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American Studies

with American Studies International

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On the cover: Artist rendering of Katniss Everdeen from Suzanne Collins's *The Hunger Games*. Published with permission from artist Caitlyn Patten.

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Capital or the Capitol?: *The Hunger Games* Fandom and Neoliberal Populism

Rebecca Hill

Populism has become a standard explanation for Donald Trump's surprising electoral-college victory in the 2016 U.S. presidential election.[1] To the annoyance of left political activists, liberals compared Trump's presidential campaign to that of U.S. Senator Bernie Sanders because of their criticisms of party establishments. Such equivalencies neglect the differences between right and left populisms but capture something important: individuals' political ideas, much less political coalitions, rarely express neat ideological cohesion.[2] This essay explores how the diverging populisms so visible in the 2016 campaign season converged in an unlikely spot: responses to the popular young-adult (YA) dystopian fiction trilogy *The Hunger Games (THG)* by Suzanne Collins. Using techniques drawn from Janice Radway's classic study *Reading the Romance* and from scholars of utopian studies, I interviewed *THG* fans and read Internet commentaries on the series to understand how a single political fiction could become a universal allegory for contemporary politics despite a polarized political environment. I argue that "neoliberal populism," a seeming oxymoron, unites fans of this series, despite their many real political disagreements.

Following Radway's lead, I chose the most popular recent dystopian text and sought to understand what fans liked about it.[3] *THG* has remained the most popular YA dystopia, based on rankings at Amazon and Goodreads. The first book in the series sold more twenty-seven million copies, and the films rank among the highest ticket sales in U.S. history.[4] On the social media site

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Goodreads, *THG* surpasses all recent dystopian series, as well as the classics of dystopian literature, including *1984* and *Brave New World*, in the rankings of "best dystopia."[5] These fans read the book not as escapist fantasy but, as Kenneth Roemer notes about readers of Edward Bellamy's *Looking Backward*, as an allegory for contemporary politics. Roemer explains that readers "placed Bellamy's ideas and narrative episodes within the contexts of key events in their lives, events that represented crucial paradigm shifts or had become icons of strong beliefs."[6] As utopian studies scholars argue, dystopia and utopia are inherently political genres, imagining new societies or warning about our current ones. Such imagined worlds are especially significant for young readers; as Carrie Hintz and Elaine Ostry argue, they "may be a young person's first encounter with texts that systematically explore collective social organization."[7] *THG*'s fandom is not limited to young readers. In an episode of the leftist *Intercepted* podcast, describing Trump's blending of reality television (TV) with the presidency, host Jeremy Scahill intoned darkly, "we are now all part of Trump's Hunger Games."[8]

Rafaela Baccolini argues that dystopian fiction's "function is to warn readers about the possible outcomes of the present world and entails an extrapolation of key features of contemporary society."[9] *THG* extrapolates the following features: class division, metropolitan–periphery division, a sadistic televised reality competition, and state surveillance. The series departs from contemporary conditions by portraying a strong state in control of an extractive economy in an allegory to ancient Rome—thus the society's name, Panem, taken from the Latin phrase *panem et circenses* (bread and circuses). Series author Collins began as a writer for TV, a medium demanding polysemy to appeal to mass audiences.[10] Thus, the series is similar to post-9/11 TV and film representations of war and national security that David Holloway describes as "allegory lite." For reasons of "pure capitalist utilitarianism," these texts appeal "simultaneously to multiple audiences, alienating as few customers as possible, while transferring responsibility for any politicizing of films to viewers themselves."[11]

THG's narrator is sixteen-year-old Katniss Everdeen, who lives in District 12 of the country Panem, a dictatorial state whose power is located in a city known as the Capitol. The Capitol extracts wealth from the districts, keeps them under surveillance, and holds an annual tournament in which two young "tributes," a boy and a girl, chosen by lottery from each district, fight a battle to the death on national TV. The tournament, called the Hunger Games, takes place in an arena appearing like a tropical island, where tributes live until there is only one survivor, much as in the reality TV show *Survivor.* Because of the conditions, they are as likely to die of starvation or illness as by combat, and they must appeal to patrons in the TV audience to receive gifts of medicine or extra food.[12] In the first of the three books, Katniss volunteers to go to the tournament in place of her younger sister, Primrose, and is accompanied by the male tribute Peeta. Katniss and Peeta survive the games by pretending to be lovers who would rather commit suicide than fight each other to the death, and they become national celebrities—only to be sent back to the games in *Catching Fire*, the second book, in a kind of Hunger Games all-stars. *Catching Fire* ends with Katniss joining an underground rebellion while the Capitol takes Peeta hostage.[13] In the third book, *Mockingjay*, Katniss becomes the Mockingjay, the symbol of an army of resistance that finally topples the dictatorship.[14] Also important to the story is the character Gale, Katniss's best friend, hunting partner, and love interest left behind in District 12 to mine coal while Katniss fights on TV.

When the first book came out in 2008, Collins commented that she got the idea for the story while flipping channels between reality TV and coverage of the Iraq War.[15] She also explained that the books were informed by her experiences as the daughter of a traumatized Vietnam veteran.[16] When the books moved to the screen in early 2012, filmmakers and actors said *THG* expressed the values of Occupy Wall Street.[17] In Thailand, activists used the three-fingered salute depicted in the films to protest the military government installed by a 2014 coup and distributed free tickets to the third movie. Later, the Thai government banned the film after activists showed up at *Mockingjay* screenings using the salute and wearing "We Don't Want the Coup" T-shirts.[18] Progressive fans in the United States have asserted that *THG* is a progressive critique of the United States. On social media, and in my interviews with them, liberal, progressive, and left fans delighted in discussing how *THG* critiqued capitalism, the Republican Party, vacuous media, and/or the U.S. empire. But as critics and commentators soon became aware, "Tea Partiers and libertarians" also read *THG* as an expression of their politics, seeing in it a message about big government.[19] Some critics have explained this phenomenon by arguing that *THG* is a fundamentally conservative text. For example, in the *Guardian*, Ewan Morrison argued that *THG* and later YA dystopian blockbusters reveal a "tacit right wing libertarianism."[20] Stella Morabito, a conservative writer at the *Federalist*, made a similar case, arguing that only the fog of "political correctness" blinded the left to the way that "big government has been used throughout the ages to accumulate wealth for the powerful, to tax excessively those of lesser means, and then to create a huge class who are utterly dependent upon the likes of President Snow, who ends up justifying his harsh policies as a means to 'peace.'"[21] Despite much popular commentary about ideological diversity among *THG* fans, there are few academic studies of readers of *THG.* Most of these, such as Nicola Balkind's study for the University of Chicago Press's *Fan Phenomena* series, emphasize progressive uses of the narrative and highlight the series as an example of Henry Jenkins's arguments about participatory fan cultures.[22] Most recently, Ben Murnane has analyzed published conservative commentary about the novels and films through the lens of Ayn Rand's right wing dystopian fiction, noting that THG became part of right wing political organizing at the Conservative Political Action Conference (CPAC) of 2013, which featured a fake movie trailer based on the series to inspire young Republican activists.[23] Given the use of *THG* as a metaphor across the left-to-right spectrum, audience readings deserve a more extensive treatment. Understanding how right-wing fans read *THG* could be helpful for understanding the rise of Trump, who used populist rhetoric while advocating neoliberal policies in a way that continues to flummox commentators who see neoliberalism and populism as fundamentally incompatible.

Intrigued by conservative fans, I began following *THG* commentary on various social media sites. To find answers to questions about how fans connected the series to real-world politics, I interviewed twelve *THG* fans of different races, ages, genders, and political ideologies, and my graduate assistants interviewed another nine subjects, asking questions about their political beliefs, their analysis of the series, and their regular news sources. I began these interviews on Labor Day weekend in 2013 at the annual Dragon Con fan convention in Atlanta, and my graduate student assistants interviewed fans at Kennesaw State University, a large public state school twenty-five miles north of Atlanta.[24] I read fan commentary on Jezebel, Salon, Slate, Tumblr, Buzzfeed, Reddit, Hollywood Reporter, The Blaze, Little Green Footballs, FreeRepublic, Breitbart News, and InfoWars and followed discussions in the YA dystopian book club on Goodreads. I found *THG* discussions everywhere, even on the neo-Nazi site Stormfront, where one poster described Katniss Everdeen as a "Hitler figure, a veteran, a reluctant hero, an idealist."[25] To identify the popular reader responses, I tracked themes common to the most "liked" reader reviews on Goodreads and Amazon.

We asked readers about connections they saw between *THG* and real-world politics, what they thought the book's overall message was, what it might be "warning readers about," and what political movement they thought the story might align with. We also asked all readers what news sources they viewed or read to know how their interpretations might be shaped by partisan "interpretive communities."[26] The reason that one series could be so popular with people on opposite political sides in a polarized media environment is not liberal misreading, as Morabito implies, or as some liberal fans insist, that right-wingers are deliberately misreading the series to ride its coattails to popularity. Rather, *THG*'s representation of dystopia and resistance gives a neoliberal twist on the tradition of American nationalist populism, which, in its literary form, the western, maps class conflict into zones of metropolitan power and rural folk resistance. Unlike the contemporary conflicts within science-fiction (SF) fandom over book awards, which pit left and right texts against each other in an intrasubcultural culture war similar to what happened in the punk rock scene in the 1980s, *THG* series has united fans because of its indistinct populist appeal.[27]

Populism is a non-Marxist politics celebrating the "common people" in conflict with corporations, elites, or banks, often with a nationalist or regional center. It can lean right, emphasizing the race of the common people, excoriating banks in opposition to productive industrial capitalism, and advocating collectivism through race or patriarchal Christianity, or it can lean left, advocating interracial activism and democratic regulation of private capital, inflationary currency, and increase of taxation of the rich for the benefit of the "little guy."[28]

Populist movements often combine elements of left and right, as in the original People's Party of 1892, which first proposed the national income tax, opposed immigration, and had a strong traditional Christian element.[29] Populism is not consistently anti-capitalist but often seeks the restoration of an imagined democratic past, representing present-day elite rule as the result of a cabalistic takeover of the national government. In popular fiction, this populist narrative commonly appears in the western, through what Henry Nash Smith once called the "vernacular hero," a character central to Alexander Saxton's analysis of white supremacist republicanism.[30] As historian Geoff Eley argues, contemporary far-right populism is characterized by cynicism, "paranoid and apocalyptic fear," and a sense that "power unfolds and is exercised in a distant place, behind closed doors and opaque glass, by conspiracies of elites who are beholden to no one and simply do not care."[31]

THG fans discuss the series through a discourse I call neoliberal populism. Closer to a "structure of feeling" than a coherent ideology, the neoliberal version of populism combines anti-statism with traditional populism's folk solidarity and hatred of elites.[32] Formal neoliberal ideology celebrates individual entrepreneurship, private ownership, and competition and opposes state economic intervention, repudiating the welfare state as the "road to serfdom."[33] Neoliberalism is thus incompatible with populism. However, neoliberal hegemony has reshaped populism so that the politics of the "common man" are directed against what is felt to be the enslaving power of the state rather than banks or corporations. This new variety of populism operates within neoliberalism's internal logic, traceable to the cooptation of populism by Alabama Governor George Wallace's assaults on public sector workers and, later, U.S. President Ronald Reagan's anti-tax regime.[34] Even as it targets the state, neoliberal populism violates central terms of neoliberal ideology, because like the traditional populist form, it sees the wealthy as morally repulsive and decries inequality as unjust while valuing collective resistance over individual competition.

As a text, *THG* is available for an array of readings because it lacks descriptive richness, becoming a screen for readerly projection. In addition, conservatives often speak in populist terms. Consider this comment from the conservative website The Blaze, describing why *THG*'s Capitol elite represent the Democratic Party, using terms that echo many liberal critiques of the ultrarich and differing from left discourse primarily because it makes individual gun ownership a key signifier of democratic freedom:

> The citizens of Panam are ran by a big government/military, [sic] they have no freedom of speech, they are punished for talking against the government, whipped for hunting, the children are indoctrinated in school only being taught basic reading and math and the rest of the education consisting of how an uprising is wrong and being taught a trade. Not to mention that weapons are against the law, electric fences are

> surrounding each district to keep people from leaving or communicating with other districts to stop any possible organizing of uprisings again, and criminals have their tongues cut out and they are turned into slaves. The main character makes it sound like the majority of people can't afford luxuries like cookies, most products harvested from the districts are sent to the government and capitol citizens. . . . What exactly are the liberals so proudly claiming about [this]?[35]

In cultural studies, we have become accustomed to identifying "resistant readings"; but here a progressive narrative is being read "resistantly" by right-wing readers, who see themselves in a counterhegemonic relationship to a dominant liberal ideology.

Through our interviews, readers revealed shared ideas about power, regardless of their stated partisan identities: 1) that citizens should remain vigilant against creeping state tyranny, 2) that the state is responsible for economic inequality, and 3) that the media is manipulative. Where readers on the right differ from those on the left has to do with the allegorical reading of Collins's district–Capitol division. Panem is a reference to 1) the United States versus third-world colonies, 2) U.S. class divisions, or 3) red states versus government by decadent coastal elites.

The Danger of Creeping Tyranny

The failure of detailed world building in the series allows readers to creatively interpret much of the book, filling in gaps with their own interpretations, particularly because the fast-paced, first-person narrative does not encourage the reader to reflect, making it easy to skip past what might be crucial details. For example, early in the first novel, the town mayor recites Panem's history. He describes the "disasters . . . droughts . . . storms . . . fires, and encroaching seas" that engulfed North America, leading to a series of wars that ended with the arrangement of the districts around a "shining city" called the Capitol located in the Rocky Mountains.[36] In the film version, the interpretive field is wider, because it makes no mention of floods, fires, or storms but instead uses a propaganda film that shows a mushroom cloud.

Most readers could not remember the origins of the government of Panem when asked. The visual spectacle of the mushroom cloud from the movie had taken over—many mentioned nuclear war as a cause of Panem's creation. Readers then filled in the blanks by drawing on other dystopian texts, lessons from school, or what they read in political media. Elizabeth, a young white Kennesaw student, described the process of a slowly building tyranny:

> I think it started about slowly, like it always does. One particular political party might have been voted into office and

> then used the control it gained from that to put policies into place which restricted freedoms from the people . . . a system like doesn't happen overnight. So freedoms were slowly chipped away, and rights were taken away from the people, which they agreed to make at first because they thought their security was more important than their freedoms. And they felt that maybe the government would be taking care of them so it would be ok. . . . So they were giving up voluntarily until one day they didn't have anything else to give up, and then they were under Panem, and the system was made . . . where basically they had no rights.

Liberals, leftists, and libertarians have all argued since 2001 that democracy is being incrementally lost because of concerns about security. Critics of the USA PATRIOT Act suggested that it was the beginning of American fascism. This argument continued among libertarians, right-wing activists, and some leftists who opposed President Barack Obama's policies, and is now central to representations of President Trump as a fascist, with contemporary commentators warning of a coming Reichstag fire event. At the same time, right-wing activists apply this argument about creeping tyranny to the left, as Trump refers to his opponents in the media and the federal bureaucracy as forming a deep-state liberal conspiracy against an outsider president representing the politically disenfranchised deplorables. The *deep state* was a term once associated with left critiques of international security apparatus, but among right-wing activists, it now refers to all federal civil service workers in a way that is more in tune with the anti-bureaucracy discourses of Wallace, captured by Trump's popular calls to "drain the swamp."[37]

Although most of the people we interviewed made arguments similar to Elizabeth's, Madison, a young African American fan, and Javier, a gay male Latino fan, traced Panem's origins to economic inequality. According to Madison, the important extrapolation was from the segregation of the wealthy from the poor:

> There's more or less haves . . . and more or less have-nots. The haves . . . build their own kind of walls and shelters and societies around things, and the people that don't have are just trying to get what they have, so they control them by . . . you can give 'em jobs, but all the jobs are really to serve them at the end of the day . . . and I guess that's just a slow progression of less haves and more have-nots and then eventually it gets to that point where it's just a few people and they tell everybody else what to do and if they don't do it, they have all the power to really control it all.

Javier emphasized real-world exploitation by employers, “almost like in real life where we work and we get paid shit and we make the boss millions of dollars to do nothing.” Despite these references to economic exploitation, both also described an oppressive welfare state. Javier suggested that the dictatorship emerged because of food scarcity, so the wealthy took matters in hand: “OK well, we’re wealthy . . . we’re gonna take care and all of you provide.” His analysis, like Madison’s, fits with both left and right discourses criticizing U.S. welfare policies, which fed a neoliberal consensus for welfare reform in the 1990s. In populism’s apocalyptic imagination, government support for the poor is the seed of creeping dictatorship.

On the right, the theory of economic dependence on government as a tool of state tyranny is more directly connected to anti-welfare discourse. Kristen, a young white conservative Kennesaw student, when asked what the series might be warning readers about, answered, “I can kind of see it relating to the Democrats . . . they want you to be dependent on them which is what the *Hunger Games* government is like.” Contradicting Javier’s and Madison’s descriptions of people working to enrich the bosses, she argued that tyranny could be prevented if people would work harder:

> I think . . . the government just slowly gained more and more power and the other districts kind of let them until eventually the government just . . . took the rest of the power by force. It just attacked them and, and I feel like basically they couldn’t function unless they had the government there with them. . . . What would prevent us [from becoming like Panem] would be if people change their mindsets. . . . Nowadays, people just want free stuff from the government . . . and that is leading to the dependency that happened in the *Hunger Games*. So, if we keep heading that way, then the government gets to that point. . . . They take all the power. So, if people are . . . willing to work and come and move away from that dependency, then I think we’d be fine.

Rather than misreading, these readings indicate the hegemonic nature of anti-statist, anti-welfare discourse. Because it makes the conflict not between capital and labor but between the Capitol and the districts, *THG* feeds this neoliberal common sense, collapsing forms of what Frederic Jameson refers to as “anti-institutionalism” and redirecting a critique of capitalism into anti-totalitarianism.[38] The Capitol–district narrative, allegorizing the contemporary United States with the Roman Empire, was easily adapted in “resistant readings” by both libertarians and right-wing populists, who see the story as representing red-state nationalism against the federal government or economic nationalism against an international global order.

Even as the reference to floods and storms might suggest climate change as the initial cause for the collapse to a left reader, for right-wing readers, a climate-change hoax probably caused the rise of Panem's dictatorship. This hoax theory has become an important conspiracy theory, with the United Nations' Agenda 21 described by Attorney General Jeff Sessions as an ominous plot for a global takeover. On the conservative website Free Republic, GraceG traced Panem's origins to Agenda 21.[39] Similarly, conspiracy theorist Alex Jones calls *THG* "Agenda 21 realized," conflating it with his call for resistance against an imminent dictatorship from the global left. *THG* must be either an anti-Agenda 21 manifesto whose author reads his site or "predictive programming," getting audiences ready for the society new world order globalists want to create.[40] Despite ideological differences, liberal, conservative, and ultraright fans share an anxiety about the slow takeover by a tyrannical government whose true aims are secret and whose benefits turn out to be tools of control.

Inequality, Collective Struggle, and Media Spectacle

The first *THG* book, also titled *The Hunger Games*, which came out in late 2008, is the product of anti-PATRIOT Act activism and the Great Recession, with an emphasis on economic inequality that makes it different from most other popular YA dystopias. The word *hunger* in the title refers both to the hunger of contestants in the games and to the constant hunger of the people in Panem's impoverished districts. In the books, Katniss also emphasizes the absence of professional medicine in the districts, in contrast with the advanced medical technologies available in the Capitol. Many readers I spoke with identified with struggles for food and health care. Two young white women at Dragon Con, Lauren and Rachel, were typical of those who see the series as a communitarian critique of neoliberal individualism. When I asked them about what they saw as the most serious problems in the United States and how these related to the books and films, they spoke together, eagerly following up on each other's analysis:

> Rachel: An unwillingness to help other people . . . [is] the high cost of medical care. . . . If we don't care about people being able to take care of themselves then we just keep it high, we don't care about insurance we don't care about anything else. Education, you know if you're rich you just send your kids to private school, it doesn't matter about anybody else, I mean . . . when you're unwilling to care about anyone else and—
> Lauren: —the gap between rich and poor is widening everywhere and there don't really seem to be any measures to fix that. . . . So they have this highly moneyed class who are giving themselves million dollar bonuses every year when their

> workers are not able to keep their houses, I feel like that's a big problem that has recurred throughout history.

For these fans, selfishness is the chief characteristic of the age, and they read Collins's descriptions of the Capitol–district divide as a metaphorical representation of neoliberal privatization as cruelty. Similarly, most readers praise Katniss and Gale as characters who demonstrate unselfishness. White teenager Rachel, like many others, saw the resistance movement in *THG* as similar to the Occupy movement: "you kinda get that 99% feel when you read. . . . It was really fun to identify with, when the march on Wall St. happened . . . the common folk banding together."

Collective struggle and a critique of individualism are central to *THG*, making the series different from many other contemporary YA dystopias, which champion individual agency against group conformity. In such popular YA books as *The Giver*, *Delirium*, and *Divergent*, and even the conformist society governed by IT in the classic *A Wrinkle in Time*, dystopia appears through the juxtapositions of gray conformity with individual self-expression through the explosion of color.[41] In what I call the "gray dystopia," people appear content because they have their material wants provided but find that their individual identities are stifled. *THG* reverses this representation by depicting capitalist excess as dystopic, satirizing neoliberal self-making as both phony and selfish through the reality TV narrative. We see the Capitol through Katniss's eyes, and it is like a crueler version of the Emerald City—like Dorothy, when she arrives, she is cleaned, waxed, polished, and plucked.

Each competitor is taught to craft an attractive storyline for TV to get wealthy sponsors. Katniss and Peeta are surrounded by a team of stylists and coaches who design their looks and help them practice gestures and facial expressions, "developing their own brands." Romance, as it is in other dystopian YA fictions, is central to the allegory, but in *THG*, romantic love is not the goal but the means to the end of survival—because it is what the TV audience wants and is safer to express than political solidarity. Fans I spoke with at Dragon Con all appreciated that the love story was not central to the storyline, comparing *THG* positively to such books as *Twilight.* They connected both to the feminist appeal of a strong woman character not focused on love and to the series' critique of shallow media culture, which they saw as central to the privileged life of people in the United States, in contrast with the people of the global south. These fans identified the United States with the Capitol, referring to "us" as too focused on celebrity gossip and fashion, drawing parallels between characters in the Capitol and Americans in general as privileged and thoughtlessly cruel. Alex, a white male fan in his twenties, said *THG*'s ultimate message was "Reality TV will kill us all!": "This is the dark, dystopian future of . . . Honey Boo Boo where it's like 'Oh look at these crazy poor people ha ha their lives suck! you know, glad I'm not them.' . . . And the massive . . . divide between the capital and the districts, the rich and poor, you know the class gap has just gotten totally outrageous so now the poor are actually killing each other for the entertainment of the rich."

