, Perron's assertion that 'for Forti, observation, time, and change were part of dancing'[28] allows the report to be read as a complete dance in its own right. That is, the act of observing the sprouting onion, together with the process of realising this event through setting it in language on the page, is itself a dance-event in Forti's view.

Comparatively, Forti's score, which had been performed prior to its publication, reads as entirely non-descriptive instructions: 'One man is told he must lie on the floor during the entire piece. The other man is told that during the piece he must tie the first man to the wall.'[29] In this piece, a further extension of what Paxton labelled Forti's 'task-oriented'[30] choreography is evident. The performance of this piece calls for a literal following of the instructions given, once again establishing a metaphor-free environment. Much like *Huddle,* the piece relies on the dynamic exploration of two opposing bodies at work. The two sets of instructions – one instructing the first man to lie on the floor, the other instructing the second man to tie him to the wall – are at odds with one another, creating a tension between the simultaneous successful actualisation of both actions.[31] Subsequently, the objective of the piece becomes invested in exploring the possibilities of actualising the movements instructed, as well experimenting with an ethics of collaboration grounded in the Buddhist notions of forming an open 'genuine' and 'communal'[32] dialogue. That is, the piece prioritises the two performers working in solidarity to achieve the instruction as a unified pair, rather than following the governing orders of the written score. Morse goes on in her account of these works to assert:

> Because Forti's texts [are] labelled as if they might be actualised as 'dances', they force recognition of these limit conditions […] Forti's concern with actualisation is not simply a consideration of the range of opportunities for outcomes in performance. When actualisation

[26] Morse, p. 72
[27] Morse, p. 72
[28] Perron, 100
[29] Morse, p. 72
[30] Paxton, p. 60
[31] Morse p. 77
[32] Martin Buber, *I and Thou*, trans. by Ronald Gregor Smith, (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1999), p. 21

> (past or present) is contemplated, the artwork-as-situation begs fundamental questions about where the work begins and ends – and in what kind of space and time it occurs.[33]

By transcribing a work that has its origins in performance, Forti subverts conventional notions of the score as authorial text, positing a challenge to the idea of the score as preceding performance as the original, innately true, version of the work. The text is required to set out the overall task-based objective of the piece, but it is only through the performers' experience of attempting to actualise these instructions that the work comes to life, the artwork as a whole constituting both the compositional process, the text, and the corporeal experiment of the score's performance.

In his 2011 essay on notation Mark Franko defines the term *choreography* as always relating to the act of writing:

> Choreography, from the etymological perspective and by virtue of current usage, seems to be a portmanteau word referring to two kinds of action: writing (graphic) and dancing (choros). As such, the word choreography seems to encode a theory of the relation of dance to scriptuality – of writing as movement and dance as text. The theory seems to be that movement originates in the text through which it is initially thought and recorded.[34]

Choreography being the point at which writing and dancing meet, both *Nuclei* and *The Pronouns*, in their diastic composition and appeal to performance, attempt to make explicit the bridge between the two components of the choreographic process. The writing of the poems utilises movement in its organisation, and the dance that follows fulfils a realisation of the text. In this sense, and in contrast to Tardos's claim, Mac Low's work stands simultaneously as text and performance; the written work always pointing towards the movement it inscribes, and vice versa. For instance, Mac Low recalls of 'the only performance of *Nuclei for Simone Forti* as a play,'[35] on 30 June 1961 at the AG Gallery in New York:

> The Nuclei cards [were] divided into three groups for performance as a play of three scenes, in each of which the performers use only the cards in one group. […] Each performer would choose one card from the group for the scene taking place & use the unconnected words [as] nuclei around which to improvise […] while performing the given actions.[36]

In this case, the written words that make up *Nuclei,* whilst themselves enacting the choreographic process, are also centres from which activity is spurred, as the work's title suggests. Thus, *Nuclei* has a dual function of writing both *for* and *as* choreography, on the one hand serving the function of choreography in its literal notation of performance sequences, and on the other, acting out the choreographic process in the composition of the text.

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[33] Morse, p. 73

[34] Mark Franko, 'Writing for the Body: Notation, Reconstruction, and Reinvention', *Common Knowledge*, 17. 2, (2011), 321-334 (p. 321)

[35] Mac Low, *The Pronouns,* p. 70

[36] Ibid.

Crucially, reading the poems is always an act of performance, whether through language or movement. Indeed, in each of the poetic statements attached to the poems, Mac Low exclusively addresses the dancer in place of the reader, alluding to this inherent relationship between reading and performance. Franko continues:

> In other terms, *choreography* denotes both the score of a dance and the dance itself as perceived in real time and space – which raises the question: when we observe a dance, do we observe (its) writing? That question could be rephrased to ask: What does it mean to 'see' choreography? The writing I refer to as being 'seen' is not necessarily synonymous with notation. But notation generally also conjures up the image of a dance in preparation or a dance remembered.[37]

The work is always both text and dance, the choreography already set on the page, to be realised through the performance of reading; the text and performance space always alluding back to one another. In addition, Franko's investigation of choreography and notation underlines the latter as only half the work, the text as notes awaiting actualisation through performance, and therefore an incomplete text requiring completion. In a statement addressing his application of Buddhist principles in his compositions, Mac Low asserts that:

> The poet creates a situation wherein she or he invites other persons and the world in general to be co-creators. The poet does not wish to be a dictator but a loyal co-initiator of action within the free society of equals which it is hoped the world will help to bring about.[38]

Franko's theorising of choreography's need for performance to complete the work that the text sets out is reflected in Mac Low's notion of himself as a *co-initator* of his work. For Mac Low, his authorship only makes up part of the artwork that is to be completed through the performance act of a reader or performer. For instance, *Nuclei*, in its notational form, presents the potential of movement in its language, and thus as a full work only comes to fruition once the poems are actualised in the performance space.

Writing on the dynamic between poetics and choreography, Ric Allsopp cites Mac Low's contemporary, Roland Barthes, to state that:

> Writing, as a creative practice is not something to be completed and therefore appropriated, but an endless practice. Writing ceases to be either a psychological expression of the poet's subjectivity or a representation of something external to its own workings. Choreography can also be thought about (and practiced) in similar terms – eschewing both psychological expression and 'aboutness' as the reference to something beyond its own workings.[39]

Both Mac Low and Forti's works are involved in an 'endless practice'[40] of revival through the performance-acts of reading and dancing, rather than the written texts serving as a completed product awaiting appropriation through the dancer's movement. That is, through this cycle of re-creation and interpretation, there is never one hierarchal author or reader for long before the power dynamic shifts

[37] Franko, p. 321
[38] Mac Low, *The Pronouns*, p. 75
[39] Ric Allsopp, 'Some Notes on Poetics and Choreography', *Performance Research*, 10. 1, (2015), 4-12 (p.5)
[40] Ibid.

again, the role of author constantly revolving. In this ongoing succession of re-creation and performance, the reader-performer is elevated to the status of collaborator, generating new realisations of the work. Rather than a collaboration between two artists, however, it takes place between reader and poet in a dynamic that establishes the active reader as collaborator, and by extension, reader as artist. As such, Mac Low's *Nuclei* and *The Pronouns*, and Forti's 'Dance Report' and 'Dance Construction[s]' persist in the respective artists' project of disturbing the boundaries between artist and audience by creating art that empowers the audience with interpretive freedom, creating a cycle in which artist and reader/viewer hold equal prevalence.

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Journal

'PUT RIFLES IN THEIR HANDS!': CONSTRUCTING SPANISH ANARCHIST SOLIDARITY WITH THE EARLY MEXICAN REVOLUTION[1]

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Abstract
The Confederación Nacional del Trabajo (National Labour Confederation — CNT) was founded in Spain in late 1910, just weeks before the outbreak of the Mexican Revolution. The upheaval on the other side of the Atlantic was received with considerable excitement among the anarchists and syndicalists who made up the new trade union confederation, who saw their own revolutionary project reflected in the version of events they were given by the anarchists of the Organising Junta of the Partido Liberal Mexicano (Mexican Liberal Party, PLM). Primarily by examining the radical working-class press, and influenced by the political geographer David Featherstone's work on internationalism, this article explores the appeal of the Mexican Revolution for activists in Spain and the dynamics of their 'moral and material' solidarity with Mexican comrades.

With the anarchist movement's major role in the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) and its ensuing revolutionary upheaval long immortalised and romanticised by many writers, the significance of anarchism within Spanish history is well-established.[2] For many years, non-anarchist historians were content with Gerald Brenan's essentialist remark that Spanish anarchism was 'the most "Hispanic" thing south of the Pyrenees.'[3] However, following the fall of the Berlin Wall and the concurrent collapse of Marxism's hegemony over the anti-capitalist Left, the late Benedict Anderson observed that a serious scholarly reconsideration of anarchism as a *global* movement was in progress, even identifying it as the dominant tendency in working-class radicalism across the turn of the twentieth century prior to the

[1] I would like to thank Sophie Turbutt for reading a draft of this article. I am also grateful to Peter Anderson, Richard Cleminson, and attendees of the Edinburgh-Oxford Modern Spanish History Doctoral Seminar for comments on earlier iterations of this work.
[2] Probably the most well-known literary account of the anarchists in the Civil War was given by George Orwell in his memoir of his time fighting alongside them: George Orwell, *Homage to Catalonia* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1938). In the 1960s, an essay by Noam Chomsky championed the Spanish Revolution as an example of popular, grassroots social transformation without a state authority: reprinted in Noam Chomsky, *Objectivity and Liberal Scholarship* (New York: The New Press, 2003), pp. 48-103. For a detailed English-language overview of the history of anarchism in Spain, one classic text is Murray Bookchin, *The Spanish Anarchists: The Heroic Years, 1868-1936* (New York: Harper Colophon, 1978). In Spanish, see this recent two-volume survey: Julián Vadillo Muñoz, *Historia de la CNT: Utopía, pragmatismo y revolución* (Madrid: Catarata, 2019) and Julián Vadillo Muñoz, *Historia de la FAI: El anarquismo organizado* (Madrid: Catarata, 2021).
[3] Gerald Brenan, *The Spanish Labyrinth: An Account of the Social and Political Background of the Civil War*. Paperback edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1960), p. 197.

Russian Revolution.[4] In this vein, in recent years some researchers have borrowed from the lexicon of postcolonialism to argue for a 'provincialising' of Spanish anarchism, highlighting the historical presence of important anarchist-inspired movements in many countries and territories including Portugal, Sweden, Korea, Argentina, and Cuba.[5] The so-called 'transnational turn' has also generated an expansive interest in anarchism as 'the world's first and most widespread transnational movement organized from below', thriving across and between colonies and metropoles through networks of labour migrants, exiles, and itinerant activists.[6] These trends have led historians of the Spanish anarchist movement to highlight the need to transcend national exceptionalism and locate Spanish anarchism within 'a broader history of the left and the workers' movement.'[7] My research analyses the ways in which the anarchists of Spain considered themselves a part of an international, revolutionary working class. Influenced by recent trends in the study of internationalism and a shift away from migration- and mobility-focused transnational studies, I am interested in the ways that the grassroots of Spanish anarchism engaged with the politics and praxis of international solidarity through printed texts and local campaigns.[8]

Shortly after the foundation in Barcelona of the libertarian Confederación Nacional del Trabajo (National Confederation of Labour, CNT), the Mexican Revolution (1910-1920) erupted on the opposite side of the Atlantic. The Revolution was a complex, multifaceted process involving diverse actors: from wealthy elites mobilising simply to topple the tyrannical regime of Porfirio Díaz and re-establish constitutional norms, through to rural indigenous communities rising up in pursuit of land redistribution.[9] Anarchists in Spain aligned themselves with one faction within the broad tapestry of opposition to the *Porfiriato*: the Organising Junta of the *Partido Liberal Mexicano* (Mexican Liberal Party — PLM) which, despite its name, had come to embrace 'a unique synthesis of European anarchist thought […] and an idealized — or imagined — conceptualization of indigenous cultural patterns characteristic of agrarian Mexico.'[10] In contrast to the constitutionalist slogan of 'Effective Suffrage, Not Reelection', the PLM had raised the

[4] Benedict Anderson, 'Preface,' in *Anarchism and Syndicalism in the Colonial and Postcolonial World, 1870-1940: The Praxis of National Liberation, Internationalism, and Social Revolution*, ed. by Steven Hirsch and Lucien van der Walt (Leiden: Brill, 2010), pp. xiii-xxix.

[5] Lucien Van der Walt and Steven Hirsch, 'Rethinking Anarchism and Syndicalism: The Colonial and Postcolonial Experience, 1870-1940' in *Anarchism and Syndicalism in the Colonial and Postcolonial World*, ed. by Hirsch and van der Walt, pp. xxxi-lxxiii (p. xlvi). ; Lucien Van Der Walt and Michael Schmidt, *Black Flame: The Revolutionary Class Politics of Anarchism and Syndicalism* (Oakland: AK Press, 2009), pp. 273-275.

[6] José C. Moya, 'Anarchism', in *The Palgrave Dictionary of Transnational History*, ed. by Akira Iriye and Pierre-Yves Saunier (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), pp. 39-41 (p. 39).

[7] Danny Evans and James M. Yeoman, 'New Approaches to Spanish Anarchism', *International Journal of Iberian Studies* 29. 3 (2016), 199-205 (pp. 200-1).

[8] In particular, I am inspired by David Featherstone, *Solidarity: Hidden Histories and Geographies of Internationalism* (London: Zed Books, 2012). Within the historiography of anarchism, Constance Bantman has highlighted themes such as the links and divisions between the 'internationalism' of elite activists and ideologues and that of the 'informal' ranks of the movement, as well as the idea of 'rooted' or 'sedentary' transnationalism wherein residing in the same locale for a long time did not preclude a high degree of cross-border connectivity. See Constance Bantman, 'Internationalism without an International? Cross-Channel Anarchist Networks, 1880-1914', *Revue belge de Philologie et d'Histoire*, 84. 4 (2006), 961-81 and Constance Bantman, *Jean Grave and the Networks of French Anarchism, 1854-1939* (Cham: Springer Nature Switzerland AG, 2021).

[9] A succinct introduction is offered by Stuart Easterling, *The Mexican Revolution: A Short History, 1910-1920* (Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2012).

[10] Shawn England, 'Magonismo, the Revolution, and the Anarchist Appropriation of an Imagined Mexican Indigenous Identity' in *In Defiance of Boundaries: Anarchism in Latin American History*, ed. by Geoffroy de Laforcade and Kirwin Shaffer (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2015), pp. 243-60 (p. 244).

banner of '*¡Tierra y Libertad!*' — 'Land and Liberty!' — an allusion to the anarchist goal of libertarian communism.[11] This slogan conveyed the Organising Junta's interpretation of the Revolution as a popular armed struggle for *la revolución social* ('social revolution'): the anarchist concept of a leaderless revolt against hierarchical social relations, while rejecting any strategy of 'political revolution' based on winning state power for the working class. Although the accuracy of such a portrayal of Mexico's revolution can be debated, this was the impression of it which was transmitted to anarchists in Spain and worldwide.[12]

This transmission occurred primarily through the anarchist press. Print culture was indispensable within turn-of-the-century anarchism, being 'the site where anarchist ideas and practice came together, forming the ideological underpinning of the movement' and facilitating communication and therefore, for practical purposes, a *structure*, where a formal one was eschewed on principle.[13] Moreover, the press was arguably *the* key vector of anarchist transnationalism: migrant labourers might carry anarchist ideas and practices far and wide, but it was the 'arrival of a press correspondent [which] embedded a locality into the geography of the movement.'[14] As David Struthers has highlighted in his work on radical Los Angeles, through the transnational anarchist press, activists 'clearly and intentionally nurtured an imagined political community' of global working-class solidarity.[15] In Eric Hobsbawm's romantic terms, it was his newspaper which 'made the village cobbler in a small Andalusian town conscious of having brothers fighting the same fight in Madrid and New York, in Barcelona and Leghorn, in Buenos Aires.'[16] Moreover, it was a *material* 'connecting thread.'[17] When *Regeneración* — organ of the PLM's Organising Junta — was published from exile in Los Angeles and distributed via the networks of global anarchism, this was a tangible exchange between kindred movements. This is highlighted in the memoirs of Manuel Sirvent Romero, eventually a protagonist of Spain's own anarchist revolution, as he recalled formative years delivering copies of *Regeneración* alongside other global libertarian newspapers such as *¡Tierra!* (Cuba) and *El Único* (Panama).[18]

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[11] Margarita Carbó Darnaculleta, '¡Viva Tierra y Libertad! La Utopía Magonista'*, Boletín Americanista* 47 (1997), 91-100 (p. 95).