Javier, Rachel, and Lauren also mentioned Honey Boo Boo, a nod to the white working-class representation of District 12's Appalachia. But, since the line between capital and the Capitol is blurred by the Roman Empire analogy, right-wing readers of *THG* easily turn this populism against the rich into a critique of the greedy representatives of the state. Thus, on a Goodreads discussion, one fan asked "Is Panem Communist?" Several readers replied "yes." One reader explained, "This book illustrates exactly what happens in communist countries. Those in the government live extravagantly. While the majority are living in misery. The government controls who get what jobs and you are not allowed to rise above your station. Commodities are always scarce because their [sic] is no personal incentive to do more than the minimum. Communism is corrosion, poverty, misery and death all for the common good unless you are in government."[42]

Another Dragon Con attendee, Josh, who identified as liberal, also referred to Panem as the "fascism of the far left," suggesting that its extractive economy must be the product of central economic planning denying people a choice of profession. Thus, even readers explicitly identified as liberal or progressive were unable to resist the state-centered reading of tyranny in the story. Kendall, a young white Kennesaw State University student who also identified as liberal, put it this way when asked what she saw as the larger meaning of the stories: "I feel like it does have a deeper meaning like, we were talking about in our English class, we talked about like government control, and . . . that's . . . very big in my generation. . . . My generation is anti-government, we don't need it."

Geography, Race, and Polarized Populists

Because Panem renders power geographically in a metropolitan–periphery division, and because the author explicitly referred to the Iraq War as a motivation for its writing, many left readers read *THG* as an allegory for the United States as an imperial power. Most common among readers of color, this reading pays careful attention to the inter- and intradistrict racial divisions described in the books. District 12 has three racialized classes. The Seam is the miners' village, where both Gale and Katniss live, and here people are dark with olive skin. The blond merchants live in another part of town, and still another is the home to the occupying peacekeepers from District 2. Katniss describes the "Seam look," which she shares with Gale: "Straight black hair, olive skin, we even have the same gray eyes. But we're not related, at least not closely. Most of the families who work in the mines resemble one another this way. That's why my mother and Prim, with their light hair and blue eyes, always look out of place. They are. My mother's parents were part of a small merchant class that caters to officials."[43]

During the first book, Katniss forms an alliance with Rue, from District 11. Through her, we learn that District 11 is a plantation society where workers, whose skin is dark brown, are not allowed to eat the crops they grow and are whipped by overseers.[44] In book two, Katniss again forms an alliance with tributes from District 11, noting that one, Seeder, looks like she could be related to people from the Seam. Thus, pages of fan art on the Tumblr katnissisoliveskinneddealwithit represent Katniss, Gale, and other characters as third-world revolutionaries. In her discussion of this fan community, Balkind describes how fans of color worked to maintain these images and criticized Hollywood's whitewashing of the story.[45] They also interpret the rebellion as a third-world uprising against the United States, turning Katniss into an anti-imperialist insurgent. For example, one blogger argued that the reading is beyond advocacy for more diverse casting:

> Globally, the Capitol exerts its power from abroad to affect the conditions in the Districts so the people in the Capitol can continue their relatively luxurious lifestyles. Generally speaking, countries of the global North often extend their power to force countries in the Global South (predominantly populated by people of color) to operate under oppressive rules . . . (IMF, World Bank, conditionalities tied to loans) . . . when you know that Collins was inspired by footage of the war in Iraq, it seems a very obvious metaphor . . . Katniss Everdeen . . . could be any one of the many people of color coming out of analogous situations. Every day, we see people standing up to dictatorships and demanding political power—just as characters in the *Hunger Games* eventually do.[46]

The books also didactically advocate interracial alliances within the districts. Exemplifying the regionalist populism of the trilogy, both Gale and Katniss argue that despite inequality, they and the local merchants are on the same side against the Capitol. The call for cross-racial and cross-class unity on the basis of district solidarity also appears in the conclusion of the romance plot, as Katniss finally chooses the blond merchant, Peeta, as a romantic partner over olive-skinned Gale. When Katniss describes their children, their features combine racial characteristics: a girl with blue eyes and dark hair, a boy with golden curls and gray Seam eyes. In this way, the books support a regional or multicultural nationalist, rather than ethnic nationalism or class-based solidarity. Again, because of thin descriptive passages and fast pace, white readers inclined to see a red-state revolt against the federal government skipped over the racial identities of characters in District 11, igniting an Internet controversy over the casting of black actress Amandla Stenberg as Rue in the first movie.[47]

The movies don't sustain the book's racial lessons. Several fans I interviewed at Dragon Con noted the whitewashing, which they'd read about on Jezebel. While they saw it as a perpetual problem in Hollywood casting, none of the Dragon Con fans thought the race of the central characters was relevant to the interpretation of the story. Only one person we interviewed, a young black Kennesaw student named LB, read Katniss as a nonwhite woman. LB was the only interview subject to see racial identity as important for the interpretation of the story: "in my head [I saw] Katniss to be like Native American . . . and I kind of expected most of the capitol to be white because that was how it was in reality that white people always had superiority." LB also said that racism was the most important problem in society and mentioned Black Lives Matter during her interview, suggesting that the suppression of a Black Lives Matter "riot" could lead to a dictatorship like Panem. For her, race mattered to the story because of the alliance of Katniss and District 11, making Katniss a better heroic figure: "I felt like when Katniss rose up for them [District 11] and she put in to light that Rue was still important even though she died, it was as if . . . these other people still think that they have white superiority, but minorities are just as important." In the film, District 12, rather than being an olive-skinned future Appalachia, could have come straight from 1933. Other familiar historical references to the 1930s appear as well. In the first reaping scene, police set out wooden tables in the town's central squares, lining children up by sex, and checking their names on a list in a scene that evokes Holocaust films. This cinematic realism is matched by historically evocative representations of District 11 when peacekeepers turn firehoses on black protesters and when a police officer shoots an elderly, nonviolent black man in the head after he raises the three-fingered salute to honor Katniss.

Even as they evoke powerful memories of the Holocaust and anti-black violence, the films represent the Capitol as a multicultural metropolis, with several black characters in positions of power, a key piece of evidence for Morabito in her conservative reading of the film. In the first film, the police who drag Katniss off to wait her initiation as a tribute are black. Later, in almost every pan across the privileged, laughing Capitol audiences, the camera rests on a black face. In the second film, the first time that Peeta and Katniss go to a gala event at the Capitol, they are again surrounded by a multiracial glittering crowd of decadent multicultural elites. Such representations are compatible with readings by conservative fans, who read Katniss, Peeta, and Gale as heartland whites suffering from "liberal fascism." For right-wing fans, visual representations of the Capitol's excess represent cultural elites' decadent sexuality. Conservative fan Guy Kibbee, in comments on the *Hollywood Reporter* site, noted that the Capitol's population has what he termed "effeminate Euro mannerisms" and must be "liberals for sure."[48] Alex Jones drew a similar message from the filmic representation of the Capitol elite. For this audience, Gale and Katniss spending their time hunting in the woods is a white rural identity marker, and it connects to discourses about gun control as a liberal conspiracy for totalitarian control.[49] This reading of the novels as the story of a heroic white rural resistance dovetails with white-supremacist narratives of revolution, making them appear more mainstream. The film's casting closed off this reading when it cast District 11 characters as black, but also closed off the radical third-worldist reading with the casting of Katniss and Gale. In both cases, fans saw the film's casting as a violation of the books, with white readers infamously tweeting that they weren't as sad when Rue died because she was black. Unlike radical anti-imperialists and white nationalists, most media critics read the geography of Panem as a metaphor for working-class struggle against the rich. Similarly, readers who discussed the series with us talked in general terms about haves and have-nots or, as the filmmakers did in 2012, as a representation of the 99% versus Wall Street.

Is Resistance Futile? Rebellion to Romance

THG's story of rebellion is similar to the western, or in SF representations, to *Star Wars*, portraying a popular provincial uprising against an evil imperial state. The space western draws on a framing of American national identity as inherently anti-imperial but displaces settler-indigenous conflict just as traditional westerns do, with rural heroes against Eastern-urban elites.[50] The third book, and third and fourth films in the series, *Mockingjay*, makes a similar move of displacing imperial conflict with inter-American class conflict by mixing post-Vietnam references to victimized soldiers and by mapping the story inside the United States. Instead of showing a heroic victory of the rebels against the Capitol, *Mockingjay* twists the populist narrative to critique militarism by depicting psychological damage to Peeta and Katniss, revealing the leader of the rebellion as evil, and by showing Gale, who is a romantic rebel in the first two books, as increasingly ruthless. This last book has resonated strongly with readers who see an analogy between the district's rebels and contemporary U.S. military veterans.

Janine Spendlove, a U.S. Marine who also writes YA fantasy fiction, presented on Dragon Con's official panel on *THG* in 2013, comparing the story to her experiences in the military. Like the anti-imperialist readers online, she argued that the United States should be understood as the Capitol, with the districts as analogous to the places where the United States intervenes around the world. At the same time, she compared the tributes from those districts and the army of resistance to U.S. soldiers. A reading of the tributes as like the U.S. military—both pawns and noble heroes paying a high price for U.S. freedom—is also found in the most popular review of the series on Amazon, written by a self-described military wife:

> This is a story of war. And what it means to be a volunteer and yet still be a pawn. We have an entirely volunteer military now that is spread entirely too thin for the tasks we ask of it. The burden we place upon it is great. And at the end of the day, when the personal war is over for each of them, each is

> left alone to pick up the pieces as best he/she can. For some, like Peeta, it means hanging onto the back of a chair until the voices in his head stop and he's safe to be around again. . . . What do you do with people who are trained to kill when they come back home? And what if there's no real home to come back to—if, heaven forbid, the war is fought in your own home?[51]

Just as these military fans make contradictory comments about military action, so the representation of the resistance in the third book is complicated and ambivalent. The resistance, housed in an underground complex in District 13, can be read as a utopian space: it provides medicine, education, and entertainment and brings Katniss and Gale into the collective decision making. A simple wedding in the books becomes an occasion for joy. Military veterans read District 13 as analogous to the U.S. military fighting for democracy, while some Marxists have read it as an allegory for democratic revolutionary praxis. However, Alex at Dragon Con arrived at this intriguing reading, perhaps more consistent with the third-world nationalist interpretation:

> There is no way this [District 13] is not an analogue for North Korea. not like North Korea as it is, but North Korea as it sees itself right? Like the whole idea of Koreans, *Juche*, independence. We don't need anybody to run our society, we can run it on our own. The truth is of course they can't. District 13 is a version that can. They have that idea that they are gonna be totally isolationist, we are maintaining our isolation by having a giant battery of nuclear weapons that will scare people and that we have this super hostile relationship with the capitol as being the American analogue, the super decadent wealthy . . . America as North Korea portrays us, the exploitive capitalist pigs, you know, living off the suffering of the poor, and all this. I really felt like it was this sympathetic version because we always see North Korea as the villain in the news . . . but here's the sort of sympathetic version of that right? Here's the current events situation if they were right if they really were kind of the good guys and we really were the bad guys.

However, the two *Mockingjay* movies render District 13 more gray and ominous. The book *Mockingjay* also shifts its discussion of media manipulation to the revolutionary movement. The rebellion's leaders film propaganda videos or "propos" that they will hack into the Capitol's regular programming. Noting Katniss's resistance to acting as the symbolic Mockingjay in these films, readers have seen the resistance becoming a mirror of the society it fights. As Rachel put it, "The Resistance starts making their own propaganda kind of things and wanting Katniss to do all the [films] . . . and she's like, 'no a real person would never do this kind of thing.' . . . They still wanted it . . . to project a message to the watcher, so they're kind of using the exact same method, the same tactics to manipulate what reality is for their own purposes."

Worse still, the leader of the rebel army, Alma Coin, is cynical, and Katniss fears being used as a pawn. During the course of the war against the Capitol, Gale advocates killing civilians and eventually designs weapons and strategies that lead to the death of Katniss's sister, Primrose. The series concludes when Katniss kills Coin to prevent her from becoming the new dictator and, rejecting Gale, leaves the resistance government to go live with Peeta in the ruins of District 12 to raise their children.

Most fans see this conclusion as complex and satisfying, because it rejects the adventure tale of good versus evil. They agree with Katniss's rejection of Gale for his violence and favor Peeta. For these readers, the ending affirms that politics is a hopeless game, suggesting in straightforward neoliberal realist terms that, as Margaret Thatcher once put it, "there is no alternative." Populist revolt may be fun in fantasy, but it becomes its own source of horror, ultimately worse than the status quo. Shawn, a white male teacher who identified as a libertarian, reads the series as libertarian because "well, you replace one government with another and that does not necessarily mean it's a good thing. It's all the same thing. Power is power." Taryn, quickly summarizing all efforts to resist, ended the series wondering whether resistance was worth it:

> We elect people, and we let them say what . . . they say. And we back it without really having much choice in what they are actually doing. If people would exercise their right to vote, they might be able to change it. . . . And then when the time came for them to riot and for them to change, they were all so immediately squashed by the military and it took getting out of there and building their own secret society to slowly be able to even take over that. And even then, who's to say that this was the right decision?

Shawn and Taryn were similar to most fans commenting on Internet forums. When discussing District 13, they drew parallels between the resistance and revolutions in foreign countries. The films also seem to warn against resistance; LB and others worried that a popular uprising or riot would justify the end of formal democracy. Most fans wound up in a similar place, arguing that failure of revolution is the central message of the series. Lauren told me:

> I feel like one of the main messages of *Hunger Games* is . . . the cyclical nature of dictatorships . . . kind of similar to the Bolshevik Revolution, and then . . . the sort of era of Communism that Russia had, they had they were oppressed by

> the Czars and then they overthrew him and then they were oppressed just as badly if not worse under Communism, so . . . I think at the end of *Mockingjay* when they were planning to reinstate the Hunger Games again to . . . punish the capitol. . . . Katniss ended it because she knew that was just the same thing under a different leader that's why she assassinated President [Coin] . . . so probably it's a simplification that violence breeds more violence and that it doesn't really solve anything.

Whether in interviews or on web discussions, most readers describe the series ending as key to its complexity, refusing both a happy ending and a partisan position. Kira, a white schoolteacher who identifies as progressive, commented:

> I did not see it as aligned with any particular party so much as undermining the whole system and the idea that everybody had an agenda. Which is where it comes into, at the end—Snow versus Coin, if it had been aligned with one particular party . . . Collins would have painted one of them as right. Whereas we see one is just as bad as the other, and when [Katniss] shoots Coin she is trying to undo both systems. And that's one of the things I actually like about it, is . . . if it had just aligned with one versus the other, the message wouldn't have been near as important.

While these readers argue that the conclusion is better than other stories because it does not tell a simple adventure story of good guys versus bad guys, it is here that *Mockingjay* does fit the more conventional anti-utopian narrative pattern described by Jameson, Tom Moylan, and other utopian studies scholars. As in *1984*, revolutionaries will become the mirrors of the societies they fight, creating dystopia instead of utopia. In this way, what was set up as a populist narrative fails to shake the pervasive anti-utopianism of neoliberalism that there is no alternative to capitalist realism—and most readers argue that this realism is an important aspect of what elevates *THG* from an escapist adventure story into a serious literary and meaningful political text.

Although more than 600,000 Goodreads readers gave *Mockingjay* five stars, thousands of dissident readers begged to differ. One popular Amazon review of the series is titled simply: "cheated, disappointed and betrayed."[52] Dissident readers complain that the conclusion leaves Katniss whiny instead of heroic so that rather than an ethical warrior, she is just another stereotypical character of YA romance. "Khan (The Grinch)" on Goodreads brought together some of the most common fan criticisms: "What the fuck happened to Katniss?! How did she end up being so admirable and awesome in the first two books and turned into such a sniveling, squishy mess in this one? . . . In this book, Gale was my favorite. He's the voice of reason. It's war, people have to die in order for there to be peace."[53]

Alex commented that the resolution violated the earlier critique of reality TV that he had found so important: "Honestly . . . this whole sort of the fakeness of their [Katniss and Peeta's] relationship I thought was brilliant and that's why I was so mad that they did actually end up getting married in the end. It was a total cop-out ending that must have been demanded by an editor. It was like 'no she's got to marry one of them, it doesn't matter who. Just like make her married at the end, you know fat and happy with lots of babies.' . . . I thought it was total bullshit."

Katniss's marriage to Peeta is the source of the most heated diatribes by angry fans. If we read the romance plot as a political allegory, it's important that Gale, instead of being portrayed as a romantic revolutionary, is an increasingly dangerous man driven by revenge. In the third book, Gale's transformation makes a comment on revolution. As Katherine R. Broad puts it, "the novels present Gale as the necessary but ultimately undesirable underside of revolutionary politics" and "set up" Peeta as a more desirable partner for Katniss because he is a "loyal lover who dreams of a quiet and private home life as the end goal of utopia and the reason for social change."[54] Toward the end of *Mockingjay*, Katniss despairs, reflecting, "I no longer feel any allegiance to these monsters called human beings, despite being one myself. I think that Peeta was onto something about us destroying one another and letting some decent species take over."[55] The group of three young women I interviewed following *THG* fan panel at Dragon Con favored Gale over Peeta, one remarking that she had a "boner" for him, explaining:

> He's kind of the male Katniss, he's the least selfish person everyone's like "oh, but he wants to go off and fight this war!" . . . and well yeah, but because he's looking at the bigger picture he knows what's gonna happen if this rebellion comes about, things are gonna get better, he wants that for his family. . . . That's why I think I like him the best, he loves his siblings. He's like the Papa Bear. . . . I just like that he doesn't think about himself, which Peeta doesn't either, but I think there's just something about the class divide and Peeta having been on the merchant side and Gale being on the same side it makes it very different for their circumstances.

At katnissisoliveskinneddealwithit, commenter Churayl was livid, and put this in more explicitly ideological terms, decrying the ending of the third book because "communism as represented by District 13 was vilified. . . . Gale was demonized for resisting violently and constructed as morally wrong and inferior. . . . Katniss was purged of revolutionary consciousness."[56] Academic feminist critics also see the conclusion as a betrayal of the strong feminist character portrayed in the first two books.[57] Conservatives also stuck with Team Gale but describe him as behaving logically in a military context. At Goodreads, in a forum set up to combat the idea that Gale is a "villain," one reader fumed: "He made the bombs to help win a war, you fucking idiot. Maybe we should start dropping jelly beans on people that are trying to kill us." Two gun-rights advocates joined in, ridiculing members of Team Peeta for doing the equivalent of blaming "Gatling" for murders committed with guns he designed.[58] Advocacy of revolution for these fans might appear in a strong right-wing populist armed attack on the federal government, more likely to support the man who showed up with a shotgun at a Washington, DC, pizzeria hoping to stop a government-run child sex ring than to view the Rojava resistance as heroic.

THG has been a vehicle for people to debate the ethics of war, the importance of vigilance in the name of democracy, the reality of class divisions and U.S. imperial power, and the impact of sadistic entertainment in our media culture. Yet criticisms of neoliberal society are not unique to the left, liberals, or progressives. These conflicting readings result from the vagueness of national appeals to the people, shared in various popular fictions, when brought into contact with efforts to respond to real-world economic inequality. This neoliberal populism appeals to readers across the political spectrum so that the same series is for one group a transparent allegory of an interracial class war against capitalism, for another a parable of white rural rebellion against a decadent globalist cultural elite, and for a third, and less visible, group of readers a global call to arms against the U.S. empire. Beyond the simple understanding that readers take different meanings from texts, or that authorial intention does not control the "real meaning," these diverse readings are indicative of the impact of populism's reduction of materialist discourses to a story of good people and bad government—and how this narrative fits into longer geographic rendering of class conflict in the United States. This seemingly unifying tale can cover many rifts, leaving us all in the position of Katniss standing in the arena, where it can be surprisingly difficult to distinguish between friends and foes.

Appendix: Interview Questions

The Hunger Games Interview Questions—First Interview

1. Would you describe yourself as a fan of *The Hunger Games (THG)*? If no, skip question 2.

2. What makes you a fan?

3. If not a fan, what is your relationship to the movie and or book?

4. What do you like most, the movie or the books?

5. How many times have you seen the movie? How many times have you read the books?

6. What do you like about *THG*?

7. Do you see *THG* as having a message for people of today beyond being for entertainment?

8. If yes, what is that message?

9. Do you watch reality television? If yes, why? If no, why not?

10. What do you think *THG* is saying about reality television? Do you agree with the books or movie on this?

11. Do politics and debates about current events interest you? Why or why not?

12. Do you think that the message of *THG* is connected to a political party or political movement? If so, what? If not, why not?

13. Do you think that *THG* is trying to warn Americans about a particular political party or movement? If so, what? If not, why not?

14. How do you think that Panem (the country depicted in *THG*) got to be the way it is before the events in the movie or books happened?

15. What do you think the most serious problems facing us as a society are?

16. Is it really possible that America is on the way to being like the society presented in *THG*?

17. What could prevent that future from happening?

18. What are the main characteristics that you see in Katniss as a hero? What makes her so heroic?

19. What other characters do you think are important in the story?

20. Who are your favorite characters in *THG*, and what do you like about them?

21. If you read the books before seeing the movie, what race did you imagine the characters were?

22. Do you think it makes a difference what race the characters are? Why or why not?

23. How did you feel about the race of characters chosen for the movie?

24. Do you go to *THG* fan sites? If yes, which ones?

25. If you answered “yes” to question 24, what do you like about *THG* fan sites?

26. What makes President Snow evil?

27. Why does Katniss kill President Coin? (only if they read book 3)

28. What do you think the author is saying with the book's ending?

29. What else would you like to tell me about *THG*?

The Hunger Games Follow-up Interview after the Release of the Second Movie, *Catching Fire*

1. Did you read the book *Catching Fire*? If no, skip to question 3.

2. Did you like the movie or the book more? Why?

3. Did you like the movie more or less than the first one? Why?

4. What did you think of the choices of actors to play Betee, Finnick, and Mags?

5. What do you think about Katniss's actions in the movie? Did she make good choices?

6. What do you think about the rebellion? Is it a good idea?

7. What is the difference between Gale and Peeta in this movie?

8. Who do you think Katniss should choose (Peeta or Gale) and why?

9. What were the best and worst parts of the movie?

10. What else would you like to tell me about the movie *Catching Fire*?

Final Films—*The Hunger Games* Interview Questions Following *Mockingjay 1 & 2*

1. Did you like the last two movies?

2. What were you most surprised by, if anything, in the last two movies?

3. Were you satisfied with what happened in the end?

4. Did it matter to you whether Katniss chose Gale or Peeta?

5. (if it didn't) What mattered most to you about the movies? What did you want to see them do?

6. What did you think the filmmakers were trying to say, if anything, with the way that the movies concluded?

7. Did you think the movies were very different from the books? If so, how?

8. Which did you like better, the movies or the books? Why?

9. Having now seen all the movies, if you were going to sum up in a couple of sentences what *THG* can teach us about politics, what would you say?

Notes

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2. For a recent example, listen to "Killer Mike," being interviewed by W. Kamau Bell, as he describes his simultaneous support for Bernie Sanders, as a member of a union household, and his continuing belief in black capitalism, as derived through a personal history influenced by the Nation of Islam.

3. In *Reading the Romance*, Radway finds a small network of romance readers and interviews them about their favorite examples of romance to understand the pleasures they take from the genre. Janice Radway, *Reading the Romance: Women, Patriarchy and Popular Literature* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1981).

4. Diane Roback, "Facts and Figures: Hunger Games Still Rules in Children's," *Publisher's Weekly*, March 17, 2013, accessed December 27, 2015; "All Time Box Office Adjusted for Ticket Price Inflation," *Box Office Mojo*, n.d., accessed July 20, 2016.

5. "Best Dystopian and Post-Apocalyptic Fiction," *Goodreads*, n.d., accessed August 3, 2017, https://www.goodreads.com. On August 3, *THG* surpassed no. 2 ranked *1984* by more than 200,000 votes.

6. Kenneth Roemer, "Placing Readers in the Forefront of Nowhere: Reception Studies in Utopian Literature," in *New Directions in American Reception Study*, eds. Philip Goldstein and James L. Machor (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 108–9; see also Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, "Rebel Girl," 47; Bryan Palmer on James Cannon, 42; and Franklin Rosemont, "Bellamy's Radicalism Reclaimed," in *Looking Backward, 1888–1988: Essays on Edward Bellamy*, ed. Daphne Patai (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1988).

7. Carrie Hintz and Elaine Ostry, *Utopian and Dystopian Writing for Children and Young Adults* (New York: Routledge, 2013), 2.

8. Jeremy Scahill, "We Are All in Trump's Hunger Games Now," February 15, 2017, accessed April 7, 2017, https://theintercept.com/2017/02/15/intercepted-podcast-we-are-all-in-trumps-hunger-games-now/

9. Tom Moylan and Rafaella Baccolini, *Dark Horizons: Science Fiction and the Dystopian Imagination* (New York: Routledge, 2013), 115.

10. John Fiske, "Television: Polysemy and Popularity," *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 3, no. 4 (1986): 391–408.

11. Holloway cited in Stacy Takacs, *Terrorism TV: Popular Entertainment in Post 9/11 America* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2012), 92.

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the time, making it easy to approach people and ask “are you a fan of *the Hunger Games*?” I was most interested in those interviewees who identified as “fans” rather than as simply having read or enjoyed the series. Interview questions were designed to be legible to young people, to encourage “fannish” elaboration on favorite characters, and to ask fans to make explicit connections to real-world politics while not revealing the political views of the interviewer. In addition to approaching fans at Dragon Con, my graduate assistants and I also did interviews on the Kennesaw State University campus in 2014 and 2015 shortly following the releases of the 2nd, 3rd and 4th movies. Kennesaw is a suburban comprehensive university with over 30,000 undergraduates in the northwest suburbs of Atlanta. I interviewed one fan there. My assistant Lynne Tipton interviewed three fans by approaching students in the student center in Spring 2015. Stephanie Craven interviewed eight additional fans in fall 2015, both approaching them at the university, and recruiting people whom she already knew to be fans, through her own “geeky” social network. In this final group of interviews, the selection was less random, but because it was connected to a group whose primary relationship was already through “geek culture” fandom, and gaming, it was a relatively ideologically diverse group. Of the 24 total fans we interviewed, 20 were white, 15 were women; 2 identified as Latino; and 2 were African American. Most were in their early to mid-twenties, with the youngest fans interviewed being teenagers and the oldest in their mid-fifties. Most had read the books and seen the movies, often multiple times. All interviewees signed consent forms. Because some fans elected confidentiality and others did not, I refer to all subjects by first names only, in some cases with real first names and in some cases with pseudonyms. Demographic information about interviewees is mentioned briefly in the text of the paper. To balance the fan views for ideology, gender and idiosyncrasy of interpretation, I also evaluated online sources through a mixture of quantitative and qualitative measures: using widely popular social media sites which allow other readers to rank responses and reviews. I also sought explicitly ideological analyses through political websites where people had engaged in discussion about the series. When reviewing publications and reviews of the films and books, I read extensively through comment threads rather than relying only on the published articles.

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The Politics of Clean: Representing Food Salvage and Dumpster Diners

Rachel Vaughn

> Ryan Owens, *ABC News:* What do you say to people who say, "There you are on the street digging through trash, this is gross, this is disgusting?"
>
> Madeleine: Well, I'd say what's gross and disgusting is the fact that this food is being thrown out in the first place.[1]

> To have privacy is to exist in the eyes of the state, and this is the starting point for making claims for basic public services. The capacity to make a public self, to manage one's waste in a way that produces subjectivity rather than shame . . . is a fundamental process of distinction that anyone living with a bathroom takes as given. It inaugurates a public personhood.[2]
>
> Gay Hawkins

Trash is incredibly powerful stuff. It is the material resonance of transnational dialectics of food, labor, and resources—a resonance of who's producing and who's consuming. Trash, scrap, and the waste sector represent a steadily booming billion-dollar global industry. Although the annual generation of garbage in the United States is staggering at 388 billion tons produced, 64.1% of which is landfilled, this article is focused on food salvage, food excess, and

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food waste in the United States—estimated by University of Arizona anthropologist Timothy Jones at somewhere between 40% and 50% of "overall food system" loss.[3] Jones's study shows that "an average American family of four throws out $600 worth of good food every year, and that 14% of that is food that hasn't expired or even been packaged."[4]

In sharp juxtaposition to the waste levels noted in these findings, U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) statistics suggest that in 2014–15, 14% of U.S. households, or more than "48 million people, including over 15 million children," were food insecure, which means that individuals of a household experience "limited or uncertain availability of nutritionally adequate and safe foods or limited or uncertain ability to acquire acceptable foods in socially acceptable ways."[5] The USDA's definition of food security excludes "resorting to emergency food supplies, scavenging, stealing, or other coping strategies"; this is because the human right to food access in a dignified means is central to the USDA's definition.[6] In the pages that follow, I center my attention on these actions. Dumpster stories from varied socioeconomic perspectives, from the material edges and legal confines, are placed comparatively in dialogue with popular representations of divers and scavengers to draw out a breadth of multivocality, ingenuity, and complexity concerning the use of the dumpster as a food resource. Through the use of primary oral histories, critical reflection of 52 surveys conducted in 2010, and popular representations of food waste reuse and salvage, this article situates cultural tensions that surface surrounding reuse by underscoring what scholar Gay Hawkins calls "our most quotidian relations with waste," or how we grapple with the waste that we all make in our day-to-day lives.[7]

More specifically, drawing upon interviews with self-identifying dumpster divers from a modest 18-interviewee collection conducted Spring 2008–Summer 2010, this article critically examines the space of the dumpster and the act of diving in relation to how interviewees explain their actions. Use of the interviews permits stronger understanding of how diving fits lived experiences of waste, paying particular attention to food recovery. As the two opening quotes contend, waste may be used as a means of constructing subjectivity when it has been erased, denied or overlooked. This article juxtaposes interviewee testimonies with popular media representations of dumpster dining and reuse from comedy skits, late-night shows, music and television series to underscore common cultural anxieties from comedy skits, late-night shows, music, and television series to underscore common anxieties specifically about food recovery, thereby revealing what I refer to as the normative "politics of clean," or popularly constructed idealization of cleanliness. I am interested in how such popularly reflected anxieties may work on interviewees in different ways.[8] The oral history interviews provide insight into diver sociopolitical positionalities. They also expose the ways in which their material deviance—removing or coming close to matter that is considered dirty—works upon them from day to day. I do not suggest these modest oral histories represent an accurate account of reuse and food waste data, nor do I use the narratives in this article as means of resolving the crisis of large-scale food waste in the United States.[9]

In framing these diverse narrative sources, I argue that dumpster dining reflects a range of food access experiences. In this narrative comparison, I locate a distinct tension between popular waste discourses and the visceral, lived experiences of waste proximity and bodily ingestion of what is presumed waste. This form of consumption taps into what hoarding scholar Scott Herring calls an "object conduct," i.e., a manner of engaging with material culture that "do[es] not conform to normative standards."[10] To build this contention, I am especially dependent upon Hawkins's and Arjun Appadurai's critical framing of "shitting in public," or the ways in which waste, the abject, and the refused are highly political. This article centers on the making of public selves through waste by focusing on material acts that attempt to "manage one's waste in a way that produces subjectivity rather than shame."[11] Hawkins underscores events in a different global context, with different stakes concerning environmental mobilization around indoor plumbing—centering attention on the role waste plays in constructing (or denying) the right to privacy and dignified distance from waste. However, I am particularly curious about the ways in which dumpster dining may invert Hawkins claims, but to a similar effect. In other words, I suggest food salvage requires a re-approximation to waste; a revisitation of matter that is intentionally already erased, privatized or intended as "away" because "dirty." This act of reapproximation can either construct and deny one's social status according to ideal notions of proper citizenship as consumer-centric.

In placing primary oral history research in conversation with popular representations of dumpster dining, I suggest that people take from this resource for varied reasons. Diving is neither solely indicative of poverty nor solely the stuff of counterculturists fighting "the System." The more I have listened to the stories of dumpster divers, trashers, pickers, salvagers, and recyclers, the more I realize the sociopolitical complexities of diving generally and as a food source specifically. Finally, divers' socioeconomic circumstances vary, and even some with cultural capital and economic privilege discuss social and legal taboo at the margins of a dumpster. Much like Herring's suggestion that actions like hoarding represent a "materiality [that] queers individuals," the placement of this work at the intersections of food, discard, and material culture studies permits me to engage Herring's argumentation concerning "material deviance," or "how object pathology and deviant object conduct . . . can upset normative social boundaries."[12] However, I do not argue that experiences of socially applied deviance are the same or static across diver identity politics. Rather, the spectrums of narrative experience reveal the extent to which cultural taboos about dirt and cleanliness—what I term the politics of clean—are intersectionally experienced. Within this crossroads, factors like race, class, gender, sexuality, citizenship, housing status, and health and ability collide. They plow into one another over the legal controls over trash and trash spaces. Perhaps more importantly, they run head-on into the tightly wound constrictions of ideal citizen consumerism within a late capitalist society. As waste scholar Michelle Yates has suggested, there is investment in both disposability and capital accumulation.[13] Though the popular representations of dumpster dining analyzed here tend to highlight the socioeconomic privilege that some divers live with or move within, there are also key assumptions conveyed that need be disrupted. Namely, dumpster diner representations rooted solely in presumed desperation fail to see the diversity of participants. Those rooted solely in assumed positions of privilege 1) dislocate the voices of people from whom these tactics may be learned, influenced, or acquired; 2) make fun of these resources as absurd, deviant, and socially inappropriate; and/or 3) can be culturally confusing, because they defy how the American imaginary frequently represents salvage—exemplified, for instance, through the common Depression-era narrative, often retold with great pride, that "Granny saved everything and knew the value of a dollar."

Literature on the Dumpster

Dumpster diving is addressed in multiple ways by scholars, and work has steadily evolved over the last decade. Criminologist Jeff Ferrell, for instance, uses an autoethnographic approach to document and analyze his own diving experiences.[14] Urban and environmental management scholars Ferne Edwards and David Mercer's article "Gleaning from Gluttony" situates diving in relation to ethical stances on waste within Australian subcultural communities, such as the Food Not Bombs movement.[15] Likewise, anthropologist Dylan Clark's article "The Raw and the Rotten" explores the punk cuisine ideologies of Seattle's Black Cat Café. American studies and food studies scholar Warren Belasco explores digger histories of U.S. counterculture cuisines. Finally, David Boarder Giles's work on "abject capital" and revalue through ethnographic work with the "subcultural denizens of dumpster diving urban scavengers" has been especially insightful.[16] Eikenberry and Smith's important article on diving in low-income neighborhoods in Minnesota anchors my argument. As they suggest, "Information on the ways in which low-income people procure supplemental food, especially when such ways are socially unacceptable, is sparse."[17] Scavenging, then, for my purposes is a method of accessing alternative food resources, even though it encompasses a broader range of found materials. I center on food and discuss Rachel Black's anthropological work on food waste scavenging in France and Italy among elderly pensioners; Alex Barnard's ethnographic work with freegans and dumpster divers; sociologist Teresa Gowan's work on homelessness and scavenging in San Francisco; and David Evans's ethnographic scholarship on food waste in quotidian life.[18] I do not attempt to convince readers of the notion that food from the dumpster will solve food insecurity in the United States or abroad. Rather, I convey the complexity of disgust and ambiguity that garbage in general and food waste in particular generates. As Barnard notes, "Making sense of dumpster diving—and, more broadly, the long-term significance of seemingly marginal movements like freeganism—

requires attention to both the expressive and strategic functions of such nontraditional behavior."[19] However, rather than a social movement or counterculture focus, I am interested in the ways in which interviewees' individualized, lived experiences of waste collide with popular representations. I convey the intersectional identity politics and social hierarchies of discomfort that trash proximity so often raises via the tensions surfacing from my combined analysis of oral history interviews and popular culture representations.

Situating the Dumpster: On Social Ambiguity and Criminalization

> You think it's trash, granny, but it's not.[20]
> The White Stripes

In *Anatomy of Disgust,* William Ian Miller argues, "Darwin is right about the etymology of disgust. It means unpleasant to the taste. [But, disgust] is a moral and social sentiment. . . . It ranks people and things in a kind of cosmic ordering."[21] This moral sentiment Miller writes of captures the ways in which the biopower of the technological and the moral function together to perpetuate ideas about cleanliness and dirt. Hawkins suggests that dealing with shit, much like dealing with garbage, is "the result of techniques of invisibility, a technological and aesthetic commitment to disappearance."[22] Given the cultural stigma most commonly associated with reuse, the notion that the material of trash is desirable, sought after, and even pretty is hard for many to imagine. The idea that one could conceivably engage in the intimate act of eating from the bin is even more tentative for many. Although not food waste specific, consider for a moment another example of intimate reuse, that of thrift store clothing. I draw attention to these examples because they are popularly acclaimed illustrations of salvage glorification that perhaps on the surface fly in the face of the suggestion that reuse conjures disgust or social stigma.

In their 2012 award-winning song "Thrift Shop," Macklemore and Ryan Lewis glorify the assumed money-saving quirk and zany, hipster irony of "popping tags" or thrift shopping. However, the song and music video bring an awareness, bravado even, to thrift store clothes shopping, which has long held specific socioeconomic connotations in the U.S. imagination. The song takes a contrary stance to consumer-driven culture: "Fifty dollars for a T-shirt—that's just some ignorant shit/I call that getting swindled and pimped/I call that getting tricked by a business." Mick Jenkins's 2011 song "Value Village" takes up a similar thrift store shopping topic but features a different perspective. The ironic representation portrayed by Macklemore and Lewis depicts consumption of used objects not as a need but rather as a vibrant, colorful, playful desire; a one-upping of "the Man" out to swindle. Jenkins's song, in contrast, takes its name from a well-known national thrift store chain. There is nothing lavish about the way this video has been shot. Its muted visual tones capture the essence of the musical message: “fuck the mall” and “don’t listen, save money . . . I get fly without them labels.”[23] Yet the muted tones also convey the monotony of pressures to spend, to have more, and to consume continuously, further signified by the repetition and tone of the lyrics. Even though both songs use humor and sarcasm to critique what they take to be the illogic of capitalism, Jenkins’s work underscores thrift and the freedom of not buying into the consumer culture represented by the mall. Whereas Macklemore embraces a playful consumerism in love with the frivolity of one-of-a-kind buys, Jenkins centers on young black men playfully yet assertively arguing thrift as means of economic freedom; and unabashedly suggesting not buying into the mousetrap of consumerism.

These two musical depictions of reuse exude pride, specifically in reuse of intimate objects: clothing worn on the body like shoes, hats, and coats. In general, however, reuse occupies a more sordid position in the American popular imagination. Salvage and reuse are most often understood in terms of socioeconomic desperation, idealized out of necessity, for instance, during the modernist war efforts, or solidifying in the American imagination in terms of the common narrative surrounding one’s elders having survived the Great Depression and knowing the value of a dollar. On the classed dimensions of the work of reuse, historian Susan Strasser notes, “As always and everywhere, poor people sell and reuse what they can, while a broad movement to protect and restore the environment has encouraged some who do have money to adopt ways of life that acknowledge the effects of trash on the global ecosystem.”[24] In such instances, reuse and thrift more broadly act as an example of American exceptionalism, of the enduring human spirit faced with so-called less than ideal circumstances outside of the idealized consumer mechanism of capital accumulation.

Contemporary American popular depictions of dumpster dining reflect and actively construct a politics of disgust and social ambivalence, commonly conveyed through three central themes: 1) dumpster dining operates in a binary—absolute desperation or zealous privileged environmentalism; 2) this practice is odd and made fun of, as many examples analyzed here will reveal; and/or 3) it is stigmatized to use for televised shock value in much the same way that Herring suggests popular representations of hoarding “mark a material deviance on its subjects even as it strives to box them into ordinary object life by the sixty-minute mark.”[25] For instance, dumpster dining has frequently been the brunt of comedic routines, as in this performance from the *Colbert Report:*

> There is a bold new breed of dumpster diver out there [audience laughter]. Perfectly healthy young people who are “living off consumer waste in an effort to minimize their support of corporations and their impact on the planet.” [Audience laughter] Way to stick it to the man, freegans [flashes peace symbol to audience laughter] . . . Look, I’m all for finishing a half-eaten falafel you find in an old tire [audience laughter],

> as long as you pay for it! But these trash-eating hippies are freeloading everything from paintings, to laundry-detergent.[26]

The distinct tension in Colbert's comedic commentary is thus that the new generation of dumpster dining is done by privileged consumers performing actions associated with social taboo or economic uncertainty. The routine suggests that these consumers, perhaps as a result of their privilege, need not fear the indignity of this form of consumption. Colbert's routine takes a different perspective of reuse, contrary to, for instance, the messages conveyed in the aforementioned music videos by Macklemore and Jenkins depicting, even exalting, thrift.

As Herring suggests in *Material Deviance,* "Personhood, we know all too well[,] can be non-normative in ways both ravaging and sustaining; hoarding is but one cultural arena in which objecthood does likewise."[27] Everyone I interviewed used the dumpster as a site rich in resources. Though not all narratives convey the goal of "stopping the waste stream," as interviewee "York" put it, some divers use the dumpster as a potential site for food, reusable or refurbishable objects, resale materials, barter materials, or scrap exchange.[28] Use of the dumpster fringes can lay bare an environmental imperative toward reuse and espouse a commons ethic to keep objects for redistribution accessible. Sometimes it acts as a critique of consumption, particularly surplus subsidized production and waste, as in Barnard's ethnographic work. It both feeds and defies presumptions that human interactions with trash are automatically a threat to health and safety and to the distinct lines of differentiation between cleanliness and dirtiness, even as it may conjure an emotional grappling with what feminist housework scholar Mandara Vishwanath (and Julia Kristeva before her) refers to as the "abjection manifested [by] inner materials of the body—grime, dust, mould, dirt and bodily fluids—that are associated with the private realm." When asked, "Why do you think people are so hesitant to be open about [the fact that they dumpster dive]?" one of my interviewees grappled with common stereotypes of consuming the rotten: "I think, you know, the stigma that dumpsters are slimy and full of rats. The shame that's supposed to go along with being poor in this society, like, if you're poor you're not supposed to talk about it or tell people. So if you're not poor you certainly wouldn't want people to think you're poor."[29]

Anthropologist Mary Douglas famously suggests, "dirt offends against order. Eliminating it is not a negative moment, but a positive effort to organize the environment." Using food as a more specific framing for Douglas's idea of "dirt as disorder" or "matter out of place" opens a discussion entwined with systemic food production, consumption, and disposal.[30] Douglas's argument helps to reveal the paradoxes of these intersections between food and waste in the United States. Salvaging food in the United States with regularity often exposes large quantities of edible yet cosmetically less ideal and/or surplus fare. Furthermore, as Evans's UK-centered ethnography of food waste in everyday life suggests, for many households, that "things become surplus in ways that are more closely connected to the routinized nature of food provisioning than to the conscious evaluation of individual foodstuffs."[31] Thus, such perceptions of dirt as applied to food waste, especially surplus, raise pertinent questions about the systems of order and purification that control current food sources. We must further inquire: What is the rationale for throwing these now-"dirty" items away as "matter out of place"? What does it mean to throw them away, and what does it mean to salvage them? Why lock down the waste sites after disposal? Within capitalist contexts, making a profit on the materials, whether they are of sale value to producers or distributors or not, must remain central for the system to be in good working order. "York" discussed food waste streams in the United States as follows:

> Grocery stores throw out lots of food because it's cosmetically damaged, or there's a few left in the lot . . . [so] there's still a tremendous amount of food that's thrown out. Although grocery stores have increasingly moved to grinders and such because they don't want the waste stream to be something someone would eat. . . . A liability issue is part of it, but more they don't want a bunch of people back there grabbing food and maybe it'd cut into their sales.[32]

Waste scholar Yates argues that "many scholars study waste and the process of excretion as an isolated process, somehow separate from the unity of the capitalist mode of production."[33] In instances of surplus food waste, this form of excretion is a normalized part of the production–consumption cycle and necessary to maintain idealized aesthetic appearances of foods consumed, as my interviewee suggests. The visceral tension of this act of object deviance by way of retrieval from the dumpster, reveals the space as a resource rather than a waste source alone. This disrupts sociocultural assumptions about the boundaries of dirt and cleanliness, as well as the material culture demarcations of what to do with waste and how it is contended with in society. In the same way that this interviewee theorizes compactors and food waste, Yates argues that by "relocating waste as necessary to capitalist production itself, more complex questions about both the nature of capitalist production and what is constituted as waste become necessary."[34] We may observe this in the comedic tensions surfacing in Colbert's routine, among other examples analyzed here. Shamed by Colbert through dramatic interpretation as absurd, overly zealous, and disgusting, the possibility of food salvage solidifies both Herring's and Yates's arguments of material deviance and the central role of waste in capitalist production.

American popular culture representations reinforce stereotypes that salvage and trash reuse in general is something visionary (read eccentric or extreme), self-identified environmentalists do.[35] The award-winning documentary *Garbage Warrior* is about self-proclaimed "renegade architect Michael Reynolds," who uses and reuses trash and food waste materials like beer cans, car tires, and water bottles as "tools of choice for producing thermal mass and energy-independent housing," which Reynolds and his team dub earthship designs. Throughout the documentary, Reynolds experiences legal backlash in developing test sites for his sustainable designs, and for a time, his architectural license is revoked, until he is invited to conduct building demonstrations after natural disasters devastate communities in the Andaman Islands and Mexico—both of which are successful. Bringing this more specifically into the realm of edibles, an episode of the comedy series *Portlandia,* starring Fred Armisen and Carrie Brownstein, conveys comic relief rather than environmental education. In the skit, Brownstein's character locates a raw, unpackaged slice of watermelon and ridiculously declares, "This is a perfectly good watermelon. There's a hair on it but . . . [takes a bite standing in the dumpster]."[36] Likewise, an episode of Fox Network's forensic series *Bones* opens with two disheveled dumpster diving freegans on a dumpster date: [Male freegan] "Best-before-dates are just marketing tools to increase profits and make more garbage to feed the corporate monster. Oh look, eggs and some apples! [Camera pans above—one apple is unsightly, another bitten into. Male freegan grabs for the latter and hands it to his date]. Just eat around the bruised part" [Companion takes a bite as she sits in the dumpster].[37] The scene ends with the discovery of a decomposing human skull accompanied by dramatic horror movie music with clashing cymbals. Known for their humor and over-the-top theatrics, these examples depict divers as youthful, overzealous hipster environmentalists who are unhygienic in their approach to the spaces and materials of the dumpster. However, this differs greatly from what oral history interviewees relayed and from what I have observed over years of formal and informal trash-scape encounters.

Stigma and Hygiene: When Dirt Is in Place

> Disgust must be accompanied by ideas of a particular kind of danger, the danger inherent in pollution and contamination, the danger of defilement.[38]
>
> William Ian Miller

In my primary oral history interviews, divers who discussed dumpster hygiene during their interviews had different sensibilities about the subject, which the following interview commentary highlights:

> Vaughn: People who shop in the supermarket tend to go by an expiration date in terms of what's good and what's rotten, right? . . . So how would you say a dumpster diver goes about what's good or what's rotten?