[12] In fact, despite being an important part of the opposition to the Díaz regime in the years leading up to the Revolution's outbreak, the PLM itself did not gain *direct* traction of a significant kind anywhere during the Revolution apart from a temporary attempt to hold territory in the northwestern state of Baja California, and even there the degree to which the anarchists were the leading tendency is debatable. However, following the fall of *magonista* Baja California, PLM members joined various other factions across Mexico, often agitating from within for their libertarian ideas. See Marco Antonio Samaniego López. 'El poblado fronterizo de Tijuana, Emiliano Zapata y la *Rivoluzione da Tavolino', Historia Mexicana* 66. 3 (2017), 1123-75 and England, 'Magonismo', pp. 255-6.

[13] James Michael Yeoman, *Print Culture and the Formation of the Anarchist Movement in Spain*, 1890-1915 (New York: Routledge, 2020), p. 1.

[14] James Michael Yeoman, 'The Panama Papers: Anarchist Press Networks between Spain and the Canal Zone in the Early Twentieth Century', in *Transatlantic Radicalism: Socialist and Anarchist Exchanges in the 19th and 20th Centuries*, ed. by Frank Jacob and Mario Keßler (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2021), pp. 83-108 (p. 91).

[15] David Struthers borrows Benedict Anderson's 'imagined community' concept in his description of radical working-class internationalism: David M. Struthers, *The World in a City: Multiethnic Radicalism in Early Twentieth-Century Los Angeles* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2019), p. 36.

[16] Eric J. Hobsbawm, *Primitive Rebels: Studies in Archaic Forms of Social Movement in the 19th and 20th Centuries* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1971), pp. 84-5.

[17] Struthers, *World in a City*, p. 35.

[18] Manuel Sirvent Romero, *Un Militante del Anarquismo Español [Memorias, 1889-1948]* (Madrid: Fundación de Estudios Libertarios Anselmo Lorenzo, 2011), pp. 39-40.

Articles from *Regeneración* were also simply reproduced in Spain's own libertarian newspapers such as the syndicalist *Solidaridad Obrera* and anarchist *Tierra y Libertad*, fitting seamlessly due to their use of the same libertarian idiom. As a *Tierra y Libertad* front page stated approvingly: the PLM 'address themselves constantly to the proletariat, speaking to them […] in language akin to that used by anarchist publications of the whole world.'[19] Perhaps the most obvious example was the titular '*Tierra y Libertad*' itself, which had belonged to the international anarchist movement for years before the PLM adopted it as a slogan. Another unmistakeable example was the aforementioned reassuring reference to 'social revolution' and the disdain for 'political revolution': a clear signal for libertarians who were always cautious to avoid supporting a 'politician' who might distract the working class from working towards its own self-emancipation. Historian Jordi Getman-Eraso has explored the collective identity role of Spanish anarchists' revolutionary rhetoric and its 'pragmatic' function in negotiation and contestation within the radical working-class public sphere.[20] The Mexican anarchists' use of that same rhetoric granted them access to the same public sphere despite their physical distance, an important vehicle for commonality and thus comradeship.

David Featherstone has argued that scholars should explore in more depth the 'emotional' and 'passionate' nature of solidaristic connections.[21] In appeals from the Organising Junta, graphic and highly emotive language also helped to evoke a sense of sameness which could bridge the geographical divide. Researchers of social movement mobilisation have attested to the overlapping and reinforcing nature of *shared* emotional sentiments on the one hand and *reciprocal* affective ties on the other.[22] When Ricardo Flores Magón, the PLM leader, wrote that Porfirio Díaz 'cleans [US President William Howard] Taft's fetid shoes with his rancid tongue and hands himself over, body and soul, to the avarice and extreme voracity of the American plutocracy', it spoke to Spanish anarchists' own fury at what they felt to be the vacuity of political leaders and the heartless, exploitative, and oligarchical nature of capitalism.[23] If protest and social action is motivated by the emotional perception of an 'excruciating contrast between the way things are now and the way things might be', emotive language is a way of signalling to others that you, too, feel this torturous contrast, generating those affective bonds.[24]

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[19] "[…] se dirijen constantement al proletariado hablándole [...] en lenguaje semejante al usado por las publicaciones anarquistas de todo el mundo". 'Una revolución libertaria', *Tierra y Libertad* 15/03/1911, p. 1. All translations are the author's.

[20] Jordi W. Getman-Eraso, 'Pragmatism Unveiled: The Meanings of Revolutionary Rhetoric in Spanish Anarchosyndicalism', in *Nation and Conflict in Modern Spain: Essays in Honor of Stanley G. Payne*, ed. by Brian D. Bunk (Madison: Parallel Press, 2008), pp. 31-50. The theme of the working-class anarchist public sphere is key to the excellent Chris Ealham, *Anarchism and the City: Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Barcelonia, 1898-1937* (Oakland: AK Press, 2010).

[21] Featherstone, *Solidarity*, p. 36.

[22] Jeff Goodwin, James M. Jasper, and Francesca Polletta, 'Why Emotions Matter', in *Passionate Politics: Emotions and Social Movements*, ed. by Jeff Goodwin, James M. Jasper, and Francesca Polletta (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), pp. 1-24 (p. 20).

[23] 'Porfirio Diaz […] limpia con su lengua asquerosa los zapatoes [sic] hediondos de Taft y se entrega en cuerpo y alma a la codicia, a la voracidad desatentada de la plurocracia americana': 'DE LA REVOLUCIÓN MEJICANA', *Tierra y Libertad* 19/04/1911, p. 1.

[24] James M. Jasper, 'Emotions and Social Movements: Twenty Years of Theory and Research', *Annual Review of Sociology* 37 (2011), 285-303 (p. 291).

Symbols from the libertarian movement's collective memory and geographical imaginary also helped Spanish anarchists to 'read' the Mexican Revolution. Flores Magón's denunciations of '*yanqui*' imperialist designs in Mexico recalled previous US imperial adventures in Central America, the Caribbean, and the Pacific.[25] This connected Mexico with other nodes in the Spanish anarchist geographical imaginary such as Cuba and Panama, establishing a continuity between them.[26] Articles also invoked the Red Flag, depicting it flying on the battlefields of Mexico, something which linked the struggle — sometimes metonymically and sometimes explicitly — with what was then the archetypical working-class revolution, the Paris Commune of 1871: a formative part of libertarian memory.[27] This had potent emotional currency in a movement with its own culture and rituals of memory and martyrdom.[28] Anselmo Lorenzo — himself a living icon within Spanish anarchism, as a surviving veteran of the original International Workingmen's Association (the 'First International') which gave birth to modern Marxism and anarchism in the 1860s and 1870s — touched on further symbols on the front page of *Tierra y Libertad*, writing that

> that which for more than half a century has been sustained among the workers of the world by the diffusion of ideas, is currently being sustained in Mexico by arms.
>
> The programme of The [First] International, developed in [Piotr Kropotkin's] *The Conquest of Bread*, is today being brought about in Baja California, by those warrior workers who wield the rifle and the hoe, to the cry of Land and Liberty! [29]

Here, these foundational texts — the programme of the International, and Kropotkin's *The Conquest of Bread* — invoked by an authoritative figure, provided a reference point for comprehending the faraway Revolution, which in turn reaffirmed the validity of those texts through real-world praxis.

These shared discourses, concepts, and symbols were crucial vectors for internationalist solidarity. But we must also refer to the social and political context of early 1910s Spain. As the Spanish historian Eduard Masjuan has noted, the radical working class of Barcelona (epicentre of the country's anarchist movement) had experienced a failed general strike in 1902, and more recently the *semana trágica* (tragic week) of 1909, where protests and strikes against conscription for a colonial war met with violent repression, culminating in the scapegoated execution of libertarian pedagogue Francesc Ferrer despite

[25] See 'DE LA REVOLUCIÓN MEJICANA', *Tierra y Libertad* 19/04/1911, p. 1.

[26] On Cuba: Yeoman, *Print Culture*, pp. 98-101. On Panama: Yeoman, 'The Panama Papers'. On the PLM's invocation of US interventionism as a strategy to attract working-class support: Marco Antonio Samaniego López, 'La intervención como estrategia para la unidad del proletariado: los anarquistas del Partido Liberal Mexico', *Revista de Historia Amaericana y Argentina* 54. 2 (2019), 91-122.

[27] See 'LA REVOLUCIÓN EN MÉJICO', *Solidaridad Obrera* 05/05/1911, p. 1, appeal in *Solidaridad Obrera* 15/07/1911, pp. 1-2, 'LA REVOLUCIÓN EN MÉJICO', *Solidaridad Obrera* 11/08/1911, p. 2, and 'La revolución social en Méjico', *Solidaridad Obrera* 08/09/1911, p. 3.

[28] See Yeoman, *Print Culture*, pp. 73-4. On libertarian collective memory, see for example Anna Riberia and Alejandro de la Torre, 'Memoria Libertaria: Usos del calendario militante del anarquismo hispanoamericano', *Historias* 75 (2010), 105-24. On martyrdom: Elun Gabriel, 'Performing Persecution: Witnessing and Martyrdom in the Anarchist Tradition', *Radical History Review* 98 (2007), 34-62.

[29] 'Lo que durante más de medio siglo se ha sostenido entre todos los trabajadores del mundo por la difusión de las ideas, se sostiene actualmente en Méjico por las armas. El programa de La Internacional, desarrollado en *La Conquista del Pan*, se plantea hoy en la Baja Cafornia, por aquellos trabajadores guerrerros que manejan el fusil y el azadón, al grito de ¡Tierra y Libertad!': 'La revolución en Méjico', *Tierra y Libertad* 28/06/1911, p. 1.

international criticism.[30] Combined with dismal living and labour conditions, this made workers strongly receptive to the vision of PLM anarchists taking up arms and making headway in the social revolution. We can easily see why a veteran of this failed cycle of struggle and repression might be enthused by a graphic chronicle of class warfare such as the press coverage of the situation in Mexico, with tales like that of

> the *hacienda* [estate] of Antonio Martínez [… which] was taken by blood and fire by a rebel force, after tenacious resistance by the bourgeois Martínez. The revolutionaries took everything from the *finca* [ranch] and finished by burning the house and executing the bourgeois, who used to pay his peons ten and eight cents daily to work sun to sun.[31]

A revolution on the other side of the Atlantic was an opportunity for belief, for solidarity, and sometimes for imagining vengeful violence during a dire period in Spanish workers' social struggle.[32] For pioneering female activists who were just beginning to organise working-class women (at least in Barcelona) in some numbers into the ranks of the labour and anarchist movements, PLM manifestos addressed to 'all men and women who sympathise' and calling for land redistribution to the people 'without sex distinction', as well as the PLM activist Rosa Méndez's articles in the Spanish press declaring 'let us women show that we too are brave fighters', were likely a source of imaginative inspiration, evoking the possibility of women on the frontline of revolution.[33]

On the political plane, Mexico also seemed to reaffirm anarchist ideas at a time when a new competitor for working-class sympathies had arisen in recent years in the shape of the populist Alejandro Lerroux and his Radical Republican Party.[34] Mexico furnished new evidence that a republican state (as the *Porfiriato* had been) could not be the salvation of the proletariat.[35] The anarchist press thus urged their Socialist and Republican rivals alike to 'keep in mind' the Mexican 'working-class insurrection against the tyranny of a republic.'[36] If these Republicans and Socialists wanted to prove their radical credentials, instead of funding

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[30] Eduard Masjuan, '*Reivindicación*, la defensa de la Revolución mexicana magonista por el anarquismo español, 1914-1918', *Signos Históricos* 22. 43 (2020), 186-219 (p. 216).

[31] 'La hacienda de Antonio Martínez […] fue tomada a sangre y fuego por una fuerza rebelde, después de tenaz resistencia que hiciera el burgués Martínez. Los revolucionarios tomaron cuanto había en la finca y acabaron por incendiar la casa y ejecutar al burgués, quien pagaba a sus peones diez y ocho centravos diarios por trabajar de sol a sol.': 'Información', *Solidaridad Obrera* 28/07/1911, p. 2.

[32] There is something in this which evokes the radical folk singer Robb Johnson's claim that supporting internationalist causes such as Palestinian liberation, the anti-apartheid struggle, and the Sandinista Revolution in Nicaragua offered a beleaguered British Left a 'tactical way of fighting back' against the conservative agenda of the Thatcher government during the 1980s. Cited in Featherstone, *Solidarity*, p. 35.

[33] Angel Smith, *Anarchism, Revolution and Reaction: Catalan Labour and the Crisis of the Spanish State, 1898-1923* (Oxford: Berghahn, 2006), pp. 90, 121, 208-9. See 'Una revolución libertaria', *Tierra y Libertad* 15/03/1911, p. 1. 'Demostremos las mujeres que también nosotras somos luchadoras valerosas…': 'Arresto de la junta', *Tierra y Libertad* 12/07/1911, p. 2.

[34] A useful recent overview of Spain's social and political situation during the late Restoration era is offered by Francisco J. Romero Salvadó, *Political Comedy, Social Tragedy: Spain, a laboratory of social conflict 1892-1921* (Eastbourne: Sussex Academic Press, 2019).

[35] Historically, the crushing of the Paris Commune of 1871 and the execution of the 'Chicago Martyrs' following the 1886 Haymarket Affair were events which had shaped anarchists' view that a republican revolution would not bring freedom and social equality: see Ruth Kinna, *The Government of No One: The Theory and Practice of Anarchism* (London: Pelican, 2020), pp. 11-54.

[36] '[S]e trata de una insurrección obrera contra la tiranía de una república […] Ténganlo en cuenta': 'La revolución en Méjico', *Tierra y Libertad* 05/07/1911, p. 1. It was also Socialist policy at this time to work towards a Republic in coalition with middle-class progressives.

vehicles and apartments for their parliamentary deputies and making empty statements about revolution at election time, they ought to raise funds for the Mexican revolutionaries.[37]

By contrast, the anarchist and syndicalist press had opened subscriptions to aid the PLM, and the CNT was pledged to 'moral, material, and propaganda support' for the Mexican revolutionaries.[38] From May 1911 up until the summer of 1913, more than 3695 *pesetas* were collected by *Tierra y Libertad* alone.[39] As most individual donations seemed to be around 25 cents, it is likely there were several thousand different donors just to this one subscription. The press published powerful appeals directly from Ricardo Flores Magón. One such message informed readers of 'seven thousand strikers, hoisting the Red Flag, fight[ing] with STONES at this moment against thousands of henchmen of the Dictatorship' and gave a dramatic plea: 'Put rifles in their hands!'[40] It claimed that 'millions of peons are preparing at this moment to take possession of the *haciendas*', urging readers to send 'rifles and munitions so that their conquest cannot be robbed from them even by the bourgeoisie of the whole world.'[41] This appeal sat somewhere between guilting and galvanising— the reader was faced with an image of fellow workers forced to fight a revolution with stones, but also with the possibility of participating vicariously in that revolution by arming those same workers with rifles.

The political and visual imagery surrounding solidarity donations suggests an active social psychological element, reflecting David Featherstone's idea of solidarity as an emotive and generative relation rather than a passive and mechanistic process.[42] David Struthers has written that through radical solidarity funds donors 'invested in their shared cause… to support the collective action they envisioned.'[43] The materiality of the money and the emotionality of the 'tangible link and […] feeling of connection' interacted with the content of anarchist ideology, solidifying 'the perception of community in the anarchist movement beyond […] the level of the "imagined".'[44] The historian of Cuban and Caribbean anarchism, Kirwin Shaffer, notes that despite the relative inclusivity of anarchist print culture, 'not everyone could voice with their pen; sometimes the money they sent […] spoke just as loudly for them.'[45] In the case of the campaign for Mexico, this was not purely metaphorical: newspapers published the names of donors, meaning that the act of donating was indeed a *literal* act of affirmation. Many used their

[37] '¡OBREROS, ESCUCHAD!', *Solidaridad Obrera* 14/07/1911, p. 2.

[38] 'De la revolución mejicana', *Tierra y Libertad* 24/05/1911, p. 1.

[39] Joaquín Beltrán Dengra, 'La opinión sobre la Revolución Mexiana (1911-1917) en la prensa anarquista española', *Espiral* 14. 41 (2008), 169-205 (p. 201).