> M.: Well, the first thing you do, right, is you pick up the yogurt, and you look at the sell by, eat by, use by whatever date, and then, you laugh [chuckles sarcastically]. Then, you open it, and then you smell it. And, if it smells disgusting then you probably shouldn't eat it [chuckles]. . . . You can trust yourself to judge food. . . . It's common sense.[39]

"York" similarly emphasized trusting in one's own senses with regard to dumpstered food: "I'm not very squeamish about food and I have a very good eye for what's safe or less safe, spoiled or not spoiled. . . . I'm just pretty discerning and from my perspective I don't take a lot of risk, but if you talk to most people [they'll say] 'you're getting food out of dumpsters!' . . . I think it's more of understanding food and food spoilage."[40]

Many divers distinctly resist the hygiene-centered social taboo of reclaiming food from the waste bin. They do so on the basis of relying on their senses and on pushing the boundaries of taboo, which many felt was out of touch with the material realities of what was most frequently found in the space of the dumpster, such as surplus rather than, say, half-eaten or technically spoiled products. As geographers Edwards and Mercer argue on the subject, "Rather than relying on use-by dates to tell them what food is edible and safe, freegans use their innate senses of touch, taste and smell. This attitude marks a conscious shift away from corporate control enabling the diver to reclaim a connection to their senses and to the natural world."[41] I further suggest that beyond corporate control, many divers argue the practicality of this form of food reclamation on the basis of need. Despite popular representations that often center on disgust, on the filth conjured by foodstuffs salvaged from the dumpster, many interviewees indicated they grappled more with the social stigma surrounding the space and the act than with confirmed material filth or inherent danger of the foods consumed. For instance, when asked, "What do you think it takes to be a diver?" interviewee "Laura" stated, "I think it takes not caring what people think. Like not being concerned that people are gonna think it's gross or that there's something wrong with you for doing it. And sometimes, I kind of struggle with that."[42]

For divers using this form of food reclamation to supplement limited income or other material resources, the added stigma, the fear, or the social (even legal) concerns may be additional barriers. Some actively attempted to dispel or resist the stigma. Over the course of two interviews, "Laura" divulged that depending on need, divers come into contact with differing dumpsters and varying degrees of so-called filth, "[Before they put a compactor on the Goodwill dumpster] there was never any, you know, rotting meat, or rotting vegetables or anything. . . . It was very dry and very clean. You had to be careful not to step on any broken glass, but it wasn't gross, like I think that a lot of people, when they think about dumpsters and dumpster diving, they think, you know, slimy."[43] Similarly, during a special report for the *Oprah Winfrey Show,* freegan Madeline opened the New York City (NYC) freegan trash tour with a strong hygiene warning against eating while on the tour. Such tours are offered monthly in the city to expose people to the sheer quantities of food waste in New York.[44]

Ethnographer Jennifer Ayres notes in her analysis of the role of diggers in large Goodwill outlets, "Dirt is in its place in this store. Scavenger culture is already inherently filthy because it traffics in what society deems trash. Yet scavengers perform a vital ecological role reusing and recycling what would otherwise be thrown in the landfill."[45] Although not all of the divers I interviewed were in agreement about taking food products from the dumpster—some advised against it, others accepted the idea, and still others had limits on meat products or dairy—all divers followed routine hygiene practices such as choice of dress, use of tools to better facilitate the dive, gloves, and washing habits. In this way, the dumpster becomes a practical resource, and diving may be viewed as work or short-term hustle, depending upon socioeconomic needs and circumstances. Persistent stereotypes, social stigma, and even criminalization of divers, scavengers, and/or trash spaces, a point I return to momentarily, misrepresent the use of these fringe, sometimes privatized, spaces and materials, perhaps inadvertently pushing a politics of respectability via cleanliness and idealized citizenship via consumerism.

However, I give pause here, because there is a rising pop culture trend in celebrity chef exposure of food waste that offers further room for analysis on this particular question of stigma and salvager positionality. For instance, celebrity chefs on the hit television series *Chopped* or *The Big Waste* often reference, make direct culinary competitive use of, or make offers of charitable support for food waste organizations such as City Harvest or other food banks in NYC. During the 2016 Olympics in Rio de Janeiro, Refettorio Gastromotiva chefs Massimo Bottura and David Hertz, along with journalist Ale Forbes, launched their restaurant school and food waste project in Brazil. The project is dedicated to food salvage, culinary education, and reversing social exclusion among Brazil's homeless population by offering free dinner. Paid lunches open to the public begin in October 2016, according to their website. As with many other great causes, celebrity lends potential weight and exposure to an event or organization. The new faces of food salvage are celebrity, even Michelin-starred, chefs like Gordon Ramsey, Alex Guernascheli, Michael Symon, Mark Murphy, and Massimo Bottura. What does this mean, by contrast, in the face of what many divers report concerning their experiences of stigma? Celebrity is a unique and economically privileged position that serves as an aid to the problem or barrier of stigma. The harnessing of celebrity here is being used in much the same way Barnard draws upon new social movement theory to explore how "freegans are fully aware of the stigma attached to [dumpster diving for food]" but use it as a tool for "gaining new recruits and media attention."[46] The Refettorio Gastromotiva project accomplishes several goals in a single act of cooking, and it does so in a unified location, rather than through thousands, even millions, of individual acts of food product salvage. Alternatively, reuse can become socially and culturally condonable in a unilateral directionality of restaurant-quality fare, celebrity-influenced or celebrity-imposed destigmatization, and charitable donation toward homelessness or poverty writ large. Yet these socioeconomic conditions are not individual actions but rather products of systemic, institutionalized exclusions. In this way, food salvage is made more palatable in the short term. Although it is not my goal to critique this culinary organization's motives, because Refettorio Gastromotiva seems an attempt at positive community engagement and accessible culinary training, I reference it as a point of continued analysis of contemporary popular representations of dumpster dining. When and if salvage becomes palatable, how is it achieved? Who does it benefit? In what contexts does it become normalized? What does that normalization mean for waste pickers? These are questions that we must carry forward, and discussion of them continues in my broader manuscript on the topic.[47]

Other popular media representations of dumpster divers impose and/or expose stigma through the use of sensational shock value, such as *Oprah*'s 2007 coverage of New York freeganism, featuring journalist Lisa Ling. Just as Lynn Ubell, home cook and hostess of *What's for Freegan Dinner?,* conveys her secret of "sneaking out in the dark of night to dumpster dive for her groceries" to viewers, *Oprah* conveys an air of unearthing unseemly secrets about the individuals portrayed, outlined by the show title "How Far Would You Go?" and reinforced by the second half of the show, dedicated to discovering the secret life of a stripper-mom.[48] Though audience members and viewers of *Oprah* get a swift education about why some people scavenge for food, as well as opinions about the politics of food waste in the United States, such media portrayals perpetuate viewer discomfort with marginalized foods. Whereas individual film footage of the NYC trash tours encourages using what attendees find along the tour and considering systemic reasons for why people become freegans, Oprah Winfrey opened her discussion of freeganism by immediately framing that most people would not take action specifically because of questions about respectability: "Obviously, I know you're not going to go on a trash tour after this show, but I do want you to start thinking about . . . how much you consume. I mean like, every time you throw away a paper towel. Every time you are wasteful with food in your house."[49] In much the same way that celebrity food waste attention emphasizes immediate food salvage, Oprah's dialogue highlights trends in the importance placed upon individual lifestyle changes as opposed to systemic analysis or resistance.

Ubell asks viewers to get over their preconceived notions about trash and recognize the potential of food waste: "You know some people just see the food, but I see the ingredients. Some people just see overly ripe bananas [and] they throw them away. I see banana bread."[50] Ayres suggests that "outlets, thrift stores, flea markets, and dumpsters . . . draw people that view discarded goods in a way that allows for possibilities: they see resources where others see refuse and trash."[51] Ubell's series does not question systemic U.S. food production and consumption concerns; rather, it exposes the possibilities of wasted food reuse for households in a safe, healthy, and often elegantly prepared manner—the latter being a key means of combating stigma and hygiene concerns through middle-class respectability aesthetics. In contrast, the NYC freegan trash tours focus on systemic problems of food waste in the United States, and the website and calendar note, “If you are mainly interested in dumpster diving in NYC, consider going on your own or in small groups rather than on our ‘trash tours,’ which are oriented more for learning than for acquisition.”[52] In her work on “toxic tourism,” environmental scholar Phaedra Pezzullo engages the dynamics of “non-commercial expeditions into areas that are polluted by toxins” as potential sites of grassroots activism and counterhegemonic environmental intervention.[53] Though trash tours for food do not generally occur in areas of life-threatening toxicity, like those described in Pezzullo’s research, they often encourage critical assessment and action among attendees on a grassroots level.

Using the dumpster serves an immediate purpose for many divers of varying backgrounds and ages, whether that purpose is a broader range of ingredients, economic savings permitting purchasing power elsewhere, supplemental incomes, quenching hunger in the short term, or redistribution of goods that would otherwise rot or be disposed of. However, dumpstering as a politicized response to systemic food concerns is restricted to individualized action in many cases, rather than an intended systemic solution to U.S. surplus production and waste. As environmental activist Derrick Jensen states, “Consumer culture and [capitalism teach] us to substitute acts of personal consumption (or enlightenment) for organized political resistance.”[54] As “Laura” argued during our interview, “Do I think dumpster diving is the revolution, or dumpster diving is gonna cause the collapse of civilization? I don’t, because I think that we are able to dumpster dive *because* capitalism exists. . . . I definitely don’t think I’m bringing about the revolution.”[55] This interviewee’s suggestions both underscore the “not buying it” messaging conveyed in Macklemore and Jenkins’s music and push against the comedic assumptions put forth in the *Colbert Report* routine of being out to fight the system. Likewise, individual interviewees in Jennifer Hamer’s work on hustling, informal economies, and supplemental incomes in East St. Louis categorized their hustles as either “clean or dirty,” including supplementing their household wares with reused and found objects and participating in recycling economies in aluminum and glass for cash.[56] In outlining the social and hygienic ambiguities so often surfacing in popular media representations of dumpster dining, I want to suggest that they reflect and actively construct a visceral disgust and sociocultural cognitive dissonance about waste materials using shame and humor as means of questioning intimate, bodily proximity to reused and salvaged materials. When food salvage is lauded in the public eye, it is often in the context of celebrity awareness campaigns or charitable endeavors. Individual divers, in contrast, even if grappling with sentiments of shame at their socioeconomic precarity, tend to take a needs-based and/or no-nonsense approach to what they do. In some cases, they actively resist the stigma placed upon them by onlookers or the legal tensions that may arise.

Legal Ambiguities

The constitutional dynamics of trash are as ambiguous as the socially loaded politics of popular representation and are often contingent upon diver positionality. The 1988 California Supreme Court case *California v. Greenwood* ruled, "The Fourth Amendment does not prohibit the warrantless search and seizure of garbage left for collection outside the curtilage of a home [. . . and the law] turns upon the understanding of society as a whole that certain areas deserve the most scrupulous protection from government invasion. There is no such understanding with respect to garbage left for collection at the side of a public street." This ruling grants police use of trash as a resource in criminal pursuit, in this case, for purposes of pinpointing narcotics trafficking, without obtaining a warrant.[57] The history of U.S. sanitation policy, as well as current domestic trash policy and practice, suggests that beyond a legal constitutional outline of trash use, the United States has never taken a unified approach to trash and sanitation measures. Martin Melosi notes that the nineteenth-century methods constructed to deal with the seas of trash in the age of sanitation brought about by the massive jump in consumer products and waste generated during the Industrial Revolution was handled on a highly localized, state-by-state, even city-by-city basis. The U.S. history of garbage in general and garbage disposal in particular does not comprise unified experiences brought about by sweeping federal mandates but instead is parceled out according to differing politicized municipal desires and needs in highly diverse geographic contexts.[58] Internationally, U.S. waste policy is highly self-regulatory in the interest of private sector and military needs, and the United States in general remains "the largest producer of hazardous waste" that to date continues to refuse to act in accordance with the international dumping policy outlined by the Basel Convention. Exemplary is a city ordinance where I live in Lawrence, Kansas, citing that "It is unlawful and dangerous to remove any item from the trash."[59] Although constitutional law upholds that trash is inherently public once it reaches the dumpster or the curb, local laws may censor garbage use under the auspices of public health, personal safety, or property law and trespass.

Interviewees discuss this point of potential for criminalization and social stigma as well. Some interviewees never experienced legal backlash and suggested legal backlash was related to poor decisions

> K.: The police . . . just tell ya to move on. It wasn't [pause] they asked for identification, they didn't decide to press charges for whatever reason. And so, that was that.
>
> Vaughn: Was that when you were younger?
>
> K.: Yeah, when I was still learning the rules, [and] that after dark, and the reason I think the police pull you over is because they're thinking that you're breaking in.

K. conveys encounters with police, or lack thereof later in life, in terms of a greater sense of expertise in reading dumpstered landscapes. This indicates a sense of knowing what to do and when to do it to avoid confrontation.[60]

Not all divers will be treated equally, and interviewees relayed different experiences. One interviewee was arrested, charged with burglary, paid hundreds of dollars in fines, and completed community service hours. "Laura's" legal experiences are intertwined with class, queer identity dynamics and visibility politics, expressed in informal self-references as "queer and working-class poor" and as someone who is "living in a trailer."[61] Other interviewees requested complete anonymity even from me during the interview process. One anonymous participant noted, "there are legal as well as emotional ramifications to consider with this project. This has to do with more than dumpster diving. It has to do with poverty and with the law."[62] A July 2010 National Public Radio (NPR) news story reported that a man from Queens found his aunt's car impounded and received fines totaling $4,000 for organized theft after he took an air conditioner confirmed by the original owner as having been set out for garbage. In this instance, the NYC sanitation department can claim private property protections over all garbage set out on the curb.[63] In contrast, activist and environmentalist Rob Greenfield, founder of *The Food Waste Fiasco,* wishes to draw attention to large-scale food dumping in the United States and has attempted to dispel fears of dumpstering by going so far as offering to pay participant fines if they experience legal difficulties: "If you get arrested or ticketed for dumpster diving for food I promise to pay the ticket(s), get media coverage to the issue, and make sure that you are in safe hands. I will even travel to your town to be there in person if it will add to the positive impact of the event."[64] Here, taking food from the bin becomes an event, something of political and social import to destigmatize should legal questions arise. That said, Greenfield is careful to provide tips and suggestions for avoiding rare instances of legal suspect; he notes that the act of diving is less frequently the problem and, as mentioned earlier, the tendency is to experience penalty related to trespass, theft, or breaking and entering. Here again, Greenfield's highly visible celebrity and clearly articulated class status are bound to affect experiences of criminalization in and around the dumpster. It permits him to occupy the status of food activist, rather than that of public health concern, problematic citizen, or noncitizen to which many waste pickers and homeless populations are relegated.

In addition to potential legal concerns, responses to my survey question, "What common stereotypes exist about dumpsters, dumpster diving and/or dumpster divers?" suggested that dumpsters and divers are clouded with taboo and social anxieties. Divers were stereotyped as "poor" "homeless" "lazy transients," or the "unmotivated unemployed," and dumpsters were most commonly considered "dirty," "unsafe," and "germ-ridden."[65] The dumpster is a contested, legally and socially ambiguous space. Although one could easily argue that trash was or is always private, there are varying degrees of this privatization of trash according to who retrieves it or takes it to the landfill, and there is a disconnect in the minds of many citizens as to whether something is private once it has been thrown away. Exemplary of this legal confusion, of the 52 surveys completed at the Free Market, 22 participants argued that diving is illegal, with many clarifying that illegality is at least specific to particular locations, such as Lawrence. Another 11 participants argued that diving is not illegal, and 19 survey participants did not know or were unsure whether the specific act of diving was illegal or accompanying acts were the problem, such as trespass, theft, and other suggested charges. As one participant noted, "Not actually, but the perception that it is [illegal] exists widely." Another participant wrote, "I'm not sure [about legality] but certain places go to great lengths to try and stop it."[66] Even accepting these inconsistencies as mere confusion over municipal policy, and accepting that police or local authorities may choose to actively ignore dumpster divers, the act of retrieving something from a dumpster indicates contested acts in contested space, whether legally or socially, by way of the disgust or ambiguity it triggers.

Diving occupies a strange role within the capitalistic public versus private binary. To be found in, perhaps even near or remotely interested in, the dumpster or to witness a person in a dumpster is a codified threat to the most profound levels of the intimate and to the emotion of disgust—to what has become privatized, to what could potentially be purchased, and to what is already paradoxically owned. Diving is a direct result of extreme inefficiencies, or perhaps efficiencies, of a globalized, multinational capitalistic system that encourages surplus. Farmer and food scholar Wendell Berry argues, "Our economy's most voluminous product is waste—valuable materials irrecoverably misplaced, or randomly discharged as poisons."[67] Thus, diving reaches beyond the notion of mere personal action or identity and into the realm of public discourse—albeit legally stigmatized and, at times, necessarily clandestine.

"You Begin with the Possibilities of the Material": Food Salvage within a Politics of Clean

> I've always been attracted to familiar or ordinary things because I find them a lot more mysterious.[68]
>
> Robert Rauschenberg

Pop artist Robert Rauschenberg was infamous for his material blends and use of found objects in his work. As the Rauschenberg-inspired title and quote for this section suggests, how is this concept reconciled with food salvage specifically? Trashy. White trash. Piece of trash. Looks like trash. Trailer trash. These epithets are all applied to people and places that are stereotyped as less than desirable or acceptable and are linked to the shaming of poverty through material abjection. This link between disposability and embodiment has long been a driving force in capital production (and excretion). For instance, in *Disposable Women and Other Myths of Global Capitalism,* scholar Melissa Wright argues that the construction of the myth of human disposability is produced by global capitalism, resulting in a paradox given the valuable things the figure produces with her assumed disposable labor. Yates took this concept further in her analysis of *The Human-as-Waste,* in which she argues for a stronger, necessary link between production and waste as a defining, "historically specific [aspect of] waste in capitalism."[69]

Common presumptions about using the dumpster often revolve around a hierarchy of understanding trash materials and spaces through a lens of social respectability that shames poverty. Just as Miller argues, the language used conveys hierarchies of disgust; as he notes, "emotions, even the most visceral, are richly social, cultural and linguistic phenomena."[70] Trash is supposed to be gross, right? It's stinky, grimy, dingy, goopy, insect-enticing, bacteria-laden matter; there are so many spine-tingling negative descriptors to captivate the imagination. If trash is always and already dirty matter, as the popular culture and sociolegal complexities convey, then how in the world does one "begin with the possibilities of the material," as the title of this section suggests? How does one reconcile that social construction of dirt with the sheer intimacy of useful resources—with things to put in the house, to wear, or worse yet, to cook with and ingest as a food resource? Popular representations often depict trash reuse within contexts of extreme environmental eccentricity, hipster fanaticism, or assumptions of precarity and, more generally, as a public-health threat, such as in instances of hoarding. In an exemplary episode of the television series *Hoarders,* a formerly homeless hoarder becomes "at risk of eviction from his government subsidized housing" as a direct result of his hoarding tendencies related to his dumpster diving practices.[71] In this episode, the dumpster becomes a site of pathological tension and a direct source for rehabilitation as his hoarding is labeled a health threat to himself and others in the building.

A juxtaposition of assumed extremes emerges: the diver solely in contexts of privilege or poverty. Yet there are many more lived experiences associated with the dumpster. The interviews in some cases affirm these two extremes and at other times reject the binary. In doing so, these acts and positionalities reveal a theoretical complexity worth unraveling about the ways in which we come to talk about, think about, and engage and ignore waste according to sociocultural hierarchies. Interviewees often resist the pathologization of trash picking as a dangerous public health nuisance. As K. put it, the generation of trash may be the public health nuisance: "You know what there's a social aspect to your trash. . . . Just because you've thrown it out doesn't mean you are not responsible for that trash. It has to go somewhere and so there's this disconnect [of] 'I throw it away, I don't have to worry about it, and I don't want anyone else messing with it.' . . . I see [trashing] as an ecologically responsible thing to do."[72] The popular representations analyzed here suggest that diving is largely comical, problematic, or misguided, reflecting and perpetuating a well-known stigma. This works as a means of shaming or criticizing would-be waste recovery into a presumed civilized respectability. Attempts to destigmatize food salvage through the use of celebrity exposure and celebrity proximity depend upon the same boundaries of respectability. Celebrity exposure may draw attention to the moral dilemmas so frequently conjured by looking at the material culture of waste up close, but the outcomes of reuse here underscore the whimsy of celebrity trends (as in the Macklemore or Food Network examples) while maintaining the continuation of delegating marginalized materials for marginalized populations. This stigma of waste proximity is not new. U.S. histories of scavenging and urban sanitary reforms expose that multiple economies were heavily dependent, upon the gathering of waste materials and foodstuff for industries and for personal consumption, such as, "Cities too were once systems that incorporated rag-pickers and scavengers to process the detritus of others." However, scavenging history also reveals hierarchies of cleanliness lie at the heart of U.S. citizenship norms, shifting at various historical moments in legal and culturally normative ways.[73]

It would be inaccurate to suggest that all divers experience stigma in the same ways. Diver identity plays a crucial role in the sociolegal dynamics of dumpstered spaces and resources. For some, the stigma experienced at sites of disposal becomes an extension of socioeconomic stigma; for others, such stigma, if present, is an anomaly experienced only in contexts of waste recovery. Aluminum scavenger interviewee Ron, who experienced homelessness, noted, "[Dumpstering] wasn't a glory thing, I was making money. I was getting my living out of it. . . . It's not a proud moment in your life, I don't care who you are. . . . Maybe some of the young kids will say that it's uh, a point of pride, or part of their lifestyle that they're really happy with. I mean, when you're actually digging in the trash. You got your hands down into a bunch of crap, that's not the high point of your day. I mean you're earning it. It's a real job."[74] For this interviewee, diving was a means to a specific end, rather than an environmental answer or political statement. The stigma of poverty in the United States plays a critical role in patterns of social distancing and legal anxiety associated with waste reuse, and such discrediting proves another layered extension of other socioeconomic stigma. Ron further noted, "The biggest thing about homelessness in my mind is un-employability. You don't have a phone number for call back . . . piecemeal jobs [aren't] gonna get you an apartment. . . . You don't [even] have a laundry to go home to every night."[75] Still other divers feel strongly that their daily habits and actions should reflect personal political beliefs, as with M.'s comment, "I'm not down with exchange economies," while some interviewees make diving work within their current economic needs.[76] Daniel argued, "There's *always* gonna be people goin' and gettin' [trash] and more and more so as things are getting harder and harder."[77]

The politic of clean at work here is not simply a message of cultural stigma or disgust. It is also intimately bound to a spectrum of diver privilege and identity politics, exposing dynamics between presumed cleanliness and social status. Each of the people I interviewed described the dumpster as a resource rich in possibilities, a resource that many felt they had the foresight to use even when others did not or would not. Whether by force of dignity, necessity, or political ideals, most interviewees also discussed a transnational understanding of the material culture of garbage as something that 1) can and should be used when possible, despite taboo social norms, and 2) is reflexive of dizzying global environmental justice concerns, such as K.'s emphasis on the social responsibilities attached to trash. This suggests an invaluable understanding of the abject as politically and socially complex beyond the object and despite its assumed materially deviance or grossness. This understanding emphasizes the role of salvage and encroaching waste proximities as never away but rather near, emplaced and embodied.

Concluding Remarks

Actions of food recovery and dumpster dining are often understood as examples of a "material deviance," yet these are a form of creative grappling with large-scale food waste and/or food insecurities as lived, embodied experiences.[78] As self-described working-poor interviewee "Laura" divulged, "Definitely as an adult [diving] is something that I've done everywhere that I've lived. I remember one time . . . pulling a huge restaurant size sack of onions out of this coffee shop trash pile. And some of them were bad but most of them were good. And now it's my standard if I go to the supermarket and the produce is kind of iffy, I'm just like 'I've pulled better stuff out of the trash I'm not paying for this.'"[79] When it comes to trash, having to handle it in any capacity—looking at it, carrying it or loading it, ingesting it, in essence dealing with it intimately—not just generating it, is too unpleasant for some. Herein lies the paradox of dirt in capitalist contexts: capitalism permits some people to avoid dirt or proximity to dirt (especially their own), yet at its highest functioning, capitalism depends upon the production of dirt—of waste and surplus—to achieve its goals of supply and demand. The intersectional identity politics of which bodies are reusing, salvaging, and dumpster dining works upon salvagers in diverse ways.

In using oral histories with dumpster divers, scavengers, and recyclers, paired with an analysis of popular representations of food salvage, I do not suggest the oral histories represent the only, or even a more accurate, truth. I argue that distinct and striking tensions emerge concerning the ways in which dumpster dining is represented in the popular imagination and how it is embodied and experienced according to diver and scavenger positionalities. Although dumpster diner representations frequently paint an extreme binary of privileged environmental fanaticism or socioeconomic precarity, the oral narratives suggest an even broader range of complex understandings about food waste as a potential reusable resource. Popular representations convey the complex and ambiguous ways in which reuse and socioeconomic precarity are frequently constructed and often fail to center the voices of the people with reliant, lived experiences of salvage. They tend to make light of salvage, reinforcing a distinct unease about reuse. Yet the dumpster provides a glimpse into material possibilities that persistently prove to be a resource for many, even as the act might be legally and socially shunned. In a moment of anxiety over food systems, high U.S. food insecurity levels, high systemic surplus food waste and simultaneously growing celebrity attention to said waste and reuse, record U.S. reliance on SNAP benefits (one in eight Americans, or roughly 38 million people, 6 million of whom report no other income), and a record number of so-called criminal food stamp sales, dumpster dining is hardly an answer to the landscape of U.S. food security or precarity.[80] Nonetheless, the possibilities and politics of clean found at the margins of a dumpster strike me as relevant critical sites for pushing the boundaries of how waste (and socioeconomic precarity) is attended to or erased. Many diver interviewees don't see what they are doing as a revolution. Yet directly grappling with dirt on a large scale in visible, visceral ways is what Hawkins and Appadurai dubbed "shitting in public" as a means of constructing subjectivity rather than shame. In their example, the act of shitting in public signified invisibility in the eyes of the state and was used with the intention of transitioning from the public to the right to privacy.

For our purposes, the phrase "shitting in public" takes on a different use and the stake of rendering visible what has been made invisible by being "away." Furthermore, as Yates suggests, making visible the distinct and significant role that waste always and already has in capitalism helps to reveal distinct socioeconomic differences affecting those who dumpster or salvage and centers on the need for "fundamental changes at the level of [waste] production."[81] Thus, the takeaway from understanding the range of rationales people may have for food salvage and dumpster dining in relation to the fraught ways popular culture talks about, thinks about, resists, or accepts it is that looking at these together permits us to visualize how privilege functions materially using waste as a vehicle. It reveals how precarity is shamed; and makes space for the possibility to revalue or even reapproximate ourselves to food waste as a resource. However, this entails what ethnographer Keta Miranda refers to as "the publicization of the private," which is complex, without finding ways to first dismantle the discomfort, disgust, and embedded social hierarchies that come with the territory.[82]

Notes

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1. Ryan Owens and Suzanne Yeo, "One Man's Trash, Another Man's Dinner: Freegans Go Dumpster Diving for Unspoiled Food," *ABC News,* 16 December 2007, accessed 1 April 2009.

2. Gay Hawkins, "Shit," in *The Ethics of Waste: How We Relate to Rubbish* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2006), 67.

3. "The State of Garbage in America," *Biocycle: Journal of Composting & Organics Recycling* 47, no. 4 (April 2006), accessed 1 April 2009.

4. Timothy W. Jones, “Using Contemporary Archaeology and Applied Anthropology to Understand Food Loss in the American Food System,” accessed 1 April 2009, http://www.ce.cmu.edu.

5. Alesha Coleman-Jensen et al., *Household Food Security in the United States in 2014.* See also U.S. Department of Agriculture, “Food Security in the United States: Key Statistics and Graphics,” *Food Security in the US,* September 2015, accessed 28 September 2015, http://www.ers.usda.gov/Briefing/FoodSecurity/stats_graphs.htm.

6. United Nations, “The Right to Food,” *Report of the High Commissioner for Human Rights,* 20 April 2001, accessed March 26, 2009. See United Nations, *Universal Declaration of Human Rights,* Article 25, accessed April 14, 2009, http://www.ohchr.org. See also the Urban Institute’s 2000 report on U.S. homelessness, which notes a need for adjustments to the nation’s homeless numbers: “Since not all people experiencing homelessness utilize service providers, the actual numbers . . . are likely higher than those found in the [survey of service providers]” (National Coalition for the Homeless). These numbers relate to food insecurity, because homeless populations are not included.

7. Hawkins, 3. I cite first names for interviewees who approved such use. First name pseudonyms have been documented in quotations for those interviewees who requested I not use their real names. I cite made-up initials for interviewees who remained anonymous throughout the formal and informal interview process. Interviewees vary in economic, gender, sexual, and ethnic identities, ranging in age from 18 to 64 years. Of 18 formal interviewees (including three return sessions), 52 survey participants, and dozens of informal conversations in multiple geographic locations, 5 formal interviewees self-identified as female and/or gender-queer, 10 self-identified male, 1 expressly identified as biracial, 2 self-identified as Asian, and 1 self-identified as Jewish. Some interviewees were financially secure; others experienced limited incomes, such as disability payments, housing assistance, or homelessness. Some were local Lawrencians, others were local to Kansas, and still others hailed from Colorado, New York, New Orleans, and North Carolina, among other places. I do not suggest all humans or nation-states produce the exact same amounts of waste.

8. I use the terms dumpster dining and food salvage to discuss this topic. They are not intended to imply literal eating while physically in a dumpster but to distinguish taking expressly edibles from other materials; and also to critically underscore the tensions raised by certain media representations depicting eating while in the dumpster. I use the terms trash, garbage, and waste to address an array of materials and resources salvaged by interviewees. Interviewees most often used the terms dumpster diving, recycling, salvage, scavenging, or trashing, depending upon age and materials sought. Especially male interviewees ranging in age from late fifties to early sixties often referred to this act as trashing. For distinctions in the terminology, see Wiliam Rathje and Cullen Murphy, *Rubbish: The Archaeology of Garbage* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2001). For discussion of a range of historical waste materials, see David Naguib Pellow, *Garbage Wars: The Struggle for Environmental Justice in Chicago* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2004).

9. See Jonathan Bloom, *American Wasteland: How America Throws Away Nearly Half of Its Food and What We Can Do about It* (Cambridge, MA: Da Capo, 2010); Tristram Stuart, *Waste: Uncovering the Global Food Scandal* (New York: Norton, 2009); or Robert Thurow and Scott Kilman, *Enough: Why the World’s Poorest Starve in an Age of Plenty* (New York: Public Affairs, 2009).

10. Scott Herring, “Material Deviance: Theorizing Queer Objecthood,” *Postmodern Culture* 21, no. 2 (January 2011), accessed 2 June 2016.

11. Hawkins, 67

12. Herring, 3.

13. I rely on Kimberle Crenshaw’s 1989 definition of intersectionality. See Kimberle Crenshaw, “Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color,” *Stanford Law Review* 43, no. 6 (1991): 1241. See also Michelle Yates, “The Human-as-Waste, the Labor Theory of Value and Disposability in Contemporary Capitalism,” *Antipode* 43, no. 5 (2011): 1691.

14. Jeff Ferrell, *Empire of Scrounge: Inside the Urban Underground of Dumpster Diving, Trash Picking, and Street Scavenging* (New York: NYU Press, 2006).

15. Ferne Edwards and David Mercer, “Gleaning from Gluttony: An Australian Youth Subculture Confronts the Ethics of Waste,” *Australian Geographer* 38, no. 3 (November 2007): 279–96.

16. Dylan Clark, “The Raw and the Rotten: Punk Cuisine,” *Ethnology* 43, no. 1 (Winter 2004): 19–31, accessed 15 March 2008; Warren Belasco, *Appetite for Change: How the Counterculture Took on the Food Industry* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2007); and David Boarder Giles, “The Anatomy of a Dumpster: Abject Capital and the Looking Glass of Value,” *Social Text* 32, no. 1 (Spring 2014): 118. See also Pritchett, Laura (ed.), *Going Green: True Tales from Gleaners, Scavengers, and Dumpster Divers* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2009).

17. Nicole Eikenberry and Chery Smith, “Attitudes, Beliefs, and Prevalence of Dumpster Diving as a Means to Obtain Food by Midwestern, Low-Income, Urban Dwellers,” *Agriculture and Human Values* 22, no. 187–202 (2005): 198, accessed 31 March 2008.

18. Rachel Black, “Eating Garbage: Socially Marginal Food Provision Practices,” in *Consuming the Inedible: Neglected Dimensions of Food Choice,* ed. Jeremy MacClancy, Jeya Henry,

and Helen Macbeth (New York: Berghan Books, 2007), 141–50; Alex Barnard, "'Waving the Banana' at Capitalism: Political Theater and Social Movement Strategy among New York's 'freegan' Dumpster Divers," *Ethnography* 12, no. 4 (2011): 419–44; Teresa Gowan, *Hobos, Hustlers, and Backsliders: Homeless in San Francisco* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010); and David Evans, *Food Waste: Home Consumption, Material Culture and Everyday Life* (London: Bloomsbury, 2014). See also Robin Nagle, *Picking Up: On the Streets and Behind the Trucks with the Sanitation Workers of New York City* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2013), and Alex Barnard, *Freegans: Diving into the Wealth of Food Waste in America* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2016).

19. Alex Barnard, "Waving the Banana," 421.

20. The White Stripes, "Rag and Bone." *Get Behind Me Satan,* Vol. 2, 2005, compact disc.

21. William Ian Miller, *Anatomy of Disgust* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998), 2.

22. Hawkins, 56.

23. Macklemore and Ryan Lewis, "Thrift Shop," *The Heist,* Alternative Distribution Alliance, 2012, compact disc, and Mick Jenkins, "Value Village," *The Mickstape,* Free Thought Music Group, 2011.

24. On wartime rationing, gardening, and canning, see Amy Bentley, *Eating for Victory: Food Rationing and the Politics of Domesticity* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1998), 114, and Susan Strasser, *Waste & Want: A Social History of Trash* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 1999), 250. On class and nation-based dynamics of waste picking, see Moreno-Sanchez Rocio del Pilar and Jorge Maldonado's "Surviving from Garbage: The Role of Informal Waste Pickers in a Dynamic Model of Solid Waste Management in Developing Countries," *Environment and Development Economics* 11 (2006): 371–91, and Yujiro Hayami et al., "Waste Pickers and Collectors in Delhi: Poverty and Environment in an Urban Informal Sector," *Journal of Development Studies* 42, no. 1 (January 2006): 41–69.

25. Herring, 9.

26. Stephen Colbert, "The Freegans," *The Colbert Report,* television, 25 June 2007, accessed 1 February 2010. Colbert is referencing Steven Kurutz's *New York Times* piece "Not Buying It," *The New York Times,* 21 June 2007, accessed 15 March 2008, http://www.nytimes.com.

27. Herring, 14.

28. "York," conversation with the author, 2 May 2008, Kansas.

29. Mandara Vishwanath, "The Politics of Housework in Contemporary," *Blind Field: A Journal of Cultural Inquiry,* 8 September 2016, accessed September 8, 2016, http://www.blindfieldjournal.com. C., conversation with the author, 31 March 2008, Kansas.

30. Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 2 and 44.

31. Evans, 33.

32. "York."

33. Yates, 1682.

34. Ibid, 1681.

35. This applies to the art world as well: countless artists use trash as subject and material across the globe. See the work of Vik Muniz, Tim Noble and Sue Webster, Robbie Rowlands, Dr. Evermore, and other outsider artists too numerous to name.

36. *Portlandia,* "Dumpster Divers," Season 1, Episode 3, Independent Film Channel, television, 4 February 2011, accessed 6 February 2011.

37. Dwight H. Little, dir., *Bones,* "The Body and the Bounty," Season 6, Episode 4, Fox Network, television, 14 October 2010, accessed 16 October 2010.

38. Miller, 8.

39. M., conversation with the author, 7 August 2010, New York.

40. "York."

41. Edwards and Mercer, 290. On the stigma of food recovery, see also Barnard, 426.

42. "Laura," conversation with the author, 31 March 2008, Kansas.

43. Ibid.

44. Lisa Ling, "Special Report: 'How Far Would you Go?—Living on the Edge,'" *The Oprah Winfrey Show,* 27 February 2008, accessed 29 February 2008.

45. Jennifer Ayres, "Goodwill Bins, Diggers, and the Role of Dirt in Establishing Authenticity," paper delivered at Dirt: New York Metro American Studies Association annual meeting, 5 December 2010, and email with the author.

46. Barnard, 427.

47. Refettorio Gastromotiva, main page, accessed August 2016. For chef interviews on the project, see "These World-Renowned Chefs Are Feeding Rio's Poor," *Huffington Post,* accessed 12 August 2016. See also Rachel Vaughn's forthcoming manuscript, under contract with University of Nebraska Press: *Talking Food, Talking Trash: Oral Histories of Food In/Security from the Margins of a Dumpster.* Thanks to Dr. Rachel Lee, director of the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA) Center for the Study of Women, for bringing the NPR news coverage on Rio to my attention.

48. Ling. See also Lynn Ubell, *Freegan Dinner Channel,* 2 April 2010, accessed 1 February 2011, http://www.youtube.com, and Lynn Ubell, "Reality TV Pitch," *What's for Freegan Dinner?* 2 April 2010, accessed 1 February 2011, http://www.youtube.com.

49. Quoted in Ling.

50. Ubell.

51. Ayres, email with the author.

52. NYC Freegan Meet-Up. "Sustainable Living Beyond Capitalism," accessed 14 February 2011.

53. Phaedra C. Pezzullo, "Introduction," in *Toxic Tourism: Rhetorics of Pollution, Travel, and Environmental Justice* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2007), 5.

54. Derrick Jensen, "Forget Shorter Showers: Why Personal Change Does Not Equal Political Change," *Orion Magazine,* July/August 2009, accessed 1 February 2011.

55. "Laura," conversation with the author, 13 March 2008, Kansas.

56. Jennifer Hamer, "Hustling Clean and Dirty," in *Abandoned in the Heartland: Work, Family and Living in East St. Louis* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011), 98–124.

57. *California v. Greenwood* (no. 86-684), Vol. 486, Legal Information Institute, Cornell University Law School, 1988, accessed 1 August 2010.

58. Martin V. Melosi, *Garbage in the Cities: Refuse, Reform, and the Environment* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2005), 9.

59. Jennifer Clapp, "Seeping through the Regulatory Cracks," *SAIS Review* XXII (Winter–Spring 2002): 145, accessed 20 July 2010. See also Basel Convention, "Ratifications"; Basel Convention, "US Communication Statement," 1989 convention, accessed 15 March 2009; and Lawrence Court, *Good Neighbor Ordinance Flyer,* accessed 21 April 2008.

60. K., conversation with the author, 18 April 2008, Kansas.

61. "Laura," 13 March 2008.

62. R.S., conversation with the author, 1 April 2008, Kansas. I also conducted an entirely anonymous interview and follow-up email contact: O.H., conversation with the author, 29 April 2008, and O.H., email with the author, 18 March 2008.

63. Jacob Goldstein, "Man Fined $2,000 for Taking Garbage from Sidewalk," *Planet Money,* 15 July 2010, accessed 17 July 2010, http://www.npr.org.

64. Rob Greenfield, "Arrested for Dumpster Diving for Food? I've Got You Covered," *RobGreenfield.TV,* 13 January 2015, accessed February 2015.

65. Rachel Vaughn, *Chuck That!: Oral Histories of Freegans and Other Dumpster Divers,* Lawrence Annual Really Really Free Market, 8 May 2010, survey, 52 participants. This is an annual rummage event at which materials are freely exchanged without use of currency or barter.

66. Ibid, Question #3, "Is dumpster diving illegal?" Some participants clearly disagreed but nonetheless expressed knowledge of the stereotypes.

67. On disgust as an emotion constructed through socialization, see Miller, 8. Wendell Berry, "The Agrarian Standard," in *The Essential Agrarian Reader: The Future of Culture, Community and the Land,* ed. Norman Wirzba (Washington, D.C.: Shoemaker & Hoard Publishing, 2004), 27.

68. Robert Rauschenberg, quoted in *Rauschenberg at Gemini,* pamphlet from a special exhibit, Philbrook Museum of Art, 12 June–11 September 2011, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

69. Melissa W. Wright, *Disposable Women and Other Myths of Global Capitalism* (New York: Routledge, 2006), 2. Yates, 1684–85.

70. Miller, 8.

71. *Hoarders,* "Episode 00: Linda/Steven," A&E Networks, television, 26 March 2013. Quotation taken from the episode guide for Season 1.

72. K. The term *trashing* refers to diving and was a common term among diver interviewees who began diving in the late 1960s to early 1970s.

73. Strasser, 15. See also Nayan Shah's *Contagious Divides,* Natalia Molina's *Fit to Be Citizens,* Carl Zimring's *Cash for Your Trash,* David Naguib Pellow's *Garbage Wars,* or Melosi's *Garbage in the Cities.*

74. Ron, conversation with the author, 10 April 2008, Kansas.

75. Ibid.

76. M.

77. Daniel, conversation with the author, 27 March 2008, Kansas. Emphasis in the original.

78. Herring, 3.

79. "Laura," 13 March 2008.

80. Kim Severson, "Some Good News on Food Prices," *The New York Times* 2 April 2008, accessed 3 May 2009, http://wwww.nytimes.com. See also Seth Freed Wessler, "Selling Food Stamps for Kids' Shoes," supported by the Investigative Fund at the Nation Institute, reported by Daisy Hernandez, *COLORLINES,* 17 February 2010, accessed 25 November 2010.

81. Yates, 1684 and 1687.

82. Marie "Keta" Miranda, *Homegirls in the Public Sphere* (Austin: UT Press, 2003), 5.

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The Color of Justice without Prejudice: Youth, Race, and Crime in the Case of the Harlem Six

Carl Suddler

In its time, the case of the Harlem Six captured national headlines, yet its significance escapes the public memory and record of many today. Ignited by the 1964 death of a white shopkeeper in Harlem, the case and its subsequent events resonated across the United States as black youth encounters with the carceral state influenced public discourse on youth, race, and crime. This article recovers the experiences of the Harlem Six to demonstrate how, by the 1960s, constructions of youth criminality were reestablished as a racial problem that required state intervention and punitive responses. As New York City officials authorized anticrime laws such as “stop-and-frisk” and “no-knock,” which contributed to higher arrest rates in mainly black communities, it was the youths who bore the brunt of inordinate policing. For the Harlem Six, in particular, their narrative reveals the overwhelming power of the state and attests to the firmness of race as a crucial determinant in American notions of crime and delinquency.

“This is the hardest day of our lives,” William Craig told reporters at a crowded news conference outside the New York State Supreme Court on April 4, 1973. Having spent nearly a decade in jail on a first-degree murder charge, Craig was one of the four Harlem Six youths released after pleading guilty to the lesser manslaughter charge; the other two continued to serve sentences. The court’s promise of freedom forced the four young men to make the pragmatic decision rather than face the uncertainty of another trial for the 1964 murder

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of Margit Sugar, a white secondhand clothes dealer in Harlem. The three previous trials were complicated, and it became clear that nobody wanted to go through another trial that promised an uncertain verdict. In recognition of the overwhelming power of the state, the difficult decision was made to accept guilt for an offense in which they upheld their innocence.[1]

What started on a sunny April day in 1964, the case of the Harlem Six confirmed the persistence of race as a decisive factor in American notions of crime and delinquency. A sequence of events that spanned four decades, the intertwined stories of William Craig, Wallace Baker, Walter Thomas, Ronald Felder, Daniel Hamm, and Robert Rice—the latter two were released in 1974 and 1991—expand our understanding of youth encounters with the carceral state in the second half of the twentieth century. Black youths account for a bulk of the young people who enter the justice system; however, their experiences continue to elude the broader historical narrative being shaped around the carceral state. Because the historical sources tend to be *about* youths, not *from* them, a great deal of the scholarship is rarely from their perspective. The combined archive accessed to retell the story of the Harlem Six allows us firsthand insight to how black youths, some criminalized by association, navigated the expansive justice system in the urban North.[2]

For all its particularities, the story of the Harlem Six points to a critical juncture in the carceral turn in the City That Never Sleeps. However, the experiences for black youths in New York City, as James Baldwin poignantly describes, was "true of every Northern city with a large Negro population" because in the "supposed bastion of liberalism," they contested the status quo for fair housing and public schools in addition to a better justice system. The case of the Harlem Six demonstrates that despite important moments of progress in the first half of the twentieth century, crime was recast as a racial problem that warranted punitive state responses, and efforts to create a fair and impartial justice system gave way to systemic and institutionalized racism. By the 1960s, anticrime laws, most notably stop-and-frisk and no-knock, were disproportionately being enforced in mainly black communities; the police were reaffirming their positions as the "frontline soldiers" for the impending War on Crime; and black youths continued to bear the burden of a justice system that denied their innocence and presumed their criminality.[3]

"Harlem Is a Police State": Creating the Climate for Civil Unrest

"The police in Harlem, their presence is like occupation forces, like an occupying army," Malcolm X told the audience at the Militant Labor Forum of New York on May 29, 1964. "They're not in Harlem to protect us; they're not in Harlem to look out for our welfare," he continued. "They're in Harlem to protect the interests of the businessmen who don't even live there." Having just returned from a trip abroad, Malcolm X's charges concerning the police state in Harlem reinforced many of the claims made by other Harlem residents and organizations. In 1964, the temper of central Harlem had grown sullen as its residents faced a surge in police presence directly connected to new anticrime laws and a "hate-gang scare" in the print media. Combined with the political buzz surrounding Harlem, this created an environment that sparked both major and minor incidents between the police and the community.[4]

The incident that sparked the case of the Harlem Six took place on April 17, 1964, when a fruit stand was overturned by black and Puerto Rican youths around 128th Street and Lenox Avenue. The documented reports of the "Harlem Fruit Riot" changed over time; however, the one constant that remained was when the police showed up to stop the youngsters from smacking each other with apples and oranges; the youths then "changed their targets, hurling fruit at the policemen." The policemen apprehended several of the youngsters and sent out a call for help to which roughly twenty-five more police responded. Several of the eyewitness accounts that detailed what ensued were disturbing. In a tape-recorded statement with a representative of Harlem Youth Opportunities Unlimited (HARYOU), Wallace Baker, nineteen, recalled seeing "some little boys picking up fruit from the ground" when three policemen "grab[bed] one between his legs and [got] ready to hit him with a stick." Baker continued, "So I ran over and tried to stop him. And two of them jumped on me and beat me for nothing." Baker was then put in the patrol car and handcuffed to Daniel Hamm, eighteen, who also intervened "to keep him [the policeman] from shooting the kids." For Baker and Hamm, this marked the beginning of a long struggle with the justice system.[5]