[40] 'Siete mil huelguistas, enarbolando la Bandera Roja, se baten A PEDRADAS en estos momentos contra miles de esbirros de la Dictadura […] ¡Poned fusiles en sus manos […]!': 'Solidaridad, compañeros, solidaridad', *Solidaridad Obrera* 08/09/1911, p. 3.

[41] 'Millones de peones se disponen en estos momentos a tomar posesión de las haciendas. ¡Enviadles rifles y municiones para que no se les pueda arrebatar su conquista ni por los burgueses de todo el mundo!': 'Solidaridad, compañeros, solidaridad', *Solidaridad Obrera* 08/09/1911, p. 3.

[42] Featherstone, *Solidarity*.

[43] Struthers, *World in a City*, p. 54.

[44] ibid.

[45] Kirwin Shaffer, 'Havana Hub: Cuban Anarchism, Radical Media and the Trans-Caribbean Anarchist Network, 1902-1915', *Caribbean Studies* 37. 2 (2009), 45-81 (p. 53).

real names, but some chose pseudonyms to further invoke their internationalism, such as '*un cosmopolita*', '*adelante, revolución méjicana*', and '*dos sin patria*' ('a cosmopolitan'; 'onward, Mexican Revolution'; 'two nationless ones').[46] In addition to this collective and self-identity function, the vision of placing rifles in the hands of anarchist revolutionaries meant that donation responded to one of the key emotional factors of social mobilisation: '[t]he desire to have an effect on the world'; a human need for 'confidence and agency' twinned with 'a moral vision that the world should be different from the way it is.'[47] Internationalist solidarity offered an imaginative space (and the content of Flores Magón's appeals certainly involved some imaginative license) to maintain that sense of agency, of acting on the world. This was undoubtedly a source of morale and endurance during difficult periods, such as these heavily-repressed early years of the CNT, and an important formative experience for revolutionaries such as the aforementioned Manuel Sirvent, who in his job delivering newspapers as a *paquetero* would also have been responsible for collecting donations.[48]

Aside from soliciting, making, and collecting donations, activists could mobilise materially in other ways. In just three weeks, 'thousands' of copies of a PLM manifesto were distributed — an important activity for a movement built largely upon the circulation of radical printed materials.[49] Physical rallies offered another opportunity for embodied solidarity. In June 1911, for example, the radical press advised that Porfirio Díaz, deposed Mexican dictator, was heading for Spain as his first stop in exile, and urged workers to counter the Spanish government's 'festivities, receptions and royal hunts in his honour' with 'the most formidable protest.'[50] It seems that the Mexican consul in the northwestern city of A Coruña managed to engage the authorities to avoid such protests.[51] However, *Tierra y Libertad* claimed on 21 June that Díaz had been unable to disembark in Vigo, a nearby city within the northwestern region of Galicia, 'due to the attitude of frank repudiation from our comrades.'[52] Moreover, a detailed report from the newspaper *Tierra Gallega* describes a later 'very numerous' public meeting in A Coruña organised by the local branch of the CNT in support of the Mexican Revolution.[53] With several speakers using the podium to defend the libertarian idea of a revolution as something far more profound than a simple regime change, we might suggest that such rallies were a space for activists to convert the popular enthusiasm triggered by a significant international event into public education in anarchist ideas. This was doubly

[46] 'Suscripción para ayudar a los revolucionarios mejicanos', *Tierra y Libertad* 14/06/1911, p. 4.
[47] Jasper, 'Emotions and Social Movements', p. 291.
[48] Sirvent Romero, *Un militante*, p. 40n42.
[49] See 'Manifesto. A los trabajadores de todo el mundo', *Tierra y Libertad* 03/05/1911, p. 2 and 'De la revolución mejicana', *Tierra y Libertad* 24/05/1911, p. 1.
[50] 'el Gobierno […] organice festejos, recepciones y cacerías regias en su honor […] la presencia de Porfirio Díaz […] diera lugar a la más formidable protesta': 'LA REVOLUCIÓN DE MÉJICO', *Solidaridad Obrera* 16/06/1911, p. 2.
[51] Carlos Illades, *México y España durante la Revolución Mexicana* (Mexico: Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, 1985), p. 165n.
[52] 'Porfirio Díaz ha llegado a España, pero ante la actitud de franca repula de nuestros compañeros de Vigo, resolvió no desembarcar': 'La revolución en Méjico', *Tierra y Libertad* 21/06/1911, p. 1.
[53] Reproduced in Illades, *México y España*, pp. 160-165. I am grateful to Kevan Aguilar for bringing this source to my attention.

important at a time of growth and expansion of the libertarian workers' movement in the Galicia region.[54] Notices placed in the libertarian press from anarchist groups looking to engage with other Mexican Revolution enthusiasts further attest to the movement-building role of the Revolution.[55] Moreover, the *Tierra Gallega* report specifically noted the presence of women at the A Coruña meeting, as if to emphasise the catch-all interest of the Mexican Revolution.[56] It seems that roles at the rally were strictly gendered: two younger girls oversaw donation trays at the entrance to the rally, and one of the (seemingly all male) speakers proposed that two women do a collection in favour of the Mexican revolutionaries during the event.[57] Nonetheless, this is further evidence that international solidarity could be a compelling, mobilising force beyond the elite core of the working-class movement.

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Here I have offered a brief exploration of how activists and sympathisers of Spain's anarchist movement first read and responded to the news of the Mexican Revolution. As David Featherstone has argued, solidarity is not some *a priori* condition that exists in and among marginalised groups; rather, it is actively constructed by emotional and bodily labour in a dynamic and creative process. [58] In this vein, I have eschewed narrative in favour of bringing into focus the content of this transnational exchange — its shared language, symbols, emotionality, and materiality — within a short time span, and its psychological, social, and political function for Spanish libertarians. This, of course, leaves a large part of the story to be developed elsewhere: not least, the longer history of Spanish migration to Mexico before and after the Revolution, and the emergence of controversy and fierce disagreement which would come as the PLM's version of events in Mexico was called into question.[59] Nonetheless, this study evidences the formative role of internationalism within the Spanish anarchist movement, which was for so long seen as part of the country's alleged national 'exceptionalism.' Additionally, and more broadly, it contributes to our understanding of the construction, experience, and practice of international working-class solidarity.

[54] Yeoman, *Print Culture*, p. 219.

[55] For example 'A los grupos, colectividades e individuos que simpaticen con la campaña de Méjico', *Tierra y Libertad* 10/05/1911, p. 3.

[56] Illades, *México y España*, p. 160.

[57] ibid, pp. 160-1.

[58] Featherstone, *Solidarity,* pp1-65.

[59] On migration see Kevan Antonio Aguilar, 'Revolutionary Encounters: Mexican Communities and Spanish Exiles, 1906-1959' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of California San Diego, 2021).

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Yeoman, James Michael, *Print Culture and the Formation of the Anarchist Movement in Spain, 1890-1915* (New York: Routledge, 2020).

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Analysis of Cultural issues in Interpretation for Arab Muslim Patients in the UK

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Abstract
The main aim of this study is to explore cultural concerns which impact on the provision of health care (HC) for Arab Muslim health care users (HCUs) in the UK. It is hoped that these issues will provide information which can be utilised to encourage the use of the advocate visible model in interpretation to improve the health care service (HCS) for patients with limited English proficiency (LEP). This research involves 50 health care providers (HCPs) and 50 Muslim HCUs to obtain in depth data. A quantitative approach was used for all participants. Using survey questionnaires for HCPs (group A), and face-to-face interviews surveys with HCUs (group B). The results show that communication is the most significant aspect to improving HC provision. Cultural barriers related to religious diet restrictions are identified as the biggest obstacles in providing adequate and quality care to patients with LEP. It is noticed that some HCUs' cultural concerns are unaddressed, and their religious dietary needs are unfulfilled. Therefore, patients may be confronted with some health complications that may affect their access to HC, their adherence to treatment or follow up appointments. It is not disputed that the National Health Service (NHS) is committed to providing fair service for everyone regardless of their ethnic background. However, delivering quality HCS to diverse patients is still challenging.
This project highlights the significance of using the non-conduit visible advocate model in language interpretation in overcoming the cultural barriers between the HCP and the HCU. This research investigated and found that the cultural gap between HCPs and Arab HCUs may lead to adverse clinical outcomes. Therefore, the use of the visible advocate role in interpretation is encouraged to enhance effective communication between HCPs and LEPs.

Acknowledgments

Special thanks to health care providers and health care users for taking part in this study.

According to official UK migration statistics, net immigration was estimated at 282,000 immigrants per year by the end of December 2017.[1] Hence, the UK has become increasingly multicultural, multi-religious, and multilingual. Patients with LEP are confronted with communication difficulties while communicating with their HCPs. Thus, when the language barrier exists, interpreting is the only way to facilitate communication.[2] However, it has been revealed that even bilingual HCUs who are fluent in English may feel more comfortable in their mother tongue in situations of illness and stress.[3] Hence, new immigrants may require certain levels of care[4] that do not clash with HCUs' religious values. This can be accomplished through establishing effective communication by understanding each other's needs.[5]

According to the Office of National Statistics, 59% of the residents confront communication difficulties in English.[6] In HC complexity occurs when the language barrier exists between HCPs and their patients.[7] The existence of a language barrier requires a solid understanding of cultural background.[8] Thus, culture and language are inseparable.[9] Cultural insensitivity to HCUs' needs may lead to adverse clinical outcomes.[10]

Studies show that LEP patients may receive less understanding, be offered less information, and are more likely to have questions and comments ignored.[11] As a result of this, some HCUs may decline the treatment which may lead to negative clinical outcomes.[12] Some patients may accept an operation without knowing that such an operation may involve procedures that are religiously prohibited such as pig heart

[1] Georgina Sturge *Migration Statistics*. (2018) <https://commonslibrary.parliament.uk/ research-briefings/sn06077> pp.1-38. .

[2] David Katan and Mustapha Taibi, *Translating Cultures: An Introduction for Translators, Interpreters and Mediators* (3rd ed.). (London: Routledge, 2021).

[3] Gwerfyl Wyn Roberts et al, 'Language Awareness in the Bilingual Healthcare Setting: A National Survey *International Journal of Nursing Studies*, 44 (2007),(pp.1177-1186.

[4] Céline Ledoux, Eva Pilot, Esperanza Diaz and Thomas Kfafft, 'Migrants' access to healthcare services within the European Union: a content analysis of policy documents in Ireland, Portugal and Spain'. *Global Health*, 14.57(2018) < https://doi.org/10.1186/s12992-018-0373-6> pp.1-11. .

[5] I.A.S. Abuarqoub, 'Language Barriers to Effective Communication'. *Utopía y Praxis Latinoamericana*, 24(2019), pp.64-76.

[6] Office of National Statistics 2011 UK census (2013) http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/guide-method/census/2011/uk-census/index.html.

[7] Duncan Burley, 'Better communication in the emergency department'. *Emergency Nurse*, 19.2 (2011), (pp.32-36); Janet A. Parsons, Natalie A. Baker, Telisha Smith-Gorvie, and Panel L. Hudak., 'To 'Get by' or 'get help'? A qualitative study of physicians' challenges and dilemmas when patients have limited English proficiency'. *BMJ* Open, 4.6, (2014) < https://bmjopen.bmj.com/content/bmjopen/4/6/e004613.full.pdf> pp.1-9..

[8] Hilal Al Shamsi, Abdullah G. Almutairi,, Sulaiman Al Mashrafi , and et al., 'Implications of language barriers for healthcare: a systematic review'. *Oman Medical Journal*, 35. 2 (2020), pp.1-6.

[9] Michael Byram, Irina Golubeva, Han Hui, and Manuela Wagner, *From Principles to Practice for Intercultural Citizenship*. (Bristol: Multilingual Matters, 2017).

[10] Anna Ralph, Ann Lowell, Jean Murphy, et al, 'Low uptake of aboriginal interpreters in healthcare: exploration of current use in Australia's Northern Territory', *BMC Health Services Research*, 17. 733, (2017), pp.1-12.

[11] Leah S. Karliner, E. Shelley Hwang, Dana Nickleach, Celia P. Kaplan,, 'Language barriers and patient-centered breast cancer care', *Patient Education and Counselling*, 84. 2, (2011), pp.223-228.

[12] Seval Gündemir, Ashley E. Martin, and Astrid C. Homan, 'Understanding Diversity Ideologies from the Target's Perspective: A Review and Future Directions', *Frontiers in Psychology*, 10 (2019), pp.1-14.

valve transplant.[13] Other HCUs may lack the trust in their HCPs which may result in misperception and disappointment.[14]

The first impact of miscommunication is that it can increase the cost of HC by extending the period of hospitalisation or reducing the trust between the HCPs and their HCUs. This can impact on patients' safety through making hasty decisions such as seeking discharge from the hospital despite the doctor's advice.[15] This leads to poor levels of satisfaction with HCPs.[16] Therefore, it is crucial to enhance better communication with HCUs and understand their needs to accommodate medical treatment accordingly.[17] This may build a mutual trustworthy relationship with HCPs.[18] Thus, highly qualified 'intercultural communication' between HCPs and patients with LEPs can promote HCS. [19]

This research will discuss some of the challenges confronted by HCPs and Arab Muslim HCUs in the UK. This includes the impact of diet restrictions on patients' adherence to the treatment.[20] It has been postulated that in order to provide quality HCS to Muslim patients, it is required to understand their cultural beliefs including diet restrictions.[21]

1. Literature Review

There is an ongoing debate about the most suitable role for the community interpreter to play in order to ensure the best practice in HCS.[22] Questions about the interpreter's role have been problematised.[23] These roles are categorised by the degree of the interpreter's involvement and visibility. There are four

[13] Alice Mitchell, Anne Lowell and Anna Ralph, 'Report on the patient educator service at Royal Darwin Hospital, 2001–2009', *Insights into inter-cultural communication in healthcare*, (2016), pp.1-28.

[14] Parveen Azam Ali and Roger Watson, 'Language Barriers and their Impact on Provision of Care to Patients with Limited English Proficiency: Nurses' Perspectives', *Journal of Clinical Nursing*, 27 (2018), pp.5-6.

[15] Hilal Al Shamsi, Abdullah Almutairi G., Sulaiman Al Mashrafi , and et al., 'Implications of language barriers for healthcare: a systematic review', *Oman Medical Journal*, 35. 2 (2020)<https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC7201401/pdf/OMJ-35-02-1900033.pdf (pp.1-6).

[16] Danielle De Moissac and Sarah Bowen, 'Impact of Language Barriers on Quality of Care and Patient Safety for Official Language Minority Francophones', in Canada' *Journal of Patient Experience*, 6.1, (2019), pp.24-32.

[17] Maria J. P. Da Silva, Comunicação tem remédio: a comunicação nas relações interpessoais em saúde. 10th edition. (São Paulo: Loyola, 2015).

[18] Sameer Al-Harasis, 'Impact of Language Barrier on Quality of Nursing Care at Armed Forces Hospitals, Taif, Saudi Arabia'. *Middle East Journal of Nursing*, 7.4 (2013), pp. 17-24.

[19] Sarahn M. Wheeler, and Allison S. Bryant, 'Racial and Ethnic Disparities in Health and Health Care'. *Obstetrics Gynaecology Clinics of North America*, 44 (2017), pp. 1-11.

[20] Basem Attum, Sumaiya Hafiz, Ahmad Malik et al., 'Cultural Competence in the Care of Muslim Patients and their Families. *StatPearls* (2021), pp 1-4. <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/books/NBK499933/>

[21] Attum (2021), p.1.

[22] Leticia Santamaria Ciordia, 'A Conceptional and Contemporary Approach to the Evolution of Impartiality in Community Interpreting', *The Journal of Specialised Translation*. 28 (2017), pp. 273-292.