For many Harlem residents, the "policemen's inept handling of a minor situation" reinforced their skepticism of the heightened police presence in the community. "The black people of Harlem have come to understand the situation quite well," one writer wrote in *Challenge*, a weekly newspaper funded by the Harlem Progressive Labor Movement. "When the deal goes down, these cops will murder, maim, and brutalize the Negro people of New York just as fast as their partners in the south." For youth in particular, trepidation toward law enforcement existed for years; however, in this moment, the newly prepared stop-and-frisk and no-knock state laws roused a different antipolice sentiment—a feeling fueled with dishonesty and injustice.[6]

These two bills were proposed at a conference with New York Governor Nelson A. Rockefeller in January 1964, and the top law enforcement officials from New York City agreed on the terms "to reestablish law and order." The two bills, stop-and-frisk and no-knock, implemented particular proposals to combat crime, as they clarified the rights of police to frisk suspects and expanded the use of search warrants to be executed without notice to the occupants of a building. According to the 1964 Uniform Crime Reports, New York City was engulfed with street crime, reporting a 23 percent increase since the turn of the decade. "In an era in which crime is increasing four times as fast as the population" as said by Governor Rockefeller, these new laws were needed "because of the uncertainty in the present law and because the police must be provided now with the sound tools to carry out their sworn duty to protect the public against serious crimes." These anticrime bills were not passed without protest from liberal Republican and Democratic legislators, African American political organizations such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), and resident New Yorkers from all parts of the city. Nor were they passed without countless victims, mostly youths of color who became familiarized with the criminal justice system for the first time.[7]

In the case of stop-and-frisk, it was reasoned, the uncertainty that existed around detainments caused tumult between citizens and police because policemen were rarely certain whether a detention was constitutionally valid. Police officials argued that the mandatory exclusionary rule of *Mapp v. Ohio* restricted effective police action. Prior to the 1961 Supreme Court decision, which declared evidence obtained in direct violation of the Fourth Amendment that prohibits unreasonable search and seizures could not be used in criminal prosecutions, half of the country's state courts, including New York, permitted incriminating evidence in state and federal courts regardless of how it was seized. Police officials demanded their state legislature pass a law that "would permit a policeman to detain and frisk a suspect on the grounds of reasonable suspicion, thereby eliminating the necessity of grounds for arrest." Thus, urged by law enforcement agencies including district attorneys, police chiefs, sheriffs, the state police, the State Commission of Investigation, and the State Council of Churches, New York enacted a stop-and-frisk statute. The bill was passed by a near-party-line vote of thirty-three to twenty-two—only one Democrat voted for it and only one Republican against it.[8]

There was less opposition to the "no-knock" bill that the Senate approved by a vote of forty-three to twelve. The "no-knock" law allowed policemen to break open a door or window without prior notice to the occupants of the building to execute a search warrant. The bill's proponents, who included Governor Rockefeller and New York City Mayor Robert F. Wagner, argued the necessity for such a law was twofold. One, the element of surprise did not allow the occupants time to destroy convictable evidence. "Such evidence as narcotics or policy slips are often thrown out of windows or flushed down toilets before police can seize it," New York Assemblyman Richard J. Bartlett imparted. The other aim of the bill was to protect police officers. According to Bartlett, "A policeman who knocks or announces that he is about to enter often gives the suspect enough warning to get out a gun or a knife." Although the stop-and-frisk law dominated the headlines, perhaps rightfully so, the combination of the two anticrime laws drastically transformed the relationship between police authority and the residents of New York, especially in Harlem.[9]

Opponents of the new anticrime laws in New York questioned their constitutionality and vagueness. Of the stop-and-frisk bill, a representative of the State Bar Association who argued for the bills to be vetoed said, "Nowhere, in the history of Anglo-Saxon jurisprudence have we so closely approached a police state as in this proposal to require citizens to identify themselves to police officers and 'explain their actions' on such a meager showing." Even the less opposed no-knock bill, according to the association, "flies in the face of a long-established policy that 'a man's home is his castle,' and for the state to invade it, it must strictly comply with safeguards which have been found to be important over the years." African Americans from the Harlem Progressive Labor Movement were more direct in their critique of the laws, describing them "as close to any of Hitler's laws as any other law in this country." But these concerns were met with a straightforward rebuttal: times have changed.[10]

The New York City Police Department, at least according to Police Commissioner Michael J. Murphy, had its hands full in 1964. Not only did these two laws impede the perception of police throughout the city, especially among communities of color, but it also added to the visibility of the police state being established. Fully aware that "*police are confronted with serious problems in 1964; problems not encountered a few brief years ago*," Commissioner Murphy negotiated complicated terrain. On the one hand, with the World's Fair set to embark on New York City, the police were responsible to preserve the peace and protection of the people. "As the threats and boasts of wild and unreasonable actions" loomed, the police commissioner showed an ardent stance on crime because he believed "the show of strength is the greatest deterrent to unlawful action." And as a result, more than 25,000 men were assigned to twelve-hour shifts throughout the city.[11]

On the other hand, the hordes of police brutality charges that the department confronted, including those stemming from the "Harlem Fruit Riot," suggest that the department's strength was not just a show. The national director of CORE, James Farmer, declared, "Police brutality in our city is not a problem which began or ended with the World's Fair." Farmer pointed to several instances in which excessive police force was utilized, and he concluded that there existed "an ongoing problem of police violence against individual Negroes and Puerto Rican unjustified and unprovoked." But according to Police Commissioner Murphy, his police force was being "subjected to unfair abuse and undeserved criticism" from those who sought "to destroy their effectiveness and to leave the city open to confusion." Contrary to what the CORE director penned in his statement, which captured the viewpoint of those throughout the streets of New York City, the police commissioner was adamant in saying, "*There is no pattern of brutality in the New York City Police Department. There has not been—there will never be*."[12]

If in fact Police Commissioner Murphy's eradication of brutality allegations were true, the masses of black New Yorkers never received the memo. For those youngsters involved in the fruit stand fracas, in particular, the course of their lives was significantly altered by their interactions with the police on that day. Once the confrontation ended and several members of the crowd were taken away in patrol cars to the 135th Street station, unbeknownst to the authorities, about thirty youths followed and formed a picket line chanting, “Stop police brutality!” Outside of the police station, the marching and chanting lasted for three hours; inside, according to their recorded testimonies, the police brutality was just starting. “When they got us to the precinct station,” Wallace Baker detailed, “they beat us practically all that day, and then at night they took us to Harlem Hospital to get X-rays.” Daniel Hamm’s experience was similar. “They beat us till I could barely walk and my back was in pain,” Hamm described. “They got so tired beating us they just came in and start spitting on us.” The police department denied all accusations.[13]

The evidence pertaining to the beatings these youths suffered proved otherwise. The mothers of both Baker and Hamm affirmed their sons’ testimonies and contacted a black lawyer, George Sena, to defend their claims. In a tape-recorded statement with an interviewer from HARYOU, Mrs. Baker remembered going to the hospital “to sign for Wally because they thought they had broke his neck.” “His neck was over one-sided,” Mrs. Baker described. “He had a patch right across his lip, [and] his face was swollen.” Daniel Hamm’s mother was unaware of the disturbance that led to her son’s arrest. “They didn’t call me,” Mrs. Hamm stated. But when she was finally permitted to see Daniel, she remembered, “He couldn’t pull up his pants. He had a blood clot on each leg.” Their attorney, Sena, used this evidence to plead their case for release.[14]

The next morning, Sena argued to the presiding judge, Maurice W. Grey, that his clients were “beaten by police after they had been arrested” for asking an officer “why he was beating another youth.” The youngsters accompanied Sena in court, wearing bandages; however, Judge Grey dismissed the police brutality charge and told attorney Sena “to take his complaint to Police Commissioner Michael J. Murphy.” The young men were forced to post $500 bails, except Daniel Hamm, who was paroled in consideration of possible hardship to his widowed mother, and they were charged with assault and malicious mischief. Unfortunately for Baker and Hamm, they and four of their friends were rearrested within days of the fruit stand incident. This time, they were being charged with the murder of Margit Sugar, a white secondhand clothes dealer in Harlem. Such allegations bestowed on these six black youths incited racial and political disarray throughout New York City.[15]

“They Don’t Want Us on the Street”: Policing Black Youths with Fear

“The police were afraid of everything in Harlem,” James Baldwin wrote in “A Report from Occupied Territory.” “This means that the citizens of Harlem, who, as we have seen,” Baldwin continued, “can come to grief at any hour in the streets, and who are not safe at their windows, are forbidden the very air.” Baldwin’s articulation of living in occupied territory poetically described what many black New Yorkers experienced in the mid-1960s, especially the youth. “The children, having seen the spectacular defeat of their fathers—

having seen what happens to any bad nigger and, still more, what happens to the good ones—cannot listen to their fathers," Baldwin avowed, "and certainly will not listen to the society which is responsible for their orphaned condition." Moreover, speaking directly to the case of the Harlem Six and the passing of the stop-and-frisk and no-knock laws, Baldwin asserted that black people in New York City were no longer safe from the occupying forces of the state, not even in their own homes. "Harlem believes, and I certainly agree," he wrote, "that these laws are directed against Negroes."[16]

People close to the case believed, like Baldwin, that the pursuit of these six youths started even before the fruit stand incident. Because of the new anticrime laws and the heightened police state in Harlem, certain actions and behaviors started attracting police attention and impacted youth perspectives of carceral authorities in the city, particularly the police. Some behaviors were tied to the elevated political climate in New York City and included rent strikes, school boycotts, spontaneous picketing, demonstrations, and the formation of militant rank and file. Others included innocent acts of adolescence, such as pigeon keeping. Many youths were pigeon fanciers, and they kept and trained pigeons on the roofs of residential buildings. One youth, not connected to the Six, explained to a *New York Times* reporter that he "hated" the police because "they took our pigeons." The youth told the reporter about a confrontation with a policeman who accused him and his friends of "hiding bricks" on the roof. All of the Harlem Six were pigeon fanciers, and though there was no record of their having run-ins with the police because of this hobby, they were all very aware of the youths who did. At an open forum in Harlem after the fruit stand riot, before his arrest, Hamm pointed to the constant harassment from police and expressed, "They don't want us on the street"—a message they all heard loud and clear.[17]

The *New York Times* printed the first detailed account on the murder of Margit Sugar under the headline "3 Youths Seized in Harlem Killing: A Racial Motive in Recent Assaults Is Investigated." The writer goes into detail about three "Negro youths" who were arrested in connection with the fatal stabbing of a Harlem shopkeeper and the wounding of her husband, Frank Sugar, who was in fair condition at Physicians' Hospital in Jackson Heights in Queens. Frank Sugar told police that a group of boys entered the store just before 5:00 p.m. and took up position around the shop. He recounted, "When one of the youths asked to see a suit, Mrs. [Margit] Sugar replied that they had none in his size." Another youth then drew a knife and stabbed the woman once in the heart. The commotion in the store caused the operator of the adjacent drugstore to come over and see what was going on. The drugstore operator, Julius Levitt, described seeing a group of youths run out of the clothing store, and he called the police. The following morning, Ronald Felder, Walter Thomas, and William Craig were arrested and arraigned on charges of felonious assault and a violation of the weapons law; the homicide charge was held open until it could be determined which "boy did the killing."[18]

Coverage of the assault continued the next day in the *New York Times* when they printed a photograph of young Robert Rice and Daniel Hamm attached to an article connecting the youths to the death of Margit Sugar. "Altogether, five teen-agers have been arrested in the shopkeeper's murder," longtime *New York Times* reporter Martin Arnold stated, "and a sixth [was] being sought." The police issued an alarm that spanned a thirteen-state radius in their efforts to capture the sixth, Wallace Baker, who was believed to have "actually stabbed Mrs. Sugar to death." As a result, the hunt for Baker received national attention; however, on May 5, Baker, accompanied by his lawyer, George Sena, turned himself in. With the Six officially in police custody, perhaps the most important question yet to be answered was, Why were *six* Black youths all arrested, indicted, and arraigned for a murder that the police say "was committed by one stroke of a knife in a human heart by one bloody hand." Why so many?[19]

A multiple accusation of such hostility can fix an ugly stain on a whole race or nationality. Otherwise, it would *just* be a random act of violence. There were the Scottsboro Seven and the Trenton Six. "Whenever a crescendo of racist fear and guilt begins to build in the white community," according to the novelist Truman Nelson, who published a great deal in support of the Harlem Six, "it seems that it must always be resolved by a frenzied hue and cry, brutal arrests, and hysterical trial of *multiple* black defendants accused of a crime so monstrous that the whole apparatus of the state backed by a totally terrorized and convinced public opinion can be brought into a direct onslaught against them." This was indeed true in the case of the Harlem Six.[20]

From the onset of their arrest through all the events that followed, the Harlem Six experienced harsh treatment by the various authoritative figures—the police, their lawyers, the courts—they encountered, reinforcing their notions about the unjust powers of the state. Aside from Wallace Baker, who turned himself in to police custody, the other five youths and their families faced no-knock enforcement in their arrests. "On the night of April the twenty-ninth," two months before the stop-and-frisk and no-knock laws were set to become official, Mrs. Craig, William's mother, recalled hearing a noise coming from the roof. She opened her door to look out and saw roughly twenty men, some coming up the stairs and some down from the roof. "One walked to the door and he asked me if this was where Billy Craig lived," Mrs. Craig recollected. "I said Billy Craig? No, there's no Billy Craig here. There's a Willie Craig live here." But William was out running an errand. This did not prevent the policemen to go in to Craig's room, and four of the men stayed in the house to wait for Craig's arrival. "The others left, and I'd say about forty-five minutes later," Mrs. Craig stated, "one come up the stairs and say we got him." William's mother followed the police officers back to the precinct, where she waited hours for any questions to be answered. Mrs. Craig left the police station per a detective's request to "go home and get some rest so you can be in court in the morning, 'cause we are keeping these boys." "I didn't know why they were holding them no more than just as assault," Mrs. Craig explained. "I couldn't think of anywhere I could go for help. I felt everything was hopeless." When she arrived back home, Mrs. Craig's daughter and neighbor told her that they saw the "three boys on television" and that they were arrested for murder.[21]

Each of the six mothers, including Wallace Baker's mother, shared similar stories of the day their sons were arrested and faced death sentences. Mrs. Rice, Robert's mother, was said to have weighed 152 pounds before her son's arrest and dropped to 125 pounds within a month. "I haven't been able to eat a meal since all this started. All I do is smoke and drink coffee," Mrs. Rice told Selma Sparks, a feature writer for *Challenge* who interviewed the six mothers to reveal "what it feels like to be a black mother in a white world when your child is being framed and tortured." Sparks's interviews were published in a pamphlet titled "A Harlem Mother's Nightmare: The Story of Six Harlem Youths Who Face Possible Death for a Crime They Did Not Commit." Committed to raise awareness and money to help defend the Harlem Six, the Committee to Defend Resistance to Ghetto Life (CERGE), a New York–based defense front organization for the Progressive Labor Movement and its affiliates, promoted the pamphlet and launched a national, arguably international, campaign to free the Harlem Six, and their mothers led the charge.[22]

It was Truman Nelson's *The Torture of Mothers*, a self-published account of the mothers' experiences and the early media coverage on the case of the Harlem Six, that established the national conversation and "create[d] publicity and public indignation." Nelson, a white northerner, held little qualms in what he knew to be "a *racial* incident." "If six Irishmen kill a Jew, if six Jews kill a Pole, if six Poles kill a Negro, if six Negroes kill a white," Nelson expressed, "the guilt is flung in the face of a whole people." In the case of the Harlem Six, Nelson indeed believed this to be true. The work was not without its skeptics, however. An unlabeled letter mailed to Beacon Press, which eventually decided to publish the work in late 1965 "with the hope that the book will now attract the concern which it deserves," described Nelson's work as "frank propaganda." The unnamed writer professed that the book only "succeeds in demonstrating to a white reader how far removed he is from the kind of justice, the kind of law, and the police the Negro knows." This was certainly true; however, in his time of writing, Nelson never proclaimed to do more than expose the injustices the six youths and their families faced. He built his case around the Harlem Six mothers and their "excruciating torture, which comes out of love." "It comes out of uncertainty and fear," Nelson wrote, "out of wanting to protect, in this case, and not being able to find the object of the compulsion to protect." Such a tone set the tone for the first trial, which began in March 1965—ten months after their arrests.[23]

"They Are All Your Children": Freeing the Harlem Six

"No one in Harlem," James Baldwin wrote, "will ever believe the Harlem Six are guilty—God knows their guilt has certainly not been proved." Baldwin voiced what many Black New Yorkers, especially Harlemites, felt about the six youths who faced the death penalty for a felonious murder charge. “Harlem knows, though, that they have been abused and . . . possibly destroyed, and Harlem knows why—we have lived with it since our eyes opened on the world.” Yet the worst ordeal of the mothers was still to come. The six mothers formed the Mother Defense Committee “in an effort to free their children.” Such a feat proved to be a daunting challenge they were prepared to accept.[24]

Although countless Harlem residents wanted to trust that the Six were in fact innocent, not many were forthcoming in their defense. “Everybody turned their back on us and gave us the run-around,” Walter Thomas’s mother remembered. Mrs. Hamm supported this claim, testifying that a representative of the NAACP told her that “they wouldn’t touch the case with a ten-foot pole.” Even George Sena, who represented the youths after the fruit stand debacle, denied the role to defend the Six in their case against the death of Margit Sugar. It was generally believed, at least according to Truman Nelson, that “somehow the press had been able to implant in them a new form of original sin.” Counter to their advocates, the media portrayal of the Harlem Six was able to convince many members of the community “that they were killers because they were black.”[25]

A significant portion of the media connected the murder of Margit Sugar to “four other Harlem murders, all of white persons,” and associated the Harlem Six to an antiwhite Harlem gang indoctrinated by rebel Black Muslims. Junius Griffin, an African American reporter for the *New York Times*, broke the story on the “Blood Brothers” of Harlem and reported that the gang had upward of 400 members. Griffin, who claimed to have received the information on the youth gang from a HARYOU researcher, implicated the Harlem Six, particularly Wallace Baker and Daniel Hamm, in his front-page story, stating, “The gang last clashed with the police on April 17 on the east side of Lenox Avenue. . . . Two members of the gang were arrested in that clash and were later implicated in the fatal stabbing of a white woman on April 29.”[26]

The presence of a Harlem gang “indoctrinated in hatred of all white persons” was quarrelsome for everyone. A day after the *New York Times* printed its initial report of the antiwhite Harlem gang, it published a detailed account of how the police were addressing the problem. To investigate the gang’s existence, Griffin reported, “more than 40 Negro police undercover men moved into Harlem yesterday.” They fanned out into community centers, restaurants, bars, and “other haunts where members of the gang [were] reported to gather during and after school hours.” When challenged to present evidence, however, Griffin and the *New York Times* denied all requests.[27]

There were some African American organization leaders who, unsure if the gang existed, admitted it would not be surprising if such a group did. For example, James Farmer, the national director of CORE, wrote, “I think the Blood Brothers are merely another indication of the sickness of our society. They reflect the growing anger, frustration and sense of hopelessness in the

Negro ghetto, especially among our youth, most of whom are unemployed." Be that as it may, black media outlets were not as willing to accept the existence of the "Blood Brothers" and warned its audience of the possibilities that may arise if they accept what has emerged elsewhere. The New York branches of the NAACP and CORE demanded that "the city to produce the facts to justify the hysteria that has been created." Whether the intentions were to better the business opportunities for non-Harlem residents to feel more comfortable moving to Harlem or to permit the establishment of the heightened police presence, Marshall England, chairman of the New York CORE, articulated that reports were "an indication of how far the white press will go to create hysteria." In the end, the gang's existence eluded all evidence presented; however, the damage was done.[28]

In their initial hearings, largely because of Griffin's reports, the Harlem Six faced questions such as, "Are you a follower of Islam?," "How do you get your X?," and "Where do you fellows practice your karate?" The assistant district attorney, Robert J. Lehner, even asked Daniel Hamm directly, "When Rice [Robert] called you brother, what does he mean?" To which Hamm responded, "Just something new that come in the street. Instead of pal it's brother." The implication in these questions was directly tied to the idea that the Six belonged to the "Blood Brother" gang that was never proved to be more than a myth. The hysteria, unfortunately, was not.[29]

Because of the hysteria, though, many lawyers believed providing a credible defense was going to be extremely difficult, even if they *knew* the "Blood Brother" connection was untrue. Those close to the case of the Harlem Six labored to find an attorney to conduct their defense. As a result, after their arraignment, one lawyer signed a notice of appearance for all the youths. This meant that when any other lawyer, whether chosen by their mothers or not, asked for permission to see the boys, he or she would be denied. The mothers believed that the lawyer who signed the notice of appearance did so for the money; the court-appointed lawyer was "paid $2,500 per boy." Like most people in Harlem, the mothers and their sons both had a deep distrust of court-appointed counsel, and they refused to settle.[30]

The Mothers Defense Committee was determined to obtain a defense counsel they were confident in; however, as Mrs. Baker acknowledged, "We didn't know where to go, we didn't know where to turn." Their next option was William Epton, a black communist who at the time was the head of the Harlem Defense Council. An ardent opponent of the no-knock and stop-and-frisk laws, what he referred to as "the northern version of the Black Codes," Epton was hesitant to take on the case out of fear that "Rockefeller, Wagner, and 'Bull' Murphy" would use his radicalism against him. Even though Epton denounced his affiliation with the Communist Party in 1964 "because it no longer represented the aspirations in general of the working class or the black people in particular," the stigma was still prevalent.[31]

Epton suggested that the Mothers Defense Committee talk their situation over with Conrad Lynn, a civil rights attorney who had recently defended Epton on a charge of illegal assembly. Known for his "oratorical power . . . openness, compassion, and above all . . . innate sense of righteousness and prophecy that was the hallmark of the great abolitionists of the 1850s," Lynn seemed to be the perfect fit. Truman Nelson, a Lynn supporter and friend, described the attorney as "a small man, and black, and his smallness and blackness gives the effusions of indestructibility and fearlessness." Nelson admitted it was easy for him "to understand how the mothers must have felt sitting before him for the first time." Lynn agreed and assembled a group of distinguished attorneys that included Mary Kaufman, William Kunstler, Sam Neuberger, and Gene Condon. He accepted the case because he believed "the so-called Blood Brother murder is one pre-eminently showing the influence of dominant prejudice against a minority which is deprived of defenses." Lynn also informed the mothers of the Six that actual hard proof of the crime by the boys is missing, and "the prosecution is depending on the existing state of prejudice to obtain conviction." Placing his faith in the mothers' testimony, Lynn was convinced the boys were innocent and accepted the task at hand.[32]

The first step for Lynn and his team proved to be the first hurdle. Sought to represent the Harlem Six, Lynn stated, "My colleagues and I have surveyed every scrap of the alleged 'evidence,' and, without a doubt, we believe these six black youths to be innocent." But because there was already a court-appointed attorney, the court invoked a ruling that denied Lynn's group the defense. Not surprised by the judge's decision to keep the assigned attorney, Lynn expressed his dissatisfaction with "the judge [who] would refuse to appoint any lawyer except the particular political hack in the Democratic Club whom they wished to favor at the moment." Lynn's group immediately motioned to the Supreme Court for a writ of habeas corpus to free the Harlem Six on the grounds that they were being denied the right to counsel. He argued, "The practice of the courts in assigning lawyers against the wishes of indigent clients was to practice a difference in defense based on property qualifications." Confident that the precedent set in the Scottsboro case to use the class status of the defendants would persuade the judge to reconsider, Lynn and his team were once again denied. Judge Julius Helfand, who adjudicated the habeas corpus hearing, was unwilling to fold on the class distinction. Judge Helfand was more convinced by the attorney general's argument: "If you let these people pick their own lawyer, pretty soon the indigents in the hospitals will be picking their own doctors and surgeons." Judge Helfand dismissed the plea of the six youths and ordered them to go on trial for their lives.[33]

A retrial for the Six was crucial for many reasons. First, and perhaps most important, the boys were no longer subjected to the attorneys appointed by the court. For Lynn and his associates, attaining a fair environment for this case was a fight they refused to drop. In one instance, the lawyers demanded that Supreme Court Justice Gerald P. Culkin "be censured for his racial slurs." When the Six appeared before Culkin to attempt to change their counsel, Culkin said, “These boys wouldn’t know a good attorney from a good watermelon.” Fritz Alexander, president of the Harlem Lawyer Association, expressed to Lynn and his team that the association “found no racial offense in the statement Culkin made.” On a separate occasion, according to Lynn and William Kunstler, one court-appointed lawyer “died in court from acute alcoholism while the first trial was in progress.” These kinds of occurrences marred the first trial throughout, but the retrial would now allow Lynn and his associates to take over the case on a more permanent and official basis.[34]

Second, from the time the Six were convicted in 1964 to the order for a retrial, the death penalty underwent a number of changes in New York. In 1965, state legislation passed a law limiting the death penalty “to murder in the first degree when the victim was a peace officer performing his or her official duties, when the defendant was serving a life sentence at the time the crime was committed, if the crime was committed when the defendant was serving an indeterminate sentence of at least fifteen years to life, or if the defendant was in immediate flight from penal custody or confinement when the crime was committed.” Further, the law prohibited the death penalty for persons under the age of eighteen when the crime was committed and did not impose the death penalty “when substantial mitigating circumstances existed.” Some more amendments were added in 1967 and 1968, though what mattered most was the Harlem Six would no longer be facing the electric chair—*only* life in prison. And, finally, the order for a retrial meant the six youths—Rice, Hamm, Baker, Felder, Craig, and Thomas—were to now be tried separately. The New York Court of Appeals said, “When a defendant confesses to a crime, he must be given his own trial apart from the trials of his co-defendants.” In this particular instance, because Rice and Hamm “confessed” to knifing the Sugars, each was set to face a jury of his peers individually; a joint trial was set for Wallace, Thomas, Felder, and Craig, who “stoutly maintained their innocence.”[35]

After the Court of Appeals reversal, there was a new emergence of support for the Harlem Six. Because Rice and Hamm were tried and sentenced separately, the public started to follow the “Harlem Four” case closely. Following three mistrials, all of which resulted in hung juries, relatives and supporters demanded the removal of the assistant district attorney, Robert Lehner, who had prosecuted the case for more than seven years. Ossie Davis, a well-known black actor and activist, called the case “an outrage,” and he called for the Harlem Four, “who have been denied bail since their arrest seven years ago,” to be released immediately and renounced of all charges. Various petitions supported this call, including one signed by countless psychiatrists, psychologists, social workers, and psychoanalysts who believed another trial “would impose unbearable psychological stress on these young men.”[36]

The charges were not recanted, and a fourth trial was set for the Harlem Four. This trial, according to Lynn and his group, was “expected to last about a month,” and the new jury was going to “hear most of the same witnesses who testified at previous trials." While this remained pretty standard, à la the first three mistrials, there were some new additions that made this trial seem different. The *New York Times* assigned a new reporter to the case, Lacey Fosburgh, whose first article on the Harlem Six reintroduced the case to a new audience of readers who may have lost track over the course of seven years. Perhaps most notably in Fosburgh's report, all connections to an "anti-white hate gang" were absent, and the case was presented as "six teen-agers [who were a part of] an unholy plot to kill proprietors." Fosburgh also made an effort to humanize the defendants. There was mention of Walter Thomas's nine-year-old daughter, who spent most of her young life with her father in jail, as well as William Craig's poems that were exhibited in the Countee Cullen Library in Harlem.[37]

In addition to the new reporter, there was also a new audience—one that included young boys and young girls who saw themselves in the defendants. "I can't help thinking that could be me," Vaughan Dweck, thirteen, told a *New York Times* reporter. "I'd be scared if I was up there like that. All those years waiting and wondering was going to happen to you," Dweck continued. "I'd be scared and I'd be real glad to see someone like me sitting here watching." Dweck was one of more than 100 youths who regularly attended the trial that was opened to the public at the Criminal Court Building. Richard M. Edelman, an eighth-grade social studies teacher from the Fieldston School, was just one of many teachers who believed that "the unusual elements in this case—its long history, the fact that it focuses on a murder and, particularly, the defendants' youth—combine to intrigue the students." Edelman, whose students were assigned to write reflection paragraphs after their day in the courtroom, quickly learned that "the essays revealed the realization that the four boys had been held in jail without bail during a crucial period in their life was confusing and troublesome." Even some younger relatives of the Harlem Six were writing letters and being engaged. For example, Cheryl Samuels, thirteen-year-old cousin of Ronald Felder, wrote a letter to the Harlem Six disclosing her experience. "When I was ten I'd hear a cousin of mine was in jail but I didn't know what for," Samuels wrote. "Now that I'm 13 I can really do a little something to help. Pass out leaflets in court that a girl in my class made and a lot of other things that real help get the news around." Lynn and William Kunstler, who by this point in the trial had taken a more prominent role in the defense, welcomed the youths who showed up because they believed that "interest among the young in the legal system should be encouraged." It also boosted their defense.[38]

After the three-month trial and days of jury deliberations, the jurors found themselves "hopelessly deadlocked," and Supreme Court Justice Joseph A. Martinis issued another mistrial—except for the first time, Thomas, Felder, Craig, and Baker were set to be released on bail. But, as Lewis M. Steel, a member of the defense team put it, "How can poor black people raise $75,000?" The sum total to be paid, Steel argued, was so high as to amount to no bail at all. "I expected after eight years they would be released in their own recognizance."

But Justice Martinis felt he was doing the boys a favor “in all good conscience.” Bail was not posted.[39]

Satisfied with the defendants’ inability to pay the fee, the assistant district attorney characterized the Harlem Four as “much too dangerous to be granted bail.” William Craig responded directly to Lehner in the courtroom. “Then indict me for it!” The judge warned Craig to be quiet, and Craig declined. “I’ve been sitting here quiet for too long,” he voiced, “through damned near four trials, and I’m not going to keep quiet as long as you keep talking about this justice business.” Craig’s vented frustration vocalized an undercurrent of distrust, which many black youths shared, in the justice system. One trip through his poem exhibit at the Countee Cullen Library would have anticipated Craig’s outpouring. In a poem titled “Power,” he wrote, “After seven and a half years of being promised justice and fairness, We, the ‘Harlem 6,’ as well as any poor black person, have received injustice and partialness.” No longer able to believe in the courts, Craig declared, “The residing judge promises justice, but the moment his mouth opens there’s a great contradition [sic] and all motions are denied under the color of justice without prejudice.” Conrad Lynn concurred. “I’m much more bitter about life and what’s happened to them than they are,” Lynn wrote, having worked the trial since its inception. “They’re angry naturally about what’s gone on these eight years, but they’ve developed a philosophy of life that’s much more serene than I’ll ever have.” In that moment, the decision was to be made by Justice Martinis, who had two options: declare a retrial or dismiss the original indictment altogether.[40]

Justice Martinis’s self-designated March 8 deadline came, and all signs pointed to a fifth trial for the four defendants. That was until, perhaps the most significant turning point in the case, the key prosecution witness, Robert Barnes Jr., confessed to his probation officer that “his testimony [against the Harlem Six] was a lie.” Aside from the testimony of “two small girls who testified that they had seen the defendants near the murder scene,” the prosecution’s case rested largely with Barnes, who the prosecution described as an original coconspirator in the murder plan. For the defense, this new information was a gold mine. Lynn’s group argued that if Barnes did not participate in the murder case, “it then becomes obvious the police and other public officials involved most certainly engaged in the wilful [sic] subornation of perjury.” In the event that this holds true, it would be argued that the prosecution changed the character of Barnes’s participation in the crimes “to exculpate him and implicate these defendants therein.” The defense called for an immediate release of the four defendants and a thorough criminal investigation of the new findings. Whether or not Justice Martinis was impacted by this information, it did lead to a number of immediate changes, including the reduction of the bail fee, which was posted, and the four defendants were released from the Manhattan House of Detention on March 31, 1972.[41]

The “freedom” of the Harlem Four was short lived, and by the summer of 1972, they were summoned for another trial. Lynn and Kunstler worried about another trial because they believed the choice language of the justice was "deliberately designed to inflame and prejudice the future jurors." They were, however, prepared to report the progress their defendants made in the few months of freedom: Felder was accepted into City College of New York and was scheduled to attend in September, Craig was enrolled at Harlem Prep, Thomas was working as a legal aide at the Morrisania Legal Services Clinic, and Baker was actively participating in community work. Justice Martinis acknowledged their "commendable" progress but called for another retrial because he believed the defense sympathizers "violated the general principles of decency and 'subjected' both himself and the jurors to 'unfair pressures.'" But the defense was ready and believed that Barnes's admission to lying, which was submitted in a thirty-eight-page affidavit, gave them what was needed to finally end this case. And it did.[42]

Then, on April 4, 1973, almost nine years to the day and just days before the retrial was scheduled to begin, the Harlem Four were finally freed after pleading guilty to manslaughter charges. The decision was complicated, as the four (now men) proclaimed their innocence. "We've said all along we are not guilty and what we feel the world should know is that we are still not guilty," Craig told reporters at a news conference. "We hope our friends, our mothers, our fathers, anybody who cares will understand why we had to do this, why we had to make this decision." For the Harlem Four, the certainty of freedom, even at the price of a criminal record, was the better option than facing the uncertainty of another trial. Later, Supreme Court Justice Jacob Grumet, who took the place of Martinis, made "a highly unusual move" to grant the four a certificate of relief from disability. "I want[ed] them to have every chance," Justice Grument explained, defending his decision to assure that the Harlem Four would not lose any rights or privileges commonly stripped of convicted felons. For all intents and purposes, William Craig, Wallace Baker, Walter Thomas, and Ronald Felder were free.[43]

The fates of Daniel Hamm and Robert Rice were yet to be determined. For Lynn and his defense team, their focus shifted on procuring the same freedoms as their other Harlem Six comrades. Hamm, who continued to serve his sentence at Auburn prison in upstate New York for his guilty plea, was denied his first parole opportunity "on the basis of new information." The Charter Group for a Pledge of Conscience, a small community organization composed of mainly Harlem residents, printed "An Appeal to the Community" on behalf of Hamm, and they urged, "ANY MEMBER OF THE COMMUNITY WHO KNOWS ANYTHING ABOUT THIS ALLEGED 'CONFIDENTIAL INFORMATION'—PLEASE COME FORWARD SO THAT IT CAN BE PUBLICLY EXAMINED." As a result of a combination of the group's effort and the persistence of Lynn and his associates, Hamm was released in 1974.[44]

Rice, who the defense team figured would be released after a federal judge dismissed his murder conviction in September 1973, experienced the least good fortune. He went on to face five additional trials and seven appeals with no break. His mother continued her advocacy and used the *New York Amsterdam News* as an outlet for support. Mrs. Rice wrote "An Appeal to the Harlem Community for Help to Free My Son, Robert Rice," which was printed in the distinguished black newspaper, urging New York Governor Hugh Carey to grant her son clemency. Having spent twelve years in prison, Rice was "the only one of the Harlem Six still behind bars." Unfortunately, because of the bloc of Mrs. Rice's plea and the tireless effort of Lynn and his defense team, clemency was not granted. Rice continued to serve his sentence; he went up for parole in March 1988, and he was finally released in November 1991.[45]

"Your concern for the children brought about a change in your life," Craig wrote in a note to Wallace Baker. "You, Wallace, was caught in the middle of hells front door, while I tried hard to fight my way to your side," he recounted of the fruit stand melee, "But the ocean of blue uniforms stoped [sic] me in my tracks." Even years after, Craig admittedly remembers every detail "because the effects of those blows changed both our lives." As black youths growing up in postwar Harlem, the odds were already stacked against them. In a note to Conrad Lynn, Truman Nelson affirmed, "They know the struggle will not end with them, or perhaps even their grandsons, but they have made a contribution with the dignity and strength with which they have fought the good fight." But such affirmation was embedded. "I'm well aware that it's not justice. And I'm sure it's not equality," William Craig wrote the state of the justice system in America. "But through it all the 'Harlem 6' will maintain strength to fight the struggle against racism, fascism, oppression, injustice, and exploitation."[46]

In its time, the case of the Harlem Six captured national headlines and international audiences, yet its significance continues to escape the memory and record of many. The case, ignited by the 1964 death of a white shopkeeper in New York City, and its subsequent events were emblematic of black youth experiences with the carceral state as the nation embarked on its War on Crime. The lived experiences of these six youths reveal that by the 1960s, constructions of criminality were reestablished as a racial problem that would continue to face more punitive state responses influenced by broader discourse on youth, race, and crime. The Harlem Six persevered through a justice system that, long before them, decided to attribute race as the determining factor for those presumed innocent and those presumed criminal.

Notes

1. William Craig was quoted in various newspaper reports of four of the Harlem Six being released after pleading guilty to the lesser manslaughter charges. See "'Hardest Day of Our Lives': Harlem Four," *New York Times*, April 8, 1973, 239, and "Harlem 4 Freed after 9 Years," *Afro-American*, April 14, 1973, 21.

2. Scholars have chosen the term "carceral"—"of or belonging to prison"—to invoke a wide range of punitive state action. For a sampling of recent historical journal articles and monographs on the modern American carceral state, see Kelly Lytle Hernández, Khalil Gibran Muhammad, and Heather Ann Thompson, eds., "Special Issue: Historians and the Carceral State," *Journal of American History* XX (June 2015): 18–184; Heather Ann Thompson and Donna Murch, eds., "Special Section: Urban America and the Carceral State," *Journal of Urban History* XX (September 2015): 751–861; Naomi Murakawa, *The First Civil Right: How Liberals Built Prison*

America (New York: XXXX, 2014); Dan Berger, *Captive Nation: Black Prison Organizing in the Civil Rights Era* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014); Elizabeth Hinton, *From the War on Poverty to the War on Crime: The Making of Mass Incarceration in America* (Cambridge: XXXX, 2016); and James Forman Jr., *Locking Up Our Own: Crime and Punishment in Black America* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2017) . On the lack of youth experiences in the historical records, historian George Lipsitz writes that "public records most often reflect the concerns of those in power and only rarely contain evidence of the thoughts, action, or aspirations of teenagers and young adults unless those groups are seen as some kind of threat to people with power." See George Lipsitz, "Who'll Stop the Rain? Youth Culture, Rock 'n' Roll, and Social Crisis," in *The Sixties: From Memory to History*, ed. David Farber (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994), esp. 206–34. For a more recent take on the methodological difficulties facing historians of youth, see Joseph M. Hawes and N. Ray Hiner, "Hidden in Plain View: The History of Children (and Childhood) in the Twenty-First Century," *Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* XX (Winter 2008): pp. 43–49. More recently, historians of African American girlhood have paved the way to better incorporate youth experiences from the margins to the centers of historical studies. See Roundtable by Corinne T. Field, Tammy-Charelle Owens, Marcia Chatelain, Lakisha Simmons, Abosede George, and Rhian Keyse, "The History of Black Girlhood: Recent Innovations and Future Directions," *Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* 9, no. 3 (Fall 2016): 383–401.

3. For Baldwin's description of Harlem, see James Baldwin, "A Report from Occupied Territory," *The Nation*, July 11, 1966, 6. Historians Brian Purnell and Jeanne Theoharis referred to New York City as the "capital of the Jim Crow North." See Brian Purnell and Jeanne Theoharis, "How New York City Became the Capital of the Jim Crow North," *Washington Post*, August 23, 2017, http://www.washingtonpost.com (accessed November 26, 2017). For a sample of the postwar historiography that emphasizes the limits of racial liberalism in the urban North to demystify the narrative of the North as a utopian melting pot, see Jeanne Theoharis and Komozi Woodard, eds., *Freedom North: Black Freedom Struggles outside the South, 1940 to 1980* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003). For a more specific example of how black youths fought for equal access to housing and schooling in the urban North outside of New York City, see Andrew Diamond, *Mean Streets: Chicago Youths and the Everyday Struggle for Empowerment in the Multiracial City, 1908–1969* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009). On police as the "frontline soldier," see Lyndon B. Johnson, "Statement by the President Following the Signing of Law Enforcement Assistance Bills," September 22, 1965 (online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, *The American Presidency Project*, http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu [accessed November 1, 2017]).

4. Malcolm X referred to Harlem as "a police state" in his speech at the Militant Labor Forum of New York on May 29, 1964. See Malcolm X, *Malcolm X Speaks: Selected Speeches and Statements*, ed. George Brietman (New York: Merit Publishers, 1965), esp. 64–71.

5. The first print media report of the "Harlem Fruit Riot" was published in the *New York Times* on April 18, 1964. The headline described the incident as "75 in Harlem Throw Fruit at Policemen." The following day, two days after the incident, the *New York Times* carried a slightly different version. It was written as "four youths and a man, were involved in a free-for-all on Friday afternoon, after they allegedly overturned a fruit stand." The difference is important because the "four youths and [the] man," who the proprietor of the fruit stand told the police were not at his store, would go on to face the charges. See "75 in Harlem Throw Fruit at Policemen," *New York Times*, April 18, 1964, 27, and "Lawyer for 5 Tells Court Police Roughed Up Clients," *New York Times*, April 19, 1964. Willie Jones from HARYOU conducted the tape-recorded statements of Wallace Baker and Daniel Hamm. They are cited in Truman Nelson's *The Long Hot Summer* (Berlin: XXXX, 1967), 129 n. 4, 129 n. 6.

6. On "the policemen's inept handling of a minor situation," see Junius Griffin, "Harlem: The Tension Underneath; Youths Study Karate, Police Keep Watch and People Worry; Harlem; Tension Close to Surface as Summer Tests Approach; Youngsters Take Karate Training; Peaceful Residents Worry as a Police Concentrate Key Forces in Area," *New York Times*, May 29, 1964, 13. See also "Harlem Unite: Let Us Defend Ourselves!," *Challenge: The New Revolutionary Weekly Paper*, n.d., Box 4, Folder 17D, Conrad Lynn Collection, Howard Gotlieb Archival Research Center, Boston University.

7. Douglas Dales, "2 Bills Prepared on Police Search: Law Enforcement Aides in State Reach Agreement," *New York Times*, January 21, 1964, 18. On opponents of the two anticrime bills, see Martin Arnold, "N.A.A.C.P. and CORE to Fight Bills Increasing Police Powers," *New York Times*, February 29, 1964, 24, and Douglas Dales, "Rockefeller Signs Bills Increasing Powers of Police: Bar and Civil Rights Groups Call 'Stop-and-Frisk' and 'No-Knock' Laws Illegal," *New York Times*, March 4, 1964, 1. I think it is important to note that although these two laws had become a subject of national concern in the mid-1960s, the police power to detain and question is "as old as the common law of England." For a long history of stop-and-frisk that was referenced in the 1960s, see Loren G. Stern, "Stop and Frisk: An Historical Answer to a Modern Problem," *Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology, and Police Science* 58, no. 4 (1967), esp. 532.

8. *Mapp v. Ohio*, 367 U.S. 643 (1961). For a more comprehensive history of *Mapp v. Ohio*, see Carolyn N. Long, Mapp v. Ohio: *Guarding against Unreasonable Searches and Seizures* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2006). On police demands for a stop-and-frisk statute, see Memorandum of the New York State Combined Council of Law Enforcement Officials to the New York State Legislature in Relation to Temporary Questioning and Search for Weapons, cited in "The 'No-Knock' and 'Stop and Frisk' Provisions of the New York Code of Criminal Procedure," *St. John's Law Review* 38, no. 2 (May 1964), esp. 393. As written, the stop-and-frisk statute allowed policemen "to stop any person abroad in a public place whom he reasonably suspects is committing, has committed or is about to commit a felony or a serious misdemeanor." Further, if the policeman "reasonably suspects that he is in danger of life or limb from the person he has stopped, he may search the person for a dangerous weapon." And if he finds a weapon or "any other thing, the possession of which may constitute a crime, he may keep it during the questioning." Thereafter, he must either return the item it was lawfully possessed or arrest the person for possessing it. On the "stop-and-frisk" statute of 1964, see N.Y. Code Crim. Pro. § 180-a (effective July 1, 1964). The stop-and-frisk statute in New York was derived from the Uniform Arrest Act of 1942, which gave police officers the right to arrest any person who they reasonably believed was committing or had committed a felony or misdemeanor. For more on the Uniform Arrest Act of 1942, see "The Uniform Arrest Act," *Virginia Law Review* 28, no. 3 (January 1942): 317. On the vote breakdown, see Layhmond Robinson, "Legislators Pass Anticrime Bills: Senate Sends Rockefeller His 'Stop-and-Frisk' and 'No-Knock' Measures," *New York Times*, February 19, 1964, 41.

9. On the "no-knock" statute of 1964, see N.Y. Code Crim. Pro. § 799 (effective July 1, 1964). For a more detailed description of the two anticrime laws, see "The 'No-Knock' and 'Stop and Frisk' Provisions of the New York Code of Criminal Procedure," 392–405. On the proponents of "no-knock" and the vote breakdown, see Layhmond Robinson, "Assembly Votes Anticrime Bills: Measures Would Ease Laws on Searches by Police," *New York Times*, February 12, 1964, 41, and "Frisk-Law Advice Is Given to Police: City Warns against Hasty Use of New Powers," *New York Times*, June 28, 1964, 28.

10. Layhmond Robinson, "Bar Group Urges Crime-Bills Veto: Sees Threat of 'Police State' in Additional Powers," *New York Times*, February 12, 1964, 39. On the Harlem Progressive Labor Movement's description of the two laws, see "Harlem Unite: We Have Come to Understand," *Challenge*, n.d., Box 4, Folder 17D, Conrad Lynn Collection, Howard Gotlieb Archival Research Center, Boston University.

11. Michael J. Murphy, *Civil Rights and Police: A Compilation of Speeches by Michael J. Murphy, New York City Police Department* (New York: XXXX, 1964), pp. 11, 9, emphasis in the original. For an example of how print media portrayed the strength of the police force surrounding the World's Fair, see Theodore M. Jones, "Murphy Alerts Police for Fair: Emergency Duty to Cope with Stall-In Threat and Opening Events Police Put on Emergency Duty to Prepare for the Opening of the Fair," *New York Times*, April 18, 1964, 1, 16.

12. On James Farmer's statement, see Richard J. H. Johnston, "Murphy Charges Attack on Police: Says 'Brutality Complaints Seek to Weaken Force," *New York Times*, April 29, 1964, 28. On Police Commissioner Murphy's stance against the brutality allegations, see Murphy, *Civil Rights and the Police*, 12, 13, emphasis in the original.

13. On the roughly thirty youths marching and chanting, see "75 in Harlem Throw Fruit at Policemen," 27. Tape-recorded statement of Wallace Baker, transcribed in *The Long Hot Summer*, 20. Tape-recorded statement of Daniel Hamm, transcribed in *The Long Hot Summer*, 23–25.