[23] Claudio Baraldi, and Laura Gavioli, 'Interpreting as Coordination in Doctor-Patient Interaction: Talk Organization and (Inter)cultural Presuppositions', *The Journal of Intercultural Mediation and Communication*, 8 (2015), pp. 50-75; Campbell McDermid, 'Culture Brokers, Advocates or Conduits: Pedagogical Considerations for Deaf Interpreter Education. *International Journal of Interpreter Education*, 2,1 (2010), pp. 76-101. <https://tigerprints.clemson.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1169&context=ijie>; Raffaela Merlini and Roberta Favaron, 'Examining the 'Voice of Interpreting' in Speech Pathology', *Interpreting*, 7.2 (2005), pp. 263-302.

roles of the interpreter: the conduit (linguistic role), the communicator-facilitator (clarifier), the bilingual-bicultural mediator or cultural broker and the advocate or helper role.[24]

The conduit model is defined by Hsieh as the 'invisible pipe' and 'robot'.[25] In this role, the interpreter transfers a spoken message from the source language into the target one accurately. The interpreter in this role is described as invisible, uninvolved, and inactive.[26] This role is the standard one used by most professionals in the UK.[27]

However, the conduit model is explicitly argued against by some scholars for being difficult or even impossible to achieve.[28] In this role, the interpreter is not allowed to add any explanation, or additional paraphrasing to deliver effective communication. It is the speaker's task to add any information for the explanation of cultural differences.[29] The main focus in this role is the language structures.[30] While adopting the conduit role, interpreters do not consider their task to balance power relations between two speakers, they remain neutral in translating utterances without making any adaptations in the process of sense-making.[31] Nevertheless, certain situations may require the interpreter to adopt other roles such as clarifier, cultural broker, or advocate.[32] The advocate model allows interpreters to be more active in interpretation.[33] They can go beyond language transfer to accomplish further tasks such as offering pieces of advice to speakers.[34] In the advocate model interpreters can be culturally sensitive to the patient's cultural needs by representing him/her .[35]

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[24] Cynthia B. Roy, 'The Problem with Definitions, Descriptions, and the Role Metaphors of Interpreters', In *The Interpreting Studies Reader*, eds. Franz Pöchhacker and Miriam Shlesinge (London and New York: Routledge, 2002), pp. 345-353.

[25] Elaine Hsieh, 'Medical Interpreters, Construction of a Mediator Role', in *Communicating to Manage Health and Illness*, eds. Dale Barsher and Deana Goldsmith (NewYork: Routledge, 2009), p. 135.

[26] Shuangyu Li, Jennifer Gerwing, Demi Krystallidou et al, 'Interaction—A Missing Piece of the Jigsaw in Interpreter mediated Medical Consultation Models', *Patient Education and Counseling*, 10.9 (2017), pp.1769-1771 <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pec.2017.04.021>; Roy (2002).

[27] Lourdes Calle-Alberdi, 'Deconstructing 'Common Sense: Normative ethics and decision-making by sign language interpreters' (Published Master's Thesis, Humal University of Applied Sciences, Finland, 2015); Marjory Bancroft, 'Community Interpreting: A Profession Rooted in Social Justice', In *The Routledge Handbook of Interpreting*, eds. By Holly Mikkelson and Jourdenais Renée, (New York: Routledge, 2015), pp 217-235.

[28] Maeve Olohan, 'Post-editing: a genealogical perspective on translation practice' In *Empirical Studies in Translation and Discourse Routledge*, ed. Mario Bisiado, (Berlin: Language Science Press, 2021), pp. 1-25.

[29] Feifei Jiang and Zhiwen Feng, 'Flexibility and Invisibility of Interpreters of Foreign Trade Business', *Advances in Social Sciences, Education and Humanities Research*, 286 (2019), pp.17-21.

[30] Theodosiou Aspasia and Maria Aspioti (eds). Research Report on Intercultural Mediation for Immigrants in Europe (2015), p. 17. <http://www.mediation-time.eu/images/TIME_O1_Research_Report_v.2016.pdf>

[31] Elena Aguirre Fernández Bravo,, 'Interpreter role (self-)perception; a model and assessment tool', *Revista de Llengua I Dret* 71 (2019), pp. 62-72.

[32] Helge Niska, 'Community interpreter training: Past, present, future. In Interpreting in the 21st century: Challenges and opportunities. Selected papers from the 1st Forli Conference on Interpreting Studies 9-11 November 2000, ed. by Giuliana Garzone and Maurizio Viezzi (Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2002), pp. 137-138.

[33] Natalie C. Benda, Ann M. Bisantz, Rebecca L. Butler et al, 'The Active Role of Interpreters in Medical Discourse – An Observational Study in Emergency Medicine', *Patient Education and Counselling*, 105. 1 (2021), pp. 62-73.

[34] Sandra Hale, 'Interpreting Culture. Dealing with Cross-cultural Issues in Court Interpreting', *Studies in Translation Theory and Practice*, 22. 3 (2014), pp. 321-331.

[35] Doris F. Chang, Elaine Hsieh, William B. Somerville et als, 'Rethinking Interpreter Functions in Mental Health Services', *Culture and Mental Health Services*, 72.3 (2021), pp. 353-357. <https://ps.psychiatryonline.org/doi/10.1176/appi.ps.202000085>;

2. Research Methodology

During this research, the methodological framework constructed includes quantitative research and data analysis based on HCPs and HCUs conducted from all participants of the study.

Since cultural issues can involve different societal layers, this paper focuses on findings related to one aspect of the study. More specifically, it explores HCPs' perspectives about religious diet restrictions while providing care to Muslim patients, and HCUs' perspectives about their experience while receiving the treatments that may clash with their religious beliefs.

3.1 Methods

Quantitative research design was used in this research. Quantitative research is a type of research that explains phenomena by collecting and analysing numerical data using mathematically based methods.[36] This research used a short questionnaire consisting of 5 questions for group (A), and 5 questions for group (B). These questions are centered on cultural issues confronted by HCPs (A) while dealing with Muslim patients' (B).

Due to participants' time constraints, research questionnaires were designed as closed questions to construct indexes of HCPs' cultural awareness about LEPs' religious concerns. This method was chosen due to time efficiency.[37] However, a free text format was added at the end of the questionnaire to invite respondents through open questions to elaborate or identify any issues that they would like to flag up or elaborate on.[38] Questionnaires are structured to highlight whether HCPs have cultural knowledge about which Muslim patients' beliefs may clash with their treatment, and whether this knowledge is in use.

The criteria used in selecting participants of group (A) was designed to target general practice surgeries in areas that are not highly populated with Muslim communities. The primary aim behind this is to assess the cultural knowledge of HCPs who have less interaction and experience with Muslim patients.

100 copies of questionnaires were printed and distributed to each group of participants. The HCUs' questionnaires are written in English and translated into Arabic. The respondents for HCPs are presented in groups (A) and HCUs are in group (B). The return rate was 50% from each group. Since posting

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David Katan and Mustapha Taibi, *Translating Cultures: An Introduction for Translators, Interpreters and Mediators* (3rd ed.) (London: Routledge, 2021).

[36] Suphat Sukamolson, 'Fundamentals of quantitative research Suphat Sukamolson', (2007), pp.1-12. <http://carinadizonmaellt.com/LANGRES/pdf/30.pdf>

[37] Saoirse Connor Desai and Stian Reimers, 'Comparing the use of open and closed questions for Web-based measures of the continued-influence effect', *Behavior Research Methods*, *51*(3), (2018), pp. 1426-1440. <https://doi.org/10.3758/s13428-018-1066-z>

[38] Alicia O'Cathain and Kate J. Thomas, 'Any other comments?" Open questions on questionnaires - a bane or a bonus to research?', *BMC Medical Research Methodology*, *4*(1), (2004), p. 1-7. <https://doi.org/10.1186/1471-2288-4-25>

questionnaires may have lower response rates than face-to-face or telephone interviews, to maximise the response rate the researcher conducted face-to-face survey interviews in a local place.[39] To avoid biassed outcomes, the researcher ensured that there was no pre-existing relationship with participants.[40] To minimise a low response rate, an information sheet explaining the study's aims and procedures was provided to all participants. To maximise the reliability of the results, the researcher choose random respondents from each group.[41]

This survey used a random sampling technique to recruit participants to generate findings from a target population. Since the entire population was too large to work with, a smaller group of participants were selected as representative samples.[42] For instance, the first list of target population is represented in HCPs (A) working for HCS in the UK. This may include working for GPs, general hospitals, psychiatric units, hospices, dental hospitals, pharmacies, paediatric hospitals, or nursing homes. The researcher randomly selected from this list by using the snowball technique.[43] Thus, the main focus is on British doctors and nurses working for GPs and general hospitals only. Whereas, in group (B) the researcher's initial intention was to involve participants from other Muslim backgrounds such as Pakistani, Indian, and Malaysian. However, due to data confidentiality and to affordability to provide interpreters to all participants, the researcher decided to involve only Arab Muslim patients who were randomly selected.

Prior to conducting the survey, a pilot study was conducted to provide 'assurance'.[44] The purpose of the pilot study was to help find areas of improvements, judge the feasibility of the study, the language used, and the time taken to fill in the questionnaires.[45]

3.2 Ethical Considerations

The study was reviewed and approved by the University of Leeds Research Ethics Committee (Reference Number PVAR 17012 response 4). During the pilot testing stage of the HCUs' questionnaires, the issue of confidentiality was flagged by four participants (B) arguing that disclosing their religious concerns could clash with medical care and impact their immigration status in the UK. The researcher assured

[39] Nigel Mathers, Nick Fox and Amanda Hunn, 'Surveys and Questionnaires', *National Institute for Health Research*, (2009), pp. 1-50; Martyn Denscombe, *The Good Research Guide: for Small-Scale Social Research Projects: For Small-Scale Social Research Projects*, 6th edition (London: Open University Press, 2017).

[40] Kitrina Douglas and David Carless, 'Membership, golf and a story about Anna and Me: Reflections on Research in Elite Sport' *Qualitative Methods in Psychology Bulletin*, 13 (2012), (p. 27).

[41] Linda T. Carr, 'The Strengths and Weaknesses of Quantitative and Qualitative Research: What Method for Nursing? *Jan: Leading Global Nursing Research*. 20,4 (1994), pp. 716-721. < https://doi.org/10.1046/j.1365-2648.1994.20040716.x>

[42] Michael Quinn Patton, *Qualitative Evaluation and Research Methods* (Beverly Hills: SAGE Publications; 1990), p.176.

[43] Mirela-Cristina Voicu and Alina-Mihaela Babonea, 'Using the snowball method in marketing research on hidden populations', *Social Problems*, 44.2 (1997), pp.1341-1351.

[44]Ellen C. Lee, Amy L. Whitehead, Richard M. Jacques and Steven Julious, 'The Statistical Interpretation of Pilot Trials: Should Significance Thresholds be Recognised?', BMC *Medical Research Methodology*, 14.1 (2014), pp. 14-41.

[45] Denscombe (2017).

respondents that this survey would never impact their status. Establishing trust with participants plays a crucial role in the information privacy concerns.[46]

The researcher strictly adhered to the research criteria by respecting participants' privacy and confidentiality. Hence the researcher ensured signing consent forms with participants; even though the consent form was self-explanatory the researcher assured the participants that personal details would remain strictly confidential. To protect participants' privacy the original data was stored in a secured hard disk from the University of Leeds with the researcher as the sole password holder and the original hard copies of questionnaires were stored in a protected locker at the University of Leeds. The data will be kept for up to 3 years from the publication date. Later, data on the hard disk will be destroyed and hard copies will be shredded in confidential waste.

Participants were assured that their anonymity such as their personal information would not be disclosed. The researcher strictly adhered to the protocol of codes of ethics from the onset of the survey interview following Martyn Denscombe's strategy by ensuring participants are aware that taking part in the research was voluntary, the aim of the research, understanding their rights as participants, and that they could withdraw themselves or refrain answering questions that they did not feel comfortable to answer.[47] The researcher showed ethical sensitivity and respect to participants' rights by accepting their unwillingness to answer some questions that could cause them distress or embarrassment.[48]

4. Transferring and Coding Data

Quantitative survey data was analysed through transferring raw data manually into a Microsoft Excel programme. Then, graphs/charts were drawn up along with percentages. Later, during the research, the percentages were reviewed to highlight the issues concerning Muslim HCUs and the results were framed within the relevant literature.

The statistical method used in this research is factor analysis. Factor analysis is used to identify items that tend to move together and items that are potentially redundant.[49] This helped to produce an important type of validity evidence about the HCPs' implementing their cultural knowledge while dealing with Muslim patients. The researcher created a coding scheme for all response options corresponding to all

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[46] William M. K. Trochim, *Research Methods*. (Cincinnati: Atomic Dog Publishers, 2005); Elizabeth Aguirre, Dominik Mahr, Dhruv Grewal et al., 'Unraveling the Personalization Paradox: The Effect of Information Collection and Trust building Strategies on Online Advertisement Effectiveness', *Journal of Retailing*, 91.1 (2015), pp. 34-49 https://openaccess.city.ac.uk/id/eprint/15747/1/AGUIRRE%20et%20al%20%202015%20%282%29.pdf.. Yuan Li, 'Empirical Studies on Online Information Privacy Concerns: Literature Review and an Integrative Framework', *Communications of the Association for Information Systems*, 28. 1 (2011), pp. 453-496.

[47] Denscombe (2017).

[48] Denscombe (2017), (p.86).

[49] Eva Knekta, Christopher Runyon, and Sarah Eddy, 'One Size Doesn't Fit All: Using Factor Analysis to Gather Validity Evidence When Using Surveys in Your Research', *Research Methods*, 18.1 (2019), pp.1-17.

survey questions for the groups (A and B). The researcher also used letter codes to refer to all respondents and questionnaires. Also, numeric codes were chosen for each possible answer as presented below:

1 = Yes
2 = Not sure
3 = No
4 = Yes frequently
5 = Yes occasionally
6 = Yes but only once

5. Results

Some Muslims adhere to religious diet restrictions called *ḥalal*. *Halal* is defined in the holy book of Muslims *Quran* as food that is allowed by God.[50] Food such as pork or alcohol is classed as forbidden for Muslims and is called *haram*.[51] This can also include medicines containing pork or alcohol which are prohibited for Muslims.[52]

The following section presents the cultural conflict between British HCPs and Arab Muslim patients concerning alcohol or porcine-derived medications and vaccines that may cause disruption to the treatment for Muslim HCUs.

5.1 Results of HCPs' questionnaires (B)

5.1.1 Are you aware that some medications, implants, or vaccines may contain ingredients which conflict with a patient's religious beliefs?

The results for this question are as follows:

[50] FRANÇOIS GAUTHIER, 'THE GLOBAL HALAL MARKET: INTERVIEW WITH FLORENCE BERGEAUD-BLACKLER', *REVUE DU MAUSS*, 49.1(2017), PP. 48-61.
[51] Gauthier, p.48.
[52] Bridget Taylor, 'Culturally Sensitive Prescribing of Common Symptom Management Drugs', *BMJ Supportive and Palliative Care*, (2021) <10.1136/bmjspcare-2020-002682>.

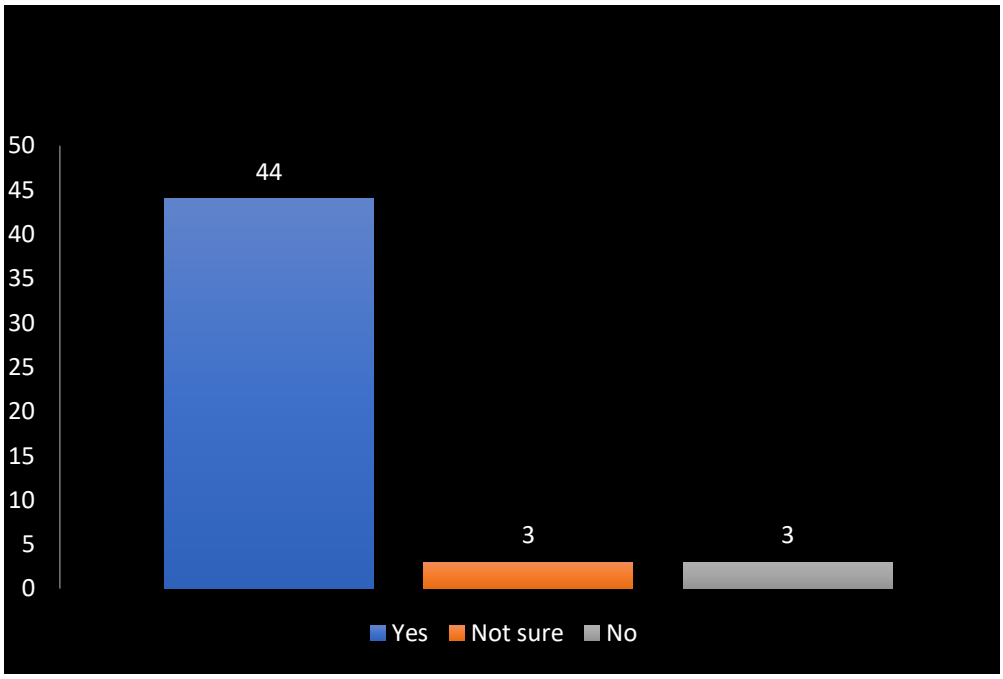

Figure (5.1.1)

It can be seen that a great majority (88%) (44) of respondents are aware that some medical treatments such as medications, implants and vaccines may contain ingredients that can clash with some HCUs' religious beliefs. Whereas only 6% (3) were either unsure or unaware of the presence of religiously prohibited ingredients in medical treatments.

5.1.2 Do you know that treatments containing ingredients which are prohibited for members of some religious groups such as pork or alcohol may impact patients' accepting the treatment?

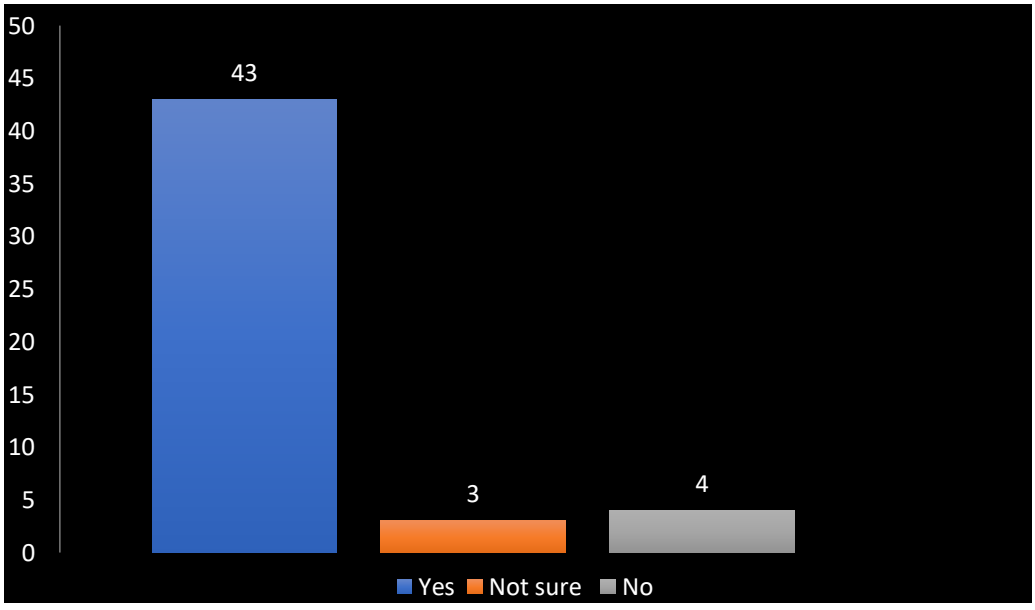

Figure (5.1.2)

Figure 5.1.2 shows that a great majority of participants 86% (43) agreed that treatments containing pork or alcohol can impact Muslim patients accepting treatment. While 6% (3) and 8% (4) were either unsure or did not know.

5.1.3 Have you ever had a patient decline a flu vaccine because he/she believes it to be porcine-derived?

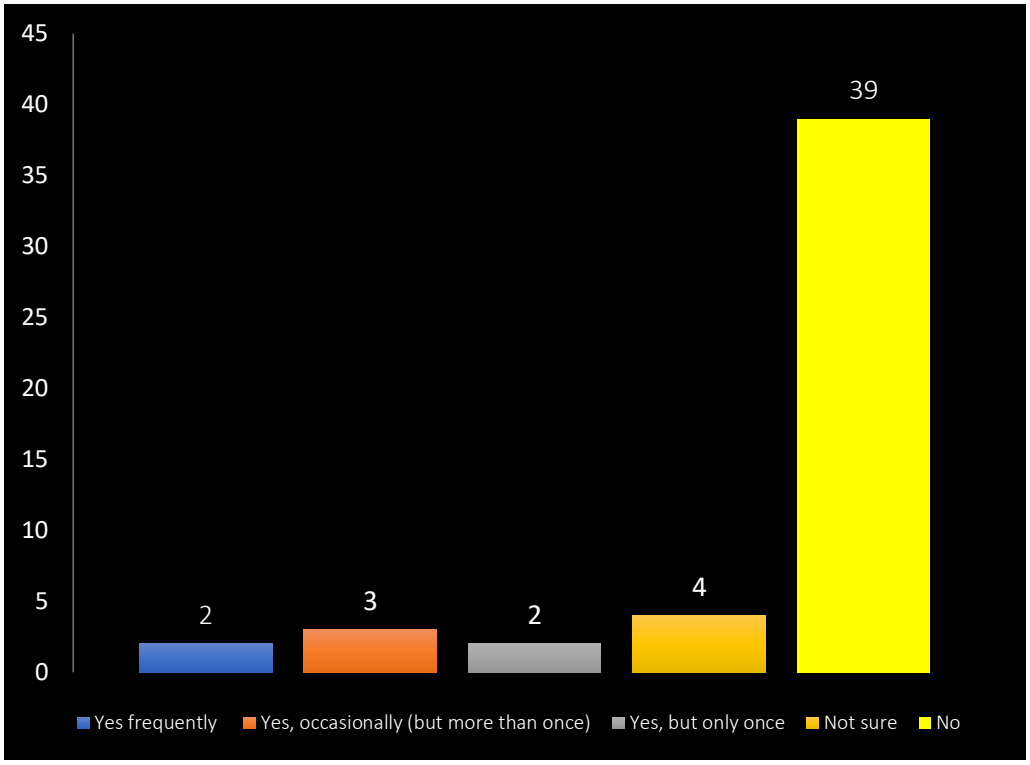

Figure (5.1.3)

Figure 5.1.3 indicates that the great majority of participants 78% (39) answered that they have never had a patient decline a porcine derived vaccine. This can imply that most of the HCPs did not go through such an experience in their career in HC. However, 14% (7) of respondents experienced the declining of porcine derived vaccines among Muslim patients in different orders as of (frequently, occasionally, but only once). While 8% (4) of respondents were unsure about this issue.

5.1.4 Have you ever been in a situation where a patient refused an animal organ such as a pig heart valve transplant due to religious reasons?

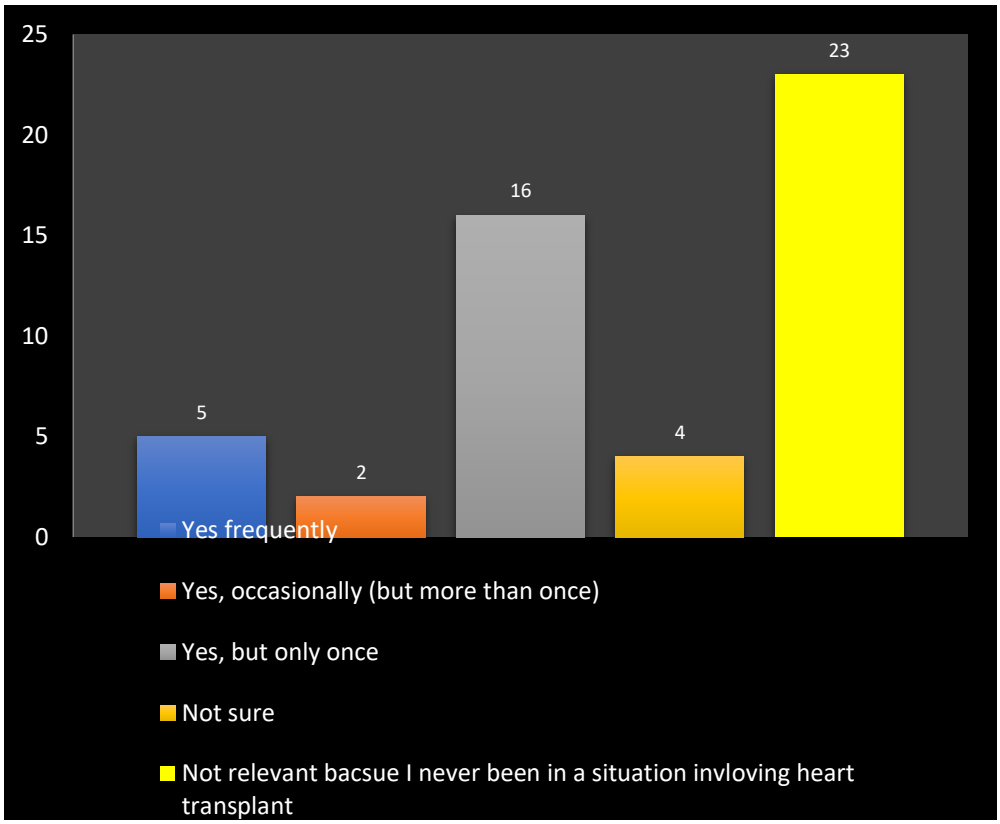

Figure (5.1.4)

Figure 5.1.4 shows that 10% (5) of participants did have regular experience with patients declining treatments involving religiously prohibited animal organs, 4% (2) of the HCPs point out that they had more than one experience, and 32% (16) had only one experience during their career. While 8% (4) were unsure whether patients declining animal organ transplant was due to religious reasons or personal preference. 46% (23) had never been in these situations.

5.1.5. Would you prefer that an interpreter explains cultural issues while interpreting such as religious dietary restrictions such as halal diet?

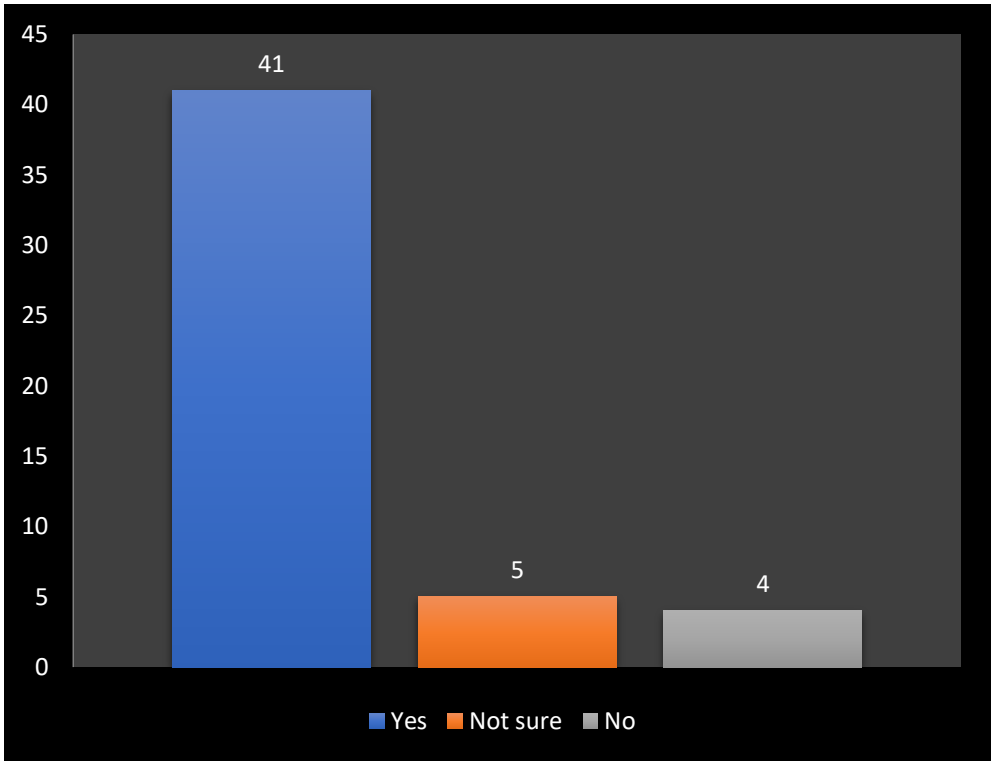

Figure (5.1.5)

Figure 5.1.5 shows that 82% (41) of the HCPs showed their interest in explaining the cultural issues by the interpreter. Nevertheless, 10% (5) were unsure, 8% (4) showed no interest in getting the interpreter involved in explaining the cultural issues of the HCU.

5.2 Discussions of the findings of HCPs (A)

Responses to questions 5.1.1-5.1.2 show that HCPs understand Muslim patients' cultural and spiritual needs and aspire to deliver culturally sensitive care. It has been pointed out that fewer HCPs have considered navigating the animal-derived products in a culturally sensitive way respecting the rights and interests of HCUs.[53] However, results to question 5.1.3 indicate that a high percentage of participants were unsure if patients decline the treatment that contains pork. Hence, culturally sensitive programmes are still required to educate HCPs of their HCUs' needs.[54]

One respondent to question 5.1.4 pointed out, "once I had a Muslim patient, and we communicated through an interpreter. At first, the patient was very hesitant. Then, he asked for more time to think about it. In a few days, the patient rang and confirmed that he would go ahead with the treatment". Another HCP answered "yes but only once, I had a patient with IHD. He refused a heart valve transplant for life improvement".

[53] Daniel Rodger and Bruce P. Blackshaw, 'Using Animal-derived Constituents in Anaesthesia and Surgery: The Case for Disclosing to Patients', *BMC Med Ethics,* 20.14 (2019), pp 1-9. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s12910-019-0351-4>
[54] Basem Attum et al (2021)

Another nurse practitioner mentioned, "media covers this". Discussion in the media could be useful for English speaking patients, but it could be a significant issue for patients with no or limited English language knowledge. In life threatening situations and when no alternative treatment is available, Muslim patients are allowed to use porcine-derived medications However, some Muslim patients may still refuse the treatment. Their religious beliefs overpower their health choices. It all depends on the patient. Therefore, it might be worth giving the patient a few days extra to think about the matter and ask some religious scholars (imam) when necessary. This can accord with Attum et al's encouragement for HCPs to respect their patients' physical, mental, and spiritual well-being to combat their HCUs' sickness.[55]

5.3 Results of HCUs' Questionnaires (B)

The questions below were given to Muslim patients.

5.3.1 Have you ever declined or stopped treatment because you are worried about medication ingredients, which may be culturally prohibited?

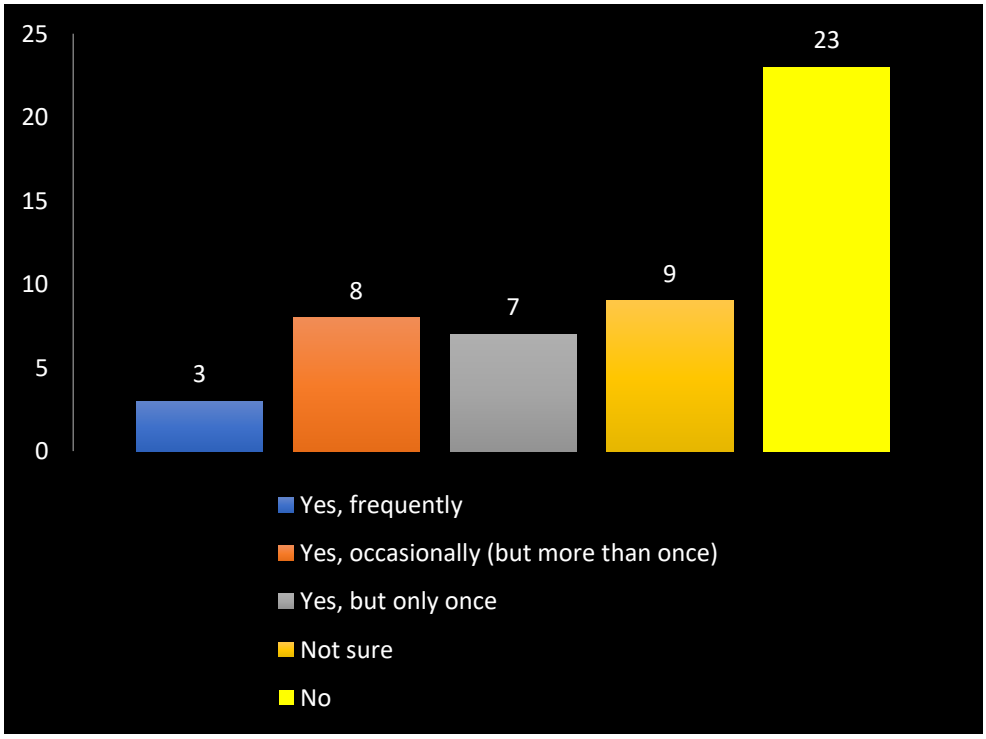

Figure (5.3.1)

Figure 5.3.1 indicates that only (6%) (3) of Muslim HCUs have regularly declined or stopped treatment that contains ingredients which may clash with their religious beliefs, 16% (8) of participants declined the treatment more than once, and 14% (7) of the participants said they rejected the treatment only once, 18% (9) were unsure whether they did this or not and 46% (23) have never declined or stopped the treatment.

[55] Attum et al, (p.2).

5.3.2 Have you ever accepted a flu jab vaccine which is porcine-derived?

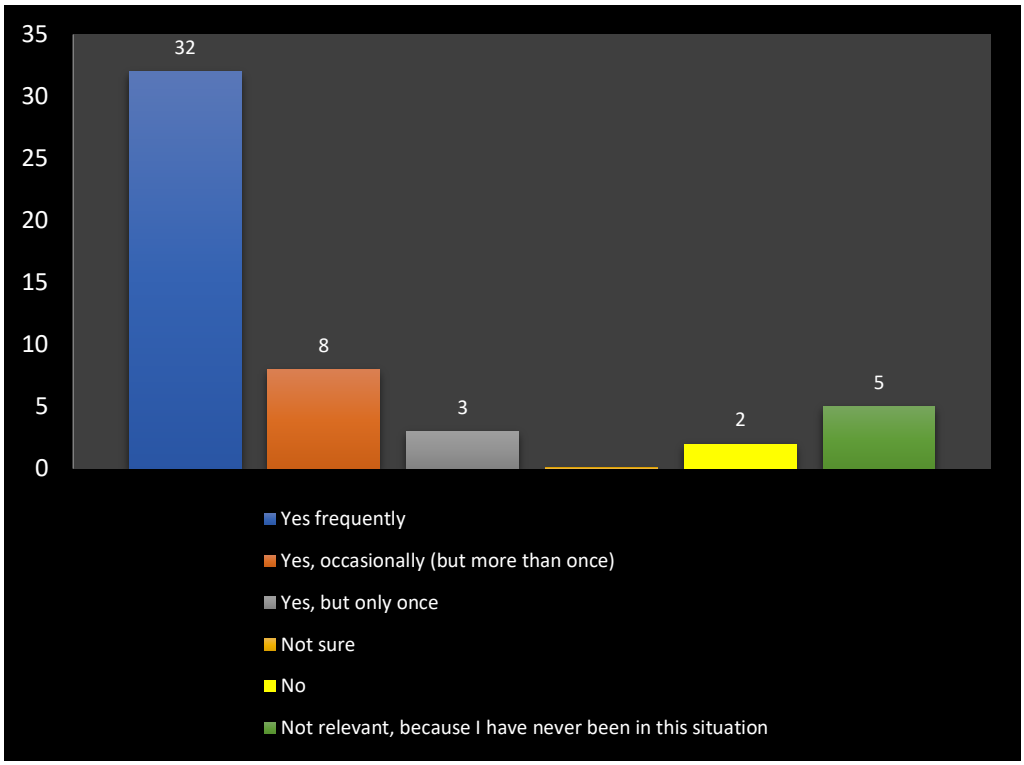

Figure (5.3.2)

The results for this question are as follows: 64% (32) of the participants answered "yes". 16% (8) replied "yes occasionally but more than once", 6% (3) responded: "yes but only once" and 0% (0) were unsure. However, 4% (2) said "no", 10% (5) chose "not relevant, because I have never been in this situation".

5.3.3 Have you ever allowed your child to be given a flu jab vaccine which is porcine-derived?

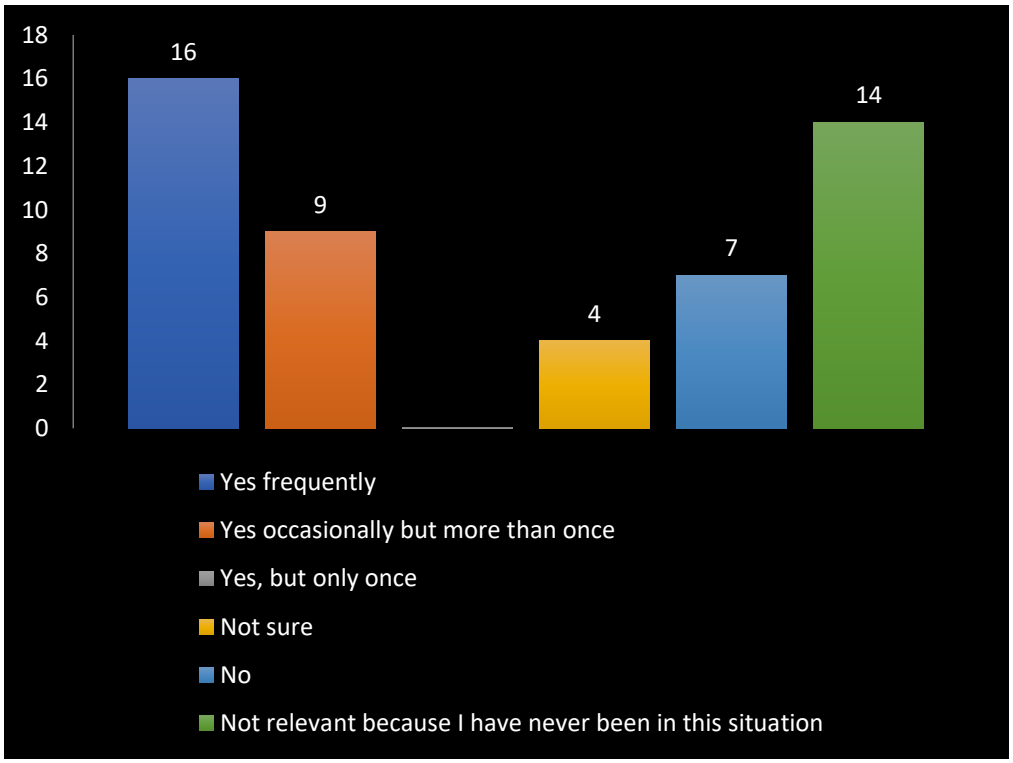

Figure (5.3.3)

Figure 5.3.3 shows that 32% (16) of the participants said, "yes frequently", 18% (9) of the respondents answered, "yes occasionally but more than once", 0% (0) of the patients responded, "yes but only once", 8% (4) of the participants were unsure, 14% (7) said "no", and 28% (14) answered "not relevant, because I have never been in this situation".

Q.5.3.4 Would you accept a treatment containing a culturally prohibited ingredient such as pork or alcohol if it were the only available treatment?

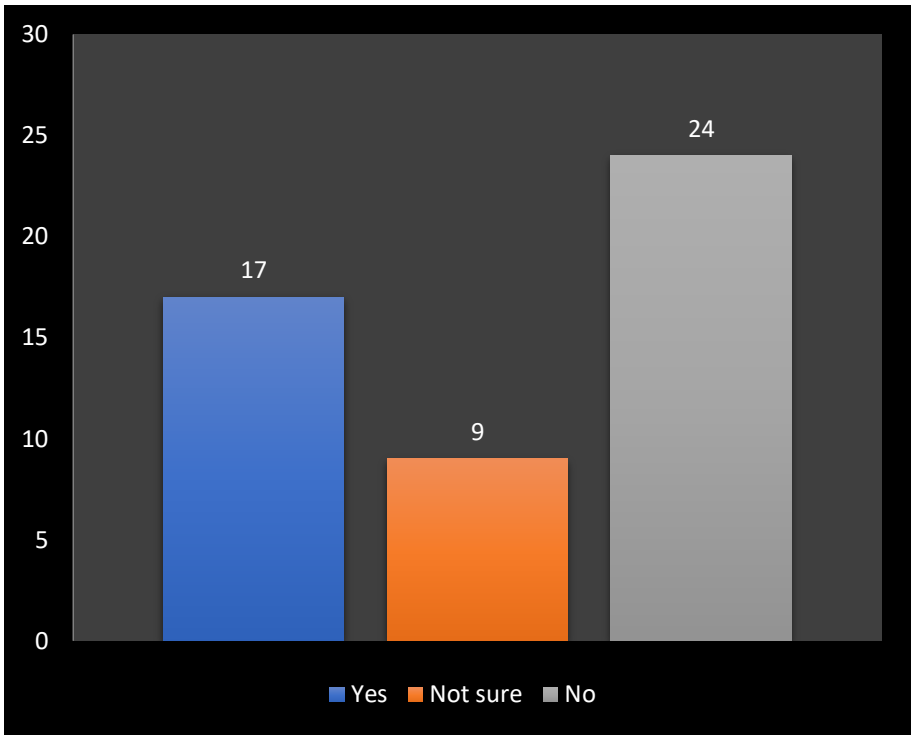

Figure (5.3.4)

Figure 5.3.4: The results for this question are as follows, 34% (17) would accept the treatment, 18% (9) were unsure, and 48% (24) would not agree to accept the treatment.

5.3.5 Have you ever asked an interpreter to raise any cultural concerns with a health-care provider related to halal diet restrictions and porcine- or alcohol-derived medications?

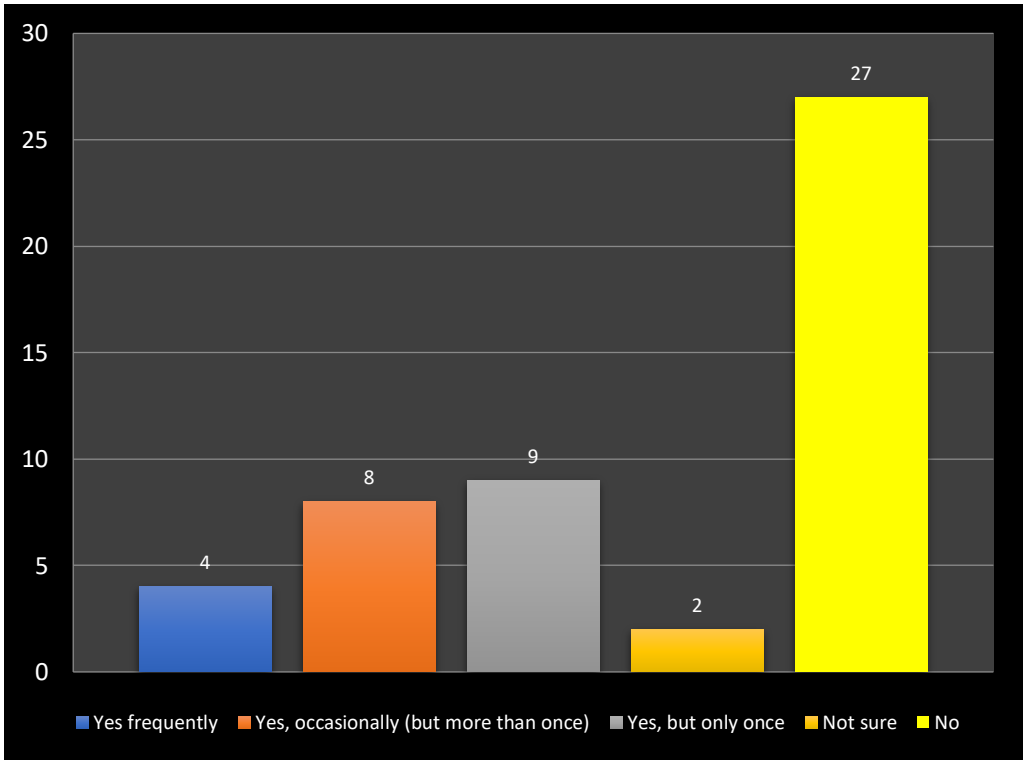

Figure (5.3.5)

Figure 5.3.5 shows that 8% (4) of the respondents said: "yes frequently", 16% (8) responded: "yes occasionally but only once", 18% (9) replied: "yes, but only once". Nonetheless, 4% (2) were unsure, and most of the respondents 54% (27) answered "no".

6.4 Discussion of Patients' Questionnaires

Participants that answered "no" and "not sure" to question (5.3.1) were unaware that some medications could be porcine- and alcohol-derived. A 58-year-old female patient noted, "I never been told that some medications could contain pork or alcohol". Another participant said, "I never heard about this in my life. However, I would accept medications containing a small amount of alcohol, but I will never take porcine-derived medications whatsoever", another who answered "yes" commented: "since I found out that some medications may contain *haram* gelatine, I started rejecting medications that contain gelatine. I always request gelatine-free medications". Another participant said, "I reject taking medications that contain gelatine that is not defined as vegetarian". One respondent for question 5.3.2 stated, "yes, I did accept a flu jab, but I was never told that it contains pork. If I had known, I would have declined it".

Similarly, a female patient noted: "one time I was given a flu jab, but I did not know at that time that it contains pork; and if I had known this, I would have declined it". One patient said: "once I consented to give my child a flu jab. I did not know at that time that it contains pork. if I knew back then I would have not allowed it." In response to question 5.3.3 one participant stated, "I did not know it contained pork until now", one of the parents answered, "no, I do not allow my children to be given the porcine-derived vaccine as I do not think it is necessary". Based on the patient's comments above, we notice that most patients were not informed of the vaccine's main ingredient.

The responses and comments from questions 5.3.1-5.3.2-5.3.3 show that participants are unaware of the presence of porcine or alcohol derived ingredients in medical treatments. If they knew, they would not have accepted the treatment. This supports Attum et al.'s argument on the importance of cultural sensitivity in addressing medication ingredients with patients' while administering medications.[56] Respondents show that failing to disclose non-religious ingredients of medications might cause distress for HCUs.[57] This may result in negative clinical outcomes such as declining or non-adherence to the treatment even if it is the only treatment available.[58] This shows the significance of involving patients in

[56] Attum (2021)

[57] Daniel Rodger, 'Why We Should Stop Using Animal-Derived Products on Patients Without their Consent', Journal *of Medical Ethics* (2021), p. 1-5 <http://dx.doi.org/10.1136/medethics-2021-107371>; Rodger (2019). .

[58] John Grabenstein D., 'Vaccine What the World's Religions Teach, Applied to Vaccines and Immune Globulins', *Vaccine*, 31.16 (2013), pp. 2001-23; H P Beddis, 'Pharmaceuticals: Animal Ingredients', *British Dental Journal*, 220.11, (2016), p. 557.

consenting to some porcine derived treatments that may clash with their religious beliefs.[59] Despite the waiving of restrictions of using porcine derived medicine by religious leaders,[60]responses to the question show that most patients who object to the routine use of animal-derived products in their care will decline such treatment when it is the only treatment. Responses to 5.3.5 indicate that most of the respondents (54%) lack the knowledge about the interpreter's advocacy.

6. Discussion and conclusion

Responses to questions from group (A) and group (B) show that most HCPs along with HCUs are unaware of the presence of *haram* ingredients in some treatments. This supports Joy Ogden's argument that most patients, and doctors are unaware that these religiously prohibited ingredients may be included in their medications. Hence, prescribers must be aware of the issues and understanding of patients' concerns.[61]

Patients have the right to be informed of these substances to make a well-informed treatment plan.[62] Cultural sensitivity towards the food served in hospitals along with medications containing pork or alcohol is needed. Hence, implementing sensitivity training sessions to better educate HCPs about these issues.

The outcome of this study suggests that interpreters can step beyond their conduit role by extending their role into cultural advocacy to assist HCPs to identify cultural concerns that may impact HCUs' health. The interpreter's advocacy role can facilitate communication for patient's safety, and can ensure patients' cultural needs are understood,[63] discussed and fulfilled as postulated.[64] However, based on the HCPs' responses, it seems that the advocate model is partially in place, and this research further suggests that HCPs need to apply this model on a full scale. Using the advocate model such as 'cultural clarifier', and 'patient advocate' can be beneficial in improving clinical outcomes by allowing the HCU's voice to be heard and protecting the patient's rights.[65] Therefore, providing training sessions for both HCPs and interpreters can be an optimal solution to enhance the effective use of the advocate model in interpretation to improve HCS.

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[59] Public Health England, 'Protecting and Improving the Nation's Health' *The national influenza immunisation programme 2021 to 2022*, 4 (2021), p. 1-54. <https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/>

[60] Axelina Eriksson, Jakob Burcharth and Jacob Rosenberg, 'Animal Derived Products may Conflict with Religious Patients' Beliefs, *BMC Med Ethics*, (2013), pp. 14-48.

[61]Joy Ogden, 'Religious Constraints on Prescribing Medication. *Prescriber*, 27.12 (2016), pp. 47-51.

[62] Helen Noble, 'Resources page' *Evidence-Based Nursing, 20*.2 (2017), pp. 62-64. <https://doi.org/10.1136/eb-2017-102641>

[63] Rachel Tribe and Kate Thompson, 'Working with interpreters Guidelines for psychologists', *The British Psychological Society,* (2017), pp.1-34.

[64] Elaine Hsieh, "I am not a Robot!" Interpreters' Views of their Roles in Health Care Setting' *Qualitative Health Research*, 18.10 (2008), p.1372.

[65] Uldis Ozolins, 'Ethics and the Role of the Interpreter', in *The Routledge handbook of interpreting* ed. by Holly Mikkelson and Renée Jourdenais, 1st edition (Newyork: Oxon Routledfe, 2015), p.322.

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APPENDICES

HCP's Questionnaire

This questionnaire is designed for Health-Care Providers in the NHS.

Please help me by filling in the questionnaire. I will use the results in my PhD thesis, Cultural Issues for Ethnic Minority Muslim Patients in Medical Translation and Interpreting, the ultimate purpose of which is provide an evidential basis for improving the interpreting service for ethnic minority patients and improve the quality of health care.

Thank you in advance for agreeing to fill in this questionnaire. It will only take you 10 minutes of your time.

1. Are you aware that some medications, implants, or vaccines may contain ingredients which conflict with a patient's religious beliefs?

Yes	Not sure	No

Please add any other comments which you have in this regard

2. Do you know that treatments or procedures containing ingredients which are prohibited for members of some religious groups such as pork or alcohol may impact patients' accepting treatment?

Yes	Not sure	No

Please add any other comments which you have in this regard:

3. Have you had a patient declines a flu vaccine because it is porcine-derived?

Yes, frequently	Yes, occasionally (but more than once)	Yes, but only once	Not sure	No

Please add any other comments which you have in this regard

4. Have you ever been in a situation where a patient refused an animal organ such as a pig heart transplant due to religious reasons?

Yes, frequently	Yes, occasionally (but more than once)	Yes, but only once	Not sure	No	Not relevant, because I have never been in a situation involving a transplant

Please add any other comments which you have in this regard:

5. Would you prefer that an interpreter explains cultural issues while interpreting such as religious dietary restrictions (e.g., halal diet)?

Yes	Not sure	No

Please add any other comments which you have in this regard:

THE END

Thank you for answering this questionnaire

Arabic Version for Patients' Questionnaire المرضى استمارة

This questionnaire is designed for Ethnic Minority Muslim Patients in the NHS.
البريطانيه الصحة في المسلمه الاقليه من للمرضى مصممه الاستمارة هذه

Please help me by filling in the questionnaire. I will use the results in my PhD thesis, Cultural Issues for Ethnic
للدكتوراةوعنوانها لاطروحتي فقط النتائج ساستخدم. الاستمارة هذه باكمال ساعدني رجاء:

Minority Muslim Patients in Medical Translation and Interpreting, the ultimate purpose of which is provide
المسلمه قليه الا لمرضى الفوريه والترجمه الترجمه

an evidential basis for improving the interpreting service for ethnic minority patients and improve the quality of health care.
العنايه في المساواة وتطوير الاثنيه الاقليات من للمرضى الفوريه الترجمه تطوير لغرض معلومات على الحصول هو الاساسي الهدف الصحيه.

Thank you in advance for agreeing to fill in this questionnaire. It will only take you 10 minutes of your time.
الاستمارة لاكمال موافقتك على مقدما شكرا .

Please give the following information:
الاتيه المعلومات اعطي رجاء:

1. Have you ever declined or stopped treatment because you are worried about medication ingredients which may be culturally prohibited? بمحتويات تشك لانك العلاج اخذ عن توقفت او ما يوم في رفضت هل حضارتك محرمات مع تعارضها واحتمال الادويه؟

Yes, frequently	Yes, occasionally (but more than once)	Yes, but only once	Not sure	No
باستمرار ،نعم	الاحيان بعض في نعم (واحدة مرة من اكثر ولكن)	مره فقط ولكن ،نعم واحدة	متاكد غير	لا

Please add any other comments which you have in this regard:

الموضوع هذا حول عندك اخرى تعليقات اي اضف رجاء

2. Have you ever accepted a flu jab vaccine which is porcine-derived?
هل حصل قبلت وسابقا جرعة الوقايه من الافلونزا من مشتقات فيها ان علمك مع الخنزير من؟

Yes, frequently	Yes, occasionally (but more than once)	Yes, but only once	Not sure	No	Not relevant, because I have never been in this situation
باستمرار ،نعم	الاحيان بعض في نعم (واحدة مرة من اكثر ولكن)	فقط ولكن ،نعم واحدة مره	متاكد غير	لا	لهذا ابدا اتعرض لم لاني ،بهذا لي علاقة لا الموقف

Please add any other comments which you have in this regard:
الموضوع هذا حول عندك اخرى تعليقات اي اضف رجاء

3. Have you ever allowed your child to be given a flu jab vaccine which is porcine- derived?
هل وافقت في السابق ان يحصل طفلك على جرعة الوقايه من الافلونزا رغم احتوائها على مشتقات الخنزير؟

Yes, frequently	Yes, occasionally (but more than once)	Yes, but only once	Not sure	No	Not relevant, because I have never been in this situation
باستمرار ،نعم	الاحيان بعض في نعم (واحدة مرة من اكثر ولكن)	فقط ولكن ،نعم واحدة مره	متاكد غير	لا	لهذا ابدا اتعرض لم لاني ،بهذا لي علاقة لا الموقف

Please add any other comments which you have in this regard
الموضوع هذا حول عندك اخرى تعليقات اي اضف رجاء

4. Would you accept a treatment containing a culturally prohibited ingredient such as pork or alcohol if it were the only available treatment?
هل ستقبل علاج يحتوي على بعض الممنوعات في مثل حضارتك او الخنزير هذا كان اذا الكحول هو الوحيد العلاج الموجود؟

Yes	Not sure	No
نعم	متاكد غير	لا

Please add any other comments which you have in this regard:
الموضوع هذا حول عندك اخرى تعليقات اي اضف رجاء

5. Have you ever asked an interpreter to raise any cultural concerns with a health- care provider related to halal diet restrictions and porcine- or alcohol-derived medications? هل حصل وانك طلبت من المترجم ان يخبر
الكحول او الخنزير من محتويات فيها الادويه تكون لا وان لك الحلال الاكل اهمية عن الصحه مسؤولي؟

Yes, frequently	Yes, occasionally (but more than once)	Yes, but only once	Not sure	No
باستمرار ،نعم	الاحيان بعض في نعم (واحدة مرة من اكثر ولكن)	مره فقط ولكن ،نعم واحدة	متاكد غير	لا

Please add any other comments which you have in this regard:

الموضوع هذا حول عندك اخرى تعليقات اي اضف رجاء

THE END

Thank you for answering this questionnaire!

النهايه

الاستماره هذه اكمالك على شكرا

Journal

SEEING WITH THE 'INWARD MENTAL SENSES': REPRESENTATION OF THE SOUL IN DESCARTES' AND THE JESUIT MEDITATIVE HANDBOOKS

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Abstract
René Descartes has often been associated with his advocacy of the mind in understanding and perception. In his Meditations on First Philosophy published in 1641, he put forward a method to understand God that completely excluded sensory experiences. It was an attempt to reform religious meditation by shifting the focus away from the senses to the mind which was also termed the 'soul'. However, this priority given to the mind was complicated as theologians, especially the Jesuits, developed their meditative methods. Their illustrated meditative handbooks demonstrated that contemplation of the soul could never really be independent of the body and the senses. Looking at a series of engravings in the meditative handbooks, the paper examines a culture in which writers vacillated between the importance of the body and the soul in perception as uncertainty about the operation of these two faculties prevailed. I argue that the engravings in the handbooks did not only depict biblical episodes, but they also 'substantialised' the imagination of the meditators by giving the mental images that they were to conceive a physical form. Descartes' reading of the soul was shaped by such a culture of religious meditation. In contrast to the conventional emphasis on Descartes and his contemporaries questioning the reliability of the corporeal senses in the seventeenth century, these illustrated handbooks instead suggested that there was an increasingly concrete idea of the close relation between the body and a 'physical' soul.

Shortly before the publication of his *Meditations on First Philosophy* in 1641, René Descartes wrote a letter to his friend Marin Mersenne, the French mathematician and natural philosopher, expressing his concerns over the reception of his work:

> I may tell you, between ourselves, that these six Meditations contain all the foundations of my physics. But please do not tell people, for that might make it harder for supporters of Aristotle to approve them. I hope that readers will gradually get used to my principles […] before they notice that they destroy the principles of Aristotle.[1]

[1] Letter dated 28 January 1641 in *The Philosophical Writings of Descartes: The Correspondence*, trans. by John Cottingham and others, 3 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984-91), III (1991), p. 173.

Descartes' preoccupation with the disapprobation of his work was not completely groundless for he put forward a method of knowing using only the reasoning of the mind in the *Meditations*. This was at odds with the prevailing Aristotelian ideas held by the theologians and authorities of the Church since it undermined the emphasis placed on sensory perception in acquiring knowledge, as proposed by Aristotle in *On the Soul*: 'No one can learn or understand anything in the absence of sense'.[2]

Considering the bodily senses deceptive, Descartes writes, 'I have accustomed myself to leading my mind away from the senses; and I have taken careful note of the fact that there is very little about corporeal things that is truly perceived.'[3] Throughout the six sections of his book, Descartes rehearsed that God should be perceived solely by the mind or, as he put it, the soul. The process of understanding divine subjects should be independent of all sensory experiences.

However, apart from being a philosophical treatise arguing for a shift away from the senses, Descartes' writing was also intended to be a religious meditative guide. Zeno Vendler suggested that the aim of the *Meditations* was 'to change the will of the meditator concerning the conduct of his intellectual life'.[4] This connection Vendler identified between Descartes' work and Christian meditations is unsurprising considering Descartes' familiarity with the *Spiritual Exercises* of Ignatius of Loyola, the founder of the Society of Jesus. Descartes would have undertaken the Ignatian meditation when studying at the Jesuit College in La Flèche.[5] Thus, the *Meditations* was more than simply a criticism of the heavy reliance on sensory perception in understanding God. It instead reveals a destabilised understanding of the senses and the soul that was emerging in the wider culture of meditative writings.

This paper examines these debates on the correlation between the corporeal and mental, particularly among the Jesuits. Centring on the engravings by Ignatius' secretary Jerónimo Nadal, which were published in the meditative handbook *Adnotationes et meditationes in evangelia quae sacrosancto mis sae sacrificio toto anno leguntur*, I argue that there were uncertainties about the distinction of the senses from the soul that Descartes proposed. Exemplifying a meditative method that vacillated between the body and soul, Nadal's engravings reinforce a tendency to 'materialise' the soul as mental contemplation was depicted in a physical form as illustrations on paper.

Abolishing the Meditation of the Senses

[2] Aristotle, 'On the Soul', in *The Complete Works of Aristotle: The Revised Oxford Translation*, ed. by Jonathan Barnes, trans. by J. A. Smith, 2 vols (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), I, 432a6-7.

[3] René Descartes, 'Meditations on First Philosophy' [1641], in *The Philosophical Writings of Descartes*, trans. by John Cottingham, Robert Stoothoff, and Dogald Murdoch, 3 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984-91), II (1984), p. 1-62 (p. 37).

[4] Zeno Vendler, 'Descartes' Exercises', *Canadian Journal of Philosophy*, 19, no. 2 (1989), 193-224 (p. 195).

[5] Walter John Stohrer, 'Descartes and Ignatius Loyola: La Flèche and Manresa Revisited', *Journal of the History of Philosophy*, 17, no. 1 (1979), 11-27.

Descartes seems to have in mind the prevailing religious meditative writings when writing the *Meditations*, in which he designed a six-day programme of meditative exercises for his readers.[6] Walter Stohrer went even further to argue that Descartes was rehearsing the major themes in Ignatius's *Spiritual Exercises*.[7] In particular, both Ignatius and Descartes advocated a withdrawal from physical things of sensory pleasure.

Other studies on the Cartesian philosophy expanded from Stohrer's direct comparison between the *Meditations* and the *Spiritual Exercises*. Bradley Rubidge argued that the *Meditations*, rather than being modelled specifically after Ignatius's writing, was associated with the wider culture of meditative writings. It had 'a relationship to the meditation tradition, but the line of argument does not itself appear to be influenced by the genre's conventions'.[8] He showed that the *Meditations* emerged from the tradition of spiritual exercises but also acknowledged Descartes' unorthodox method of mediation.

Indeed, the *Meditations* was considered by Descartes as a departure from the conventional devotional exercises. He intended to abolish the method of imagining a sensory experience of biblical events put forward in meditative handbooks, including Ignatius' *Spiritual Exercises*. Imagination was compared by Descartes to dreams that were 'paintings' created only in the 'likeness of true things'.[9] In his view, the senses were deceptive since they failed to differentiate reality from imagined experiences.

Therefore, in the *Meditations*, Descartes contemplated God's existence using a 'meditative' method that involved only the reasoning of the mind. The elimination of the senses in knowing would have opposed the principles of the 'supporters of Aristotle'.[10] Aware of the unorthodoxy of his work since Aristotelianism was still embraced among the 'most learned and distinguished men' including the authorities of the Church, Descartes made a deliberate effort in seeking the theologians' endorsement of his writing.[11]

With the assistance of Mersenne, Descartes shared his manuscript of the book with his associates, whose reviews and objections were published in the first edition of the *Meditations* along with Descartes' replies. Antoine Arnauld, a theologian at the Sorbonne, was one of the reviewers who highly commended the *Meditations*, but he also cautioned that Descartes would risk undermining the Christian doctrine of transubstantiation in the Eucharist by rejecting sensory experiences:

> What I see as most likely to give the greatest offence to theologians is that according to the author's doctrines it seems that the Church's teaching concerning the sacred mysteries of the

[6] Stohrer, 12-13.

[7] Stohrer, 18-20.

[8] Bradley Rubidge, 'Descartes' Meditations and Devotional Meditations', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 51, no. 1 (1990), 27-49 (p. 46).

[9] Descartes, 'Meditations on First Philosophy', p. 13.

[10] David Cunning, 'Introduction', in *The Cambridge Companion to Descartes' Meditations* ed. by David Cunning (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), pp. 1-22 (p. 2).

[11] Descartes addressed his 'Dedicatory letter to the Sorbonne' to the *sapientissimis clarissimique viris sacrae Facultatis Theologiae Parisiensis Decano et Doctoribus*. *The Philosophical Writings of Descartes*, II, pp. 3-5.

> Eucharist cannot remain completely intact. We believe on faith that the substance of the bread is taken away from the bread of the Eucharist and only the accidents remain. These are extension, shape, colour, smell, taste and other qualities perceived by the senses. But the author thinks there are no sensible qualities.[12]

Contrary to the decrees of the Council of Trent, according to which the accidents or sensible qualities of the host remained unchanged even after transubstantiation in the Eucharist, Descartes claimed that there were no accidents that appealed to the senses, but only unreal appearances perceived by the mind.[13]

Arnauld was among the many theologians who raised concerns about reconciling Descartes' ideas with the metaphysics of transubstantiation.[14] In their objections, the fundamental argument of the Aristotelian hylomorphism was rehearsed as they emphasised both the sensory perception of accidents as well as the mental discernment of the substance of things. Steven Nadler suggested that the inconsistency between the Cartesian ontology and the Church's doctrine rested primarily on Descartes' repudiation of sensory perception.[15]

In broader terms, what the reviewers took issue with was that Descartes, in Nadler's terms, 'emptied the physical world of all sensible qualities'.[16] They questioned the complete exclusion of the senses in understanding God, calling instead for a rethink of the relation between the body and soul. This problematised Descartes' rejection of the senses to construct a meditative method using only the mind.

The 'Inward Mental Senses' and Corporeal Senses

The problems with completely excluding the bodily senses in perception were not something that Descartes alone confronted. In the prevalent meditative handbooks at the time he was writing, such as Ignatius' *Spiritual Exercises*, there were similar questions on the rigid segregation of the body from the mind.

The Ignatian meditation was one of the devotional exercises most widely practised since the late sixteenth century. Based on his visions of God and readings of earlier meditative guidebooks, Ignatius composed the *Spiritual Exercises* in the 1520s when he was in retreat in Spain after the Battle of Pamplona.[17] The meditation consisted of a set of weekly exercises in which the meditators were to contemplate on various divine subjects through the life of Christ.

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[12] 'Objections and Replies', in *The Philosophical Writings of Descartes*, II, pp. 63-398 (pp. 152-53).

[13] Descartes, 'Meditations on First Philosophy', pp. 16-23. 'Thirteenth Session, The Holy Eucharist', in *Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent* [1551], trans. by Henry Joseph Schroeder (St. Louis: B. Herder Book, 1941), pp. 72-87.

[14] Another theologian that pointed out the contradictions of Descartes' philosophy to the doctrine of transubstantiation was Denis Mesland. See Descartes' letter to Mesland in 1645 in *The Philosophical Writings of Descartes*, III, p. 245.

[15] Steven M. Nadler, 'Arnauld, Descartes, and Transubstantiation: Reconciling Cartesian Metaphysics and Real Presence', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 49, no. 2 (1988), 229-46 (p. 232).

[16] Nadler, p. 232.

[17] *On Giving the Spiritual Exercises*, ed. and trans. by Martin E. Palmer, Jesuit Primary Sources in English Translation, I (St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1996).

Ignatius advised that the five senses should be used to 'see in imagination' various biblical episodes to understand God.[18] The exercitants were required to visualise a scene with immense details. This could include 'hearing' the wailing cries and 'feeling' the heat of the flames in hell.[19] Ignatius' method could even be extended to the contemplation of abstract subjects. For instance, to meditate on sin, the exercitants were to visualise 'my soul as a prisoner in this corruptible body […] cast out to live among the brute beasts'.[20] To put more precisely, this method of visualisation pertained not only to the bodily senses but what his commentators would call the 'inward mental senses' or 'senses of the high intellect'.[21]

After the publication of the *Spiritual Exercises* in 1548, Ignatius later made a set of explanatory notes with the help of his secretaries. These notes were compiled into the authoritative guide *Directory to the Spiritual Exercises* along with the commentaries and advice of other Jesuit writers. They were published in 1599 under the support of the Jesuit superior general Claudio Aquaviva.[22]

In one of the directories, an anonymous writer expressed the concern that 'many people find it quite hard to make the composition of place, straining their heads in the attempt'.[23] This was echoed by other writers in the directories. As a result, there were suggestions that the exercises should be catered for meditators with different abilities. Ignatius's secretary Juan Alfonso de Polanco comments:

> The application of the senses, can either be understood as referring to the imaginative senses, and this would hold for a person with less experience in meditation, such as those to whom the Exercises are most commonly given; or they can be understood as pertaining to the senses of the higher intellect or mind, and this is appropriate for those who are more advanced and have experience of the contemplative life.[24]

According to Polanco, the exercitants were to contemplate on the teachings of God using their 'higher intellect or mind', but those who were less experienced could also meditate with their imagination. This was, in simpler terms, an imagined sensory experience of the biblical narratives.

Polanco's advice parallels the directory of other Jesuit commentators on Ignatius's work.[25] Diego Miró, for example, noted the importance of the bodily senses in stimulating imagination, despite the ultimate goal of the meditation to 'ascend beyond the imagination to the rational level'. He writes, 'The imagining of corporal scents and tastes will be able to lead us into the exercise of these inward mental senses.'[26]

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[18] *The Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius* [1584], trans. by Louis J. Puhl (Westminster, MD: Newman Press, 1951), p. 25.
[19] *The Spiritual Exercises*, pp. 32-33.
[20] *The Spiritual Exercises*. p. 25.
[21] *On Giving the Spiritual Exercises*, p. 132; 175.
[22] 'Introduction', in *On Giving the Spiritual Exercises*, pp. 1-4.
[23] 'Document 26: Short Directory for Giving the Society's Exercises', in *On Giving the Spiritual Exercises*, pp. 204-16 (p. 209).
[24] 'Document 20: Directory of Father Juan Alfonso de Polanco', in *On Giving the Spiritual Exercises*, pp. 116-48 (p. 132).
[25] 'Document 23: Second Directory of Diego Miró', in *On Giving the Spiritual Exercises*, pp. 162-90 (pp. 174-75).
[26] 'Document 23: Second Directory of Diego Miró', p. 175.

What the commentators implied was that imagined sensations of the body were somehow linked with mental thoughts since the use of the senses aided the meditative process. If one had difficulties with imagining, physical images could even be utilised for inspiration of the mind: 'Those who have difficulty with it should be told to recall a painting of the history they have seen on an altar or elsewhere, e.g. a painting of the judgment or of hell, or of Christ's Passion.'[27] The indispensable role of the bodily senses to assist the 'inward mental senses' to meditate was reiterated in these directories.

Corresponding to Arnauld's objections to the *Meditations*, the commentaries on the *Spiritual Exercises* maintained that the senses were coupled with the mind. Although the use of the senses was described only as an option for the inexperienced exercitants, the Jesuit commentators recognised the difficulties of contemplation using solely the mind in their directories.

Meditative exercises, in which contemplation was often emphasised, thus eventually became a return to physical images. While there were doubts about the priority Descartes gave to the mind in contemplating divine subjects, Ignatius' commentators called for an even greater reliance on the senses by looking at paintings to inspire imagination. The responses to the meditative exercises demonstrate that there could never be an absolute withdrawal from sensory perception. This complicates the clear distinction between the corporeal senses and the immaterial soul since the advice that viewing images could provoke the contemplation of the meditators presupposed an interaction between the two faculties.

Nevertheless, the question of how they interacted remained unresolved. If images conceived in the mind were inspired by observation, it should also be possible to give mental images a form perceivable by the senses. This was precisely what meditative guidebooks following Ignatius's *Spiritual Exercises* attempted to achieve: to physically illustrate the meditative process of the immaterial soul.

Illustrating the Soul

Beginning from the late sixteenth century, illustrated meditative handbooks became widely published across the European continent to address the difficulties of visualising biblical scenes by the 'inward mental senses' as mentioned in the directories of the *Spiritual Exercises*. With his familiarity with the *Spiritual Exercises* as Ignatius's secretary, Jerónimo Nadal was one of those who endeavoured to elucidate the Ignatian meditative method, particularly for the Jesuit novices who were amateur meditators.[28] He commissioned a series of engravings that was based on the life of Christ described in the *Spiritual Exercises*.

[27] 'Document 26: Short Directory for Giving the Society's Exercises', p. 209.

[28] Palmer noted in *On Giving the Spiritual Exercises* that some of Ignatius's manuscripts were preserved with handwritten corrections and additions by Jerónimo Nadal and Ignatius's other secretary Juan de Polanco.

These prints, published as *Evangelicae Historiae Imagines* by Hieronymus Natalis in 1593 in Antwerp, were intended to guide the exercitants by materialising the imagination that Ignatius wished to inspire in his meditation.[29] Two years later, Natalis added further explanatory notes to the engravings and compiled them into *Adnotationes et meditationes in evangelia quae sacrosancto mis sae sacrificio toto anno leguntur*.

The collection of 153 engravings in the book was printed with meticulous details including labels on each print that correspond to the descriptive notes. As seen in the illustration of the flagellation of Christ, attention was given even to minor features for visualising the scene, such as the building in the background marked the 'praetorium, the Propylaea where Pilate oversees the flagellation' (Figure 1).[30] Succeeding the illustrations, each section closes with the annotations and prayers that guided the meditators' reflection on certain religious virtues.

Nadal transformed the imagined scenes that Ignatius wrote in words into physical illustrations. The labels and annotations explain the engravings, while the engravings substantialise the meditation on the life of Christ as described in the written prayers. With the dialogue between the images and text, the engravings were beyond aesthetic portrayals of biblical scenes like conventional religious paintings but 'mental images' printed on paper.

Nadal's intention of creating 'mental images' becomes even more evident in the print of Christ before Herod, as it demonstrates the unfolding of events as done in the minds of the meditators (Figure 2).[31] Christ was depicted in various places in a single frame of the picture, engaged in a sequence of actions. In the background on the left, Christ is captured by soldiers and brought to Herod. He was illustrated again in the front when he is in Herod's court. Two other smaller figures of Christ can be seen in the distance with one being redressed and the other forced to Pilate by a group of soldiers.

The multiple figures of Christ on the same plane defy the logic of paintings to portray a single moment in time. To read the chronology of the narrative in the prints, the meditators were expected to follow a kind of formulaic model for viewing the prints. They needed to move their gazes on the plane of the engraving from the background to the foreground of the picture. The engravings not only have spatial depth but also a temporal dimensionality like an imagined scene conceived by the mind.[32]

Producing and reading images as physical depictions of the operation of the soul seems to have become a prevalent understanding of images in the seventeenth century. Caroline Fowler, for example, argued in

[29] Walter Melion, 'Artifice, Memory, and "Reformatio" in Hieronymus Natalis's "Adnotationes et meditationes in Evangelia"', *Renaissance and Reformation* 22, no. 3 (1998), 5-34.

[30] Hieronymus Natalis, *Adnotationes et meditationes in evangelia quae sacrosancto mis sae sacrificio toto anno leguntur* (Antwerp: Martinus Nutius,1595), pp. 288-94 (p. 288): 'Praetorium, & propylaeum; unde pros: pectat Pilatus flagellationem.'

[31] Natalis, *Adnotationes et meditationes in evangelia*, p. 276.

[32] Melion, pp. 5-34.

her study on François Jollain's *L'art de dessiner*, a guideline for drawing published in 1685 on geometry, proportions, and anatomy, that illustrations in the artist's manual were not created as a direct reflection of the world but as contemplation of the mind on what was observed. Fowler drew particular attention to Jollain's drawing practices of the body parts, underlining that these illustrations were considered depictions of the system of reasoning.

FIG 1. Hieronymus Wiericx after Marten de Vos, *Flagellatur Christus*, 1595, in Hieronymus Natalis, *Adnotationes et meditationes in evangelia quae sacrosancto mis sae sacrificio toto anno leguntur* (Antwerp: Martinus Nutius,1595), plate 121. Public domain. Source:<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=gri.ark:/13960/t0tq70k74&view=1up&seq=14&skin=2021> (Courtesy of HathiTrust).

FIG 2. Hieronymus Wiericx after Marten de Vos, *Quae gesta sunt apud Herodem*, 1595, in Hieronymus Natalis, *Adnotationes et meditationes in evangelia quae sacrosancto mis sae sacrificio toto anno leguntur* (Antwerp: Martinus Nutius,1595), plate 119. Public domain. Source: <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=gri.ark:/13960/t0tq70k74&view=1up&seq=14&skin=2021> (Courtesy of HathiTrust).

Describing the drawing exercises of the eyes, Fowler commented that the eyes drawn without the rest of the body became 'freeform objects in space'.[33] Their detachment from the body shows that their importance lay in their role as rationalised objects of study, rather than a part of the human sensorium. In some of the drawings, the eyes were divided by lines indicating the proportions of their different parts. Therefore, Jollain was 'building a drawing intuition that is not based upon knowing the world sensually but instead understanding the world as a series of geometric coordinates'.[34]

Jollain translated the portrayal of the body into mathematical terms, as Fowler describes, 'The 1685 manual uses words and images to construct an understanding of drawing as a mode of knowing and conveying information instead of as a reflection, as in a mirror, of perceiving the world.'[35] His observation of the subjects for his drawings was inseparable from his thoughts formulated by the mind on geometrical principles. The portrayal of the eyes needed to be rationalised by the mind. Like Nadal, Jollain rendered his drawings as mentally representations instead of merely a 'mirror' of the world.

More importantly, Jollain showed that the physicality of the body was fairly dynamic. Like the soul, the eyes or, more generally, the senses could be 'de-physicalised' as they were detached from the body and represented instead by abstract mathematical principles. While Nadal evinced in his engravings that contemplation could be illustrated as images, Jollain's drawings reveal that the perception of the corporeal senses could inversely be rendered into abstract thoughts.

Considering that the body and soul could no longer be differentiated by their physicality, as mental contemplation and sensory perception were closely connected, writers became keenly interested in the nature of the soul. It needed to exist in a material form in order to interact with the senses. Thus, an idea of a physical soul directly linked with the body began to develop.

The Physical Soul

The interest in the physical relation between the body and soul was widespread among the Jesuits, as proven by the Italian Jesuit Girolamo Dandini. Dandini published *De corpore animato* in 1610 to discuss the amalgamation of the human body with its soul to become, what he called, the 'animated body'. In the treatise, he argued that 'the soul cannot be understood as distinct from the body, because bodily structures and organs are essential to the existence and functioning of its powers'.[36]

[33] Caroline O. Fowler, 'The Eye-as-Legend: Print Pedagogies in the Seventeenth Century', *Kunsttext.de* 4 (2010), 1-6 (p. 3). See also Fowler, *Drawing and the Senses: An Early Modern History*, Studies in Baroque Art, VI (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017).

[34] Fowler, 'The Eye-as-Legend', p. 4.

[35] Fowler, 'The Eye-as-Legend', p. 3.

[36] Michael Edwards, 'Digressing with Aristotle: Hieronymus Dandinus' "De corpore animato" (1610) and the Expansion of Late Aristotelian Philosophy', in *Early Science and Medicine* 13, no. 2 (2008), 127-70 (p. 142).

In fact, Descartes, despite prioritising the mind, similarly betrayed lingering uncertainties about the absolute differentiation of the two faculties.[37] The idea of a sensually perceivable or, more specifically, tactile soul joined with the material body continued to develop in his *Rules for the Direction of the Mind*, in which he explained that the senses bore the 'impressions' of the external objects:

> Sense-perception occurs in the same way in which wax takes on an impression from a seal. […] We must think of the external shape of the sentient body as being really changed by the object in exactly the same way as the shape of the surface of the wax is altered by the seal.[38]

The senses imprinted onto the soul in a corresponding manner: 'The "common" sense functions like a seal, fashioning in the phantasy or imagination, as if in wax.'[39] Despite its immateriality, the shape of the soul could be altered like moulding wax. Contemplation by what Miró would describe as the 'inward mental senses' was interpreted not merely as abstract imagination but physical changes of the mind.

Jesuit writers displayed a general interest in unravelling the problem of the metaphysical incompatibility between the body and soul to examine how the perception of material objects could be transformed into abstract ideas that could be understood mentally. However, these discourses went beyond the philosophical and theological concerns of the Jesuit community, as a wider group of writers, like the art theorists and artists, became engaged in considering the mechanism of the interaction between the senses and the soul.

The growing interest in the representation of the soul in works of art is seen when painters, such as Charles Le Brun, returned to Descartes' discussions on the soul and its control over the corporeal expression of passions and emotions.[40] Making a series of portraits of animal heads with different emotions, Le Brun hypothesised that emotions were attributed to the pineal gland which was connected to the facial muscles by a network of nerves.

The pineal gland as the 'seat of the soul', in Descartes' words, is a representation of the soul in a physical form.[41] Le Brun even built on the Cartesian idea to determine a precise location for the soul. In his portraits of the heads of the animals, he drew lines that extended from the outer corner of one eye to another. Connecting the two points on the eyelids to the centre of the forehead, a triangle was formed to indicate the level of the pineal gland concealed in the head.[42] Not only was the soul, represented by the pineal gland, directly linked with the body, it even occupied a physical space like other corporeal organs.[43]

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[37] Descartes, 'Meditations on First Philosophy', p. 45.
[38] Descartes, 'Rules for the Direction of the Mind' [1684], in *The Philosophical of Writings of Descartes*, I, pp. 7-78 (p. 40).
[39] Descartes, 'Rules for the Direction of the Mind', pp. 41-42.
[40] Jennifer Montagu, *The Expression of the Passions: The Origin and Influence of Charles Le Brun's Conférence sur l'expression générale et particulière* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), pp. 1-49.
[41] Montagu, p. 28.
[42] Montagu, p. 24.
[43] Montagu, p.126.

Le Brun exemplified the continuing quest for a representation of the materialised soul that he and his contemporaries were pursuing. There was a shared interest among both the Jesuits and the wider public in the effects of the mind on the body. I have attempted to suggest in this paper that the meditative handbooks contributed to these prevailing speculations on the interaction between the two faculties. They engendered ideas about a soul that was gradually losing its abstract and immaterial nature, so it could be reconciled with the corporeal senses.

These debates, nonetheless, remained unresolved, as Miró has implied with his expression of the 'inward mental senses'. The mind or soul was not an immaterial entity since they could be referred to as the 'senses' just like those presented on the body. Yet apart from alluding to the body-and-soul connection, the meditative handbooks failed to offer any substantial explanation for the interaction of the 'inward' senses with those of the body. These ambiguities that emerged in the meditations, therefore, remained open for exploration by both the Jesuits and those external to the religious order in their attempts to portray the physical soul.

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