14. Tape-recorded statement of Mrs. Baker, transcribed in *The Long Hot Summer*, 21–22. Tape-recorded statement of Mrs. Hamm, transcribed in *The Long Hot Summer*, 25–27.

15. "Lawyer for 5 Tells Court Police Roughed Up Clients," *New York Times*, April 19, 1964, 47; "Cops Probe Brutality Cry in Wake of Fray," *New York Amsterdam News*, April 25, 1964, 55.

16. Baldwin, "Report from Occupied Territory," 5–6.

17. On the youth account of pigeon keeping in Harlem, see Junius Griffin, "View in a Harlem Street: 'Whitey' Won't Give Me a Job; Teen-Agers Express Futility by Asking: Why Go to School?," *New York Times*, May 9, 1964, 13. In James Baldwin's "Report from Occupied Territory," he too makes mention of pigeon fanciers who "kept pigeons on the roofs" and argues that police were "especially afraid of the roofs, which they considered to be guerilla outposts"; see Baldwin, "A Report for Occupied Territory," 5. On Daniel Hamm's description of police harassment after the fruit stand incident, see Truman Nelson, *The Torture of Mothers* (Boston: XXXX, 1965), 63.

18. On the *New York Times*'s first detailed account of the incident, see "3 Youths Seized in Harlem Killing: A Racial Motive in Recent Assaults is Investigated," *New York Times*, May 1, 1964, 31.

19. On the arrest of Rice and Hamm, see Martin Arnold, "2 Held in Killing Admit Another; Will be Questioned on 2 More," *New York Times*, May 2, 1964, 55. On Baker's prearrangement, see "Suspect Gives Up in Harlem Death; New Youth Is 3rd Accused in Shopkeeper's Murder," *New York Times*, May 5, 1964, 32. For media coverage on the search for Baker outside of New York, see "Seek Negro, 19, Believed to Be in Racist Gang," *Chicago Tribune*, May 4, 1964, 3; "Police

Claim Muslim Youth in Terror Gang," *Chicago Daily Defender*, May 6, 1964, 6; and "Young Racist Slaying Suspect in Custody," *Atlanta Daily World*, May 10, 1964, A1.

20. For a comprehensive history of the Scottsboro case, see Dan T. Carter, *Scottsboro: A Tragedy of the American South* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1969; revised, 2007). For a comprehensive history on the Trenton Six, see Cathy D. Knepper, *Jersey Justice: The Story of the Trenton Six* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2007). Truman Nelson published two separate books in support of the Harlem Six. The first, *The Torture of Mothers*, was a detailed account of the media coverage and firsthand interviews with witnesses and the mothers of the six youths. His second book, *The Long Hot Summer*, was written in the autumn of 1964 and describes "without later revision" events and conditions of the long, hot summer. It included various transcriptions of interviews with the Harlem Six and their mothers. For the Nelson quote, see Nelson, *The Torture of Mothers*, 43, and *The Long Hot Summer* (Berlin: XXXX, 1967), 52.

21. Tape-recorded statement of Mrs. Craig, transcribed in *The Long Hot Summer*, 39–42. The stop-and-frisk and no-knock laws were set to be enforced beginning in July 1964. For a more thorough account of the police precinct actions, including transcripts, see Charter Group, "Fact Sheet in the Case of 'the Harlem Six,'" esp. 1–9, Box 4, Folder 17D, Conrad Lynn Collection, Howard Gotlieb Archival Research Center, Boston University.

22. Selma Sparks, "A Harlem Mother's Nightmare: The Story of Six Harlem Youths Who Face Possible Death for a Crime They Did Not Commit" (cover matter, ca. 1965), CERGE, 1, 5.

23. On the case of the Harlem Six as a racial incident, see Nelson, *The Torture of Mothers*, 1, emphasis in the original, 45. On the letter mailed to Beacon Press, see "[No name] Letter," n.d., Box 4, Folder 17D, Conrad Lynn Collection, Howard Gotlieb Archival Research Center, Boston University. On the torture of mothers, see Nelson, *The Long Hot Summer*, 35–36.

24. James Baldwin, *The Price of the Ticket: Collected Nonfiction, 1948–1985* (New York: XXXX, 1985), 424. On the mothers forming their own defense committee, see Harlem Defense Counsel, "Police Terror in Harlem," CERGE Political Pamphlet (1965), 4.

25. Tape-recorded statement of Mrs. Thomas, transcribed in *The Long Hot Summer*, 57. Tape-recorded statement of Mrs. Hamm, transcribed in *The Long Hot Summer*, 57. For Nelson's take on why the community became skeptical, see Nelson, *The Long Hot Summer*, 57–58.

26. The HARYOU researcher was never identified. Junius Griffin, "Anti-White Harlem Gang Reported to Number 400: Social Workers Says Its Members Are Trained in Crime and Fighting by Defectors from Black Muslims," *New York Times*, May 6, 1964, 1, 30.

27. According to Griffin's report, the New York Police Department reported leads on two adults, Orlando X and Hannibal, whom they suspected to be responsible for organizing and teaching the youth referred to as the Blood Brothers. Junius Griffin, "40 Negro Detectives Investigate Anti-White Gang: U.S. Agency Studying Harlem—Civil Rights Groups Criticize Violence," *New York Times*, May 7, 1964, 28. Dr. Kenneth B. Clark, director of HARYOU, publicly stated, "There is nothing in the data collected by the HARYOU research staff which would support the contention that there exists in the Harlem community a group or groups of young people who are dedicated to organized anti-white violence. . . . and no such statement was made by a HARYOU staff member." See Les Matthews and George Barner, "They Still Can't Prove That 'Blood Gang' Lie!," *New York Amsterdam News*, May 23, 1964, 1, 55. Conrad Lynn, a civil rights attorney, demanded Griffin to present the evidence, to which he wrote, "He hasn't appeared. I am still waiting. He is afraid to face me after what he has done"; see Nelson, *The Long Hot Summer*, 67.

28. Griffin used many reports of organization leaders who made the case for the gang's existence. This also included Alexander J. Allen, the executive director of the Urban League of Greater New York, who wrote, "If it is true, upon reflection, it's an outcome of the long-standing alienation and rejection which Negro youths in Harlem and Bedford-Stuyvesant have faced for a long, long time—all their lives, in fact." See Griffin, "40 Negro Detectives Investigate Anti-White Gang," 28. On black newspaper accounts that refuted the gang's existence and warned of its allegations, see Matthews and Barner, "They Still Can't Prove That 'Blood Gang' Lie!," 1, 55.

29. Statement of Wallace Baker, Made to Robert J. Lehner, ADA, May 4, 1964, transcript, esp. 3753–54, Box 4, Folder 17C, Conrad Lynn Collection, Howard Gotlieb Archival Research Center, Boston University. Statement of Daniel Hamm, Made to Robert J. Lehner, ADA, May 1, 1964, transcript, esp. 5, Box 3, Folder 17A, Conrad Lynn Collection, Howard Gotlieb Archival Research Center, Boston University.

30. Nelson tape, transcribed in *The Torture of Mothers*, 70.

31. Harlem Defense Counsel, "Police Terror in Harlem," CERGE Political Pamphlet (1965), 4; Nelson, *The Torture of Mothers*, 76; Les Matthews, "A Closeup of William Epton," *New York Amsterdam News*, August 15, 1964, 46.

32. Nelson, *The Torture of Mothers*, 77–78.

33. On Lynn's belief of the Harlem Six's innocence, see Sparks, "A Harlem Mother's Nightmare," 5. The 1901 ruling cited was *People v. Fuller*, which states, "A destitute defendant, charged with murder in the first degree, can have no part in selecting the counsel authorized to be assigned to him by the Court and paid for by the County." See *The People of the State of New York, Plaintiff v. John Fuller, Court of General Sessions of Peace in and for the County of New York*,

May 1901, 35 Misc. 189 (N.Y. Misc. 1901). In the case of the Scottsboro trial, the defendants had court-appointed lawyers, but the Supreme Court ruled that Sam Liebowitz, a top criminal lawyer, could defend them and that they were not to be burdened legally with the errors they claimed were made by their court-appointed counsel. On Lynn's property as income defense, Lynn's transcribed statements appeared in Nelson's *The Torture of Mothers*, 79, 81–83, 85. According to various CERGE reports, the average African American family earned $3,480 a year compared to the citywide average of $5,103 yet were charged $50 to $74 a month for a one-room flat that would rent for $30 to $49 in a white neighborhood.

34. "Harlem Lawyers Back Judge," *New York Amsterdam News*, March 1, 1969, 42. On Judge Culkin's racial connotations, see Sidney E. Zion, "Judge Accused of Racial Slur against 'Harlem 6,'" Box 3, Folder 17A, Conrad Lynn Collection, Howard Gotlieb Archival Research Center, Boston University. See also Michael Newton, "Harlem Six," *The Encyclopedia of American Law Enforcement* (New York: XXXX, 2007), 150.

35. Joseph Lentol, Helene Weinstein, and Jeffrion Aubry, "The Death Penalty in New York: A Report on Five Public Hearings on the Death Penalty in New York Conducted by the Assembly Standing Committee on Codes, Judiciary, and Correction, December 15, 2004–February 11, 2005," 12; N.Y. Sess. Laws 1965, chap. 321. In 1967, the death penalty was amended to include intentional murder, depraved indifference to human life, murder, and felony murder; see N.Y. Sess. Laws 1967, chap. 791. In 1968, the act of recklessly engaging in conduct evincing a depraved indifference to human life that results in the killing of another was removed from the list of death eligible crimes; see N.Y. Sess. Laws 1968, chap. 949. Lesley Oelsner, "One of 'Harlem 6' Guilty in Retrial: Other 5 to Be Tried in 1964 Murder of Shopkeeper," *New York Times*, April 11, 1970, 27.

36. Robert Rice explained to the jury that he "confessed only after being beaten by the police." He was charged guilty of first-degree murder, attempted murder, and attempted robbery—the murder conviction alone carried a mandatory sentence of life imprisonment. Daniel Hamm pleaded guilty to manslaughter, attempted murder, and robbery; he was sentenced to fifteen to thirty-five years. On the Rice and Hamm confessions, see Letter from Conrad J. Lynn to Hon. John V. Lindsay, Mayor, New York City, January 31, 1972, Box 3, Folder 17B, Conrad Lynn Collection, Howard Gotlieb Archival Research Center, Boston University. The same letter was sent to Shirley Chisholm, congresswoman, and Hon. Percy Sutton, Manhattan borough president. On the first three mistrials, see Lesley Oelsner, "One of 'Harlem 6' Guilty in Retrial: Other 5 to Be Tried in 1964 Murder of Shopkeeper," *New York Times*, April 11, 1970, 27; "Harlem Six Face Sugar Murder," *New York Amsterdam News*, April 18, 1970, 2; "Awaiting Jury Verdict," *New York Amsterdam News*, March 20, 1971, 1; "Harlem Six Retrial in Hung Jury," *New York Amsterdam News*, March 27, 1971, 1; and Charlayne Hunter, "3d Trial Begins for 'Harlem Six': Defenders' Backers Demand Removal of Prosecutor," *New York Times*, September 22, 1971, 28. For the Ossie Davis quote, see Hunter, "3d Trial Begins for 'Harlem Six,'" 28. The untitled, signed petition is in Box 3, Folder 17B, Conrad Lynn Collection, Howard Gotlieb Archival Research Center, Boston University.

37. Lacey Fosburgh, "4th Trials Opens for 4 Accused of '64 Store Murder in Harlem," *New York Times*, November 30, 1971, 50.

38. Lacey Fosburgh, "Trial Here of the 'Harlem Six' Interests Student Observers of All Age Groups," *New York Times*, January 9, 1972, 62; Letter from Cheryl Sanders to "Yo' Brothers," March 19, 1972, Box 4, Folder 17C, Conrad Lynn Collection, Howard Gotlieb Archival Research Center, Boston University.

39. On the juror deliberations, see Lacey Fosburgh, "Defense in Harlem Slaying Trial Rests after Calling One Witness," *New York Times*, January 18, 1972, 63. On the decision to offer bail after a fourth mistrial, see Lacey Fosburgh, "Case of the 'Harlem 4' Ends in Hung Jury: Case of 'Harlem 4' End in a Hung Jury for a 2d Time," *New York Times*, January 28, 1972, 1, 19.

40. On Craig's outburst in the courtroom, see Fosburgh, "Case of the 'Harlem 4' Ends in Hung Jury," 19. William Craig, "Power," poem, Box 3, Folder 17B, Conrad Lynn Collection, Howard Gotlieb Archival Research Center, Boston University. On Lynn's concurrence, see Lacy Fosburgh, "Harlem 4: When Is Justice Done?," *New York Times*, February 20, 1972, E10. On Justice Martinis's decision, see "Harlem Four to Get Word on March 8," *New York Amsterdam News*, February 19, 1972, A3.

41. "Harlem 4 Postponed," *New York Amsterdam News*, March 11, 1972, A2; Philip C. Cooper, "The Harlem Six: Justice on Trial," *New York Amsterdam News*, March 18, 1972, A5; Lacey Fosburgh, "Case against 'Harlem 4' Said to Be Based on Lie," *New York Times*, March 18, 1972, 1, 35; Lacey Fosburgh, "Conflict Is Denied in Harlem 4 Data: New Disclosure Backs Its View, Prosecution Says," *New York Times*, March 23, 1972, 37; Lacey Fosburgh, "'Harlem 4' Due to Be Released Tomorrow as Bail Is Reduced to $5,000 Each," *New York Times*, March 30, 1972, 28.

42. Lacey Fosburgh, "Witness Recants in Harlem 4 Case: Asserts Those He Identified Are Innocent, and Reports Intimidation by Police," *New York Times*, July 7, 1972, 1, 35, and "Harlem Four Facing Their Fourth Trial," *New York Amsterdam News*, July 8, 1972, C10; Lee Cook, "Harlem 4 Dismissal is Now 'A Must,'" *New York Amsterdam News*, July 29, 1972, C10.

43. Lacey Fosburgh, "'Harlem Four' Are Freed after Manslaughter Pleas," *New York Times*, April 5, 1973, 1, 55; "Harlem Four: 'Hardest Day of Our Lives,'" *New York Times*, April 8, 1973, 239; "Harlem 4 Freed!," *New York Amsterdam News*, April 7, 1973, A1. For national coverage of the Harlem Four being released, see "Free 4 in Plea Switch," *Chicago Defender*, April 5, 1973, 7, and "High Court Denies Delay for Retrial of Black Youths," *Jet Magazine*, April 12, 1973, 29. Lewis Steel, of Lynn's defense team, suggested that the prosecution was more amenable to a plea now because another trial might be political embarrassing for the incumbent district attorney.

44. Fosburgh, "'Harlem Four' Are Freed after Manslaughter Pleas," 55; James M. Markham, "Parole Is Granted but Then Revoked for a 'Harlem Six' Inmate: Packing to Leave Conviction Voided," *New York Times*, March 6, 1973, 45; newspaper insert, *New York Amsterdam News*, March 9, 1974, A11, emphasis in the original; William Worthy, "Last of 'Harlem Six' Inmates Victim of 'Compromise' Solution," *Baltimore Afro-American*, November 6, 1979, 5.

45. "Robert Rice, Harlem Six, Awaits Bail," *New York Amsterdam News*, August 11, 1973; "Murder Charge Dismissed against One of Harlem Six," *New York Times*, September 15, 1973, 35; *United States Rice v. Vincent*, 491 F.2d 1326; Arnold H. Lubasch, "Ruling to Throw Out Conviction in 'Harlem Six' Case Reversed," *New York Times*, February 8, 1974, 38; "State High Court Upholds a 'Harlem Six' Conviction," *New York Times*, October 10, 1974, 57; newspaper insert, *New York Amsterdam News*, June 5, 1976, A10, emphasis in the original; H. Carl McCall, a *New York Amsterdam News* journalist, published an article, "A Perversion of Rehabilitation," in support of Robert Rice's release. He wrote, "The voice of Harlem has spoken in the past concerning the Harlem Six case. That same voice must be heard again, and now louder and more persistently than ever before." H. Carl McCall, "A Perversion of Rehabilitation," *New York Amsterdam News*, June 12, 1976, A5; Worthy, "Last of 'Harlem Six' Inmates Victim of 'Compromise' Solution," 5. For the most recent status update on Robert Rice, see Department of Corrections and Community Supervision, New York State, "Inmate Information," http://nysdoccslookup.doccs.ny.gov/GCA00P00/WIQ3/WINQ130.

46. William Craig to Wallace Baker, "To Wallace Baker," letter, Box 3, Folder 17B; Truman Nelson to Conrad Lynn, n.d., Box 3, Folder 17A; and William Craig, "Power," Box 3, Folder 17B (all Conrad Lynn Collection, Howard Gotlieb Archival Research Center, Boston University).

Fields of Progress: The Mechanization of Agriculture in *Days of Heaven*

Benjamin S. Child

Introduction

The films of Terrence Malick actively resist summation, and his second full-length picture, *Days of Heaven* (1978), is no exception. Where Pauline Kael dismissed it as “all visual bombast,” Dave Kehr, writing in the *Chicago Reader*, described it as “very possibly, a masterpiece”; Harold Schonberg complained that the plot is muddled by “all kinds of fancy, self-conscious cineaste techniques,” while one enthusiastic partisan recently insists that it is the “greatest film ever made.”[1] And though commentators have creatively read *Days of Heaven* as a biblical allegory, have examined its technical innovations, and have deconstructed its relationship to frontier ideologies, little attention has been paid to the film’s depictions of the rural terrain of the Texas Panhandle in 1916.[2] Or, to be more specific, there has been little notice of its examination of laboring bodies inhabiting the edges of the agricultural zones of the South and the Midwest during a transitional period marked by the arrival of mechanized labor. Although the film has commonly been understood as a product of the postmodern, it most forcefully leverages a series of tensions, conflicts, and aesthetic techniques from the early twentieth century in order to register the expansive, period-straddling reverberations of industrial modernization.

I argue below that this double interest in tactics of cultural production associated with both the early and the late twentieth century makes it possible to

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use *Days of Heaven* as a means of assessing the continuities and discontinuities, the repetitions and diffusions, that characterize relationships between expressive artifacts of both the 1910s and 1920s *and* the 1970s, thereby revealing the sustained relevance of the unsettling modernity of the film's rural setting. In an incisive essay exploring poetic responses to scientific literatures about U.S. rurality, Maria Farland describes the complex of roles the countryside plays in early-twentieth-century cultural discourse, calling for work that fills the "void in the literary study of rural problems."[3] This essay seeks to answer that call insofar as it demonstrates how *Days of Heaven*'s destabilizing combination of the visual and the verbal, its distinctive strategies of representing the rural, can provide a critical lens for examining the persistence of the agricultural and the pastoral as a default mode of representation and analysis in American studies. To that end I argue that with its (south)western geographies, its dramatic visual iconography, and its ominous account of agricultural progress, *Days of Heaven* emerges from the same genealogy as such foundational myth-and-symbol studies as R. W. B. Lewis's *The American Adam* (1955), Nash Smith's *Virgin Land* (1950), and Leo Marx's *The Machine in the Garden* (1964).[4] Yet the film offers a somber reconsideration of those earlier visions, narrativizing the mechanization of agriculture to emphasize the mutually destructive logic of exploitation and violence present in both its contemporary moment and its "historical" *mise-en-scène.*

One of *Days of Heaven*'s most notable qualities, then, is its attention to emergent technologies of communication, mobility, and (re)production. Consequently the film's intertwining motifs of the natural and the technological provide a useful perspective on Leigh Anne Duck's question about "how cultural forms considered anachronistic could coexist in often vital relationships with those recognized as central to modernization."[5] In the film's economy of objects, mechanical technologies exist alongside older tools and practices, all within landscapes that both resist and absorb their effects. A prosaic example, but one that keeps with the film's larger themes, comes from the stage direction in Malick's original screenplay, which describes one character reaping wheat "with a mowing machine called a binder" alongside another who gathers sheaves by hand.[6] It's clear throughout the narrative that arrivals of the modern occur unevenly, in shifts, without a vacuum to fill. How does a film of 1978 imagine 1916? As an interlocking, asymmetrical compound of what-will-be and what-was that critiques existing powers at the same time as it reveals the deadly consequences of resistance borne on the individual body. The old and the new, in other words, jointly form *Days of Heaven*'s visions of the pre-war American modern—and provide a stage to host its tragic drama. Woven into Malick's story of personal deception and destructive ambition, however, is a broader narrative about industrial modernization's effects on the rural landscape. My purpose here is to explore the junctures at which these two tales cross: to consider how *Days of Heaven*'s tropes of migration and labor, of race and region, assess the consequences of mechanized agriculture, a phenomenon with ecological and cultural legacies that came under increased scrutiny in the late-1970s moment of its release.

Screening Rural Modernization

In its broadest dimensions, the film's narrative feels at once straightforwardly conventional and oddly foreshortened. *Days of Heaven* imagines the fates of Bill and Abby, working-class lovers living in Chicago with Bill's younger sister, Linda. Following a violent encounter with his factory foreman, Bill leads the group south and they fall in with a procession of seasonal itinerant workers who migrate atop trains through the agricultural sectors of the Midwest and the South. After settling into a large-scale wheat outfit run by a man known simply as the Farmer, Bill and Abby pass as brother and sister in order to avert questions about their relationship and history. The Farmer takes romantic interest in Abby, and upon covertly learning of the man's terminal illness, Bill encourages a marriage, if only to inherit his holdings at the end of his term. Against the advice of his closest counselor, the Farmer does marry Abby, opening his home to the group and entering into a period of revitalized health. But the lie wears thin, and, in concert with a devastating plague of locusts, the Farmer sets off a chain of events that results in both his death and Bill's and that permanently severs the connection between Abby and Linda.

While the film is able to host a rough range of viewpoints, it ultimately declines to establish a final order, with one result being that atmosphere and image frequently eclipse plot and characterization in the film's matrix of meaning making. Under this light it's easier to catch the significance of Malick's attempts to recreate the cultural and physical landscapes of the early twentieth century and to revise what cultural geographer Doreen Massey identifies as a trope common to a "modernist territorial spatiality":[7] a rigid distinction between the phenomenological and cultural consequences of the country against the city.[8] In her call for more reflective accounts of space's cultural functions, for instance, Massey argues for greater recognition of the "mutual constitution" of the "natural" and the technological, thereby refuting approaches that forward "coherent regions in rooted indigeneity."[9] Although modernism/modernity are routinely imagined as manifestly urban phenomena, recent scholars have pushed back, theorizing iterations of modernism and modernity that account for conditions of the rural.[10] Still, this is a modest correction to two prominent strands of thinking: one envisions the country landscape as either alienated from modernity and, as a result, dangerously out of pace with contemporary life and ethics (as in popular images created by Sinclair Lewis or H. L. Mencken, for instance); the other positions the rural as a pristine space apart, one whose out-of-paceness shields against the corrupting influences, the overwhelming speed and scales, of cosmopolitanism and industrialism (as in much of T. S. Eliot's work, as well as the projects of the Nashville Agrarians). *Days of Heaven*, however, recognizes that both sides are so deeply enmeshed with one another that their ultimate separation is impossible.

The spatiality of Malick's images of the early twentieth century is elucidated by contrast with F. W. Murnau's *Sunrise: A Song of Two Humans* (1927), a film that developed the cinematic grammar of the same period that provides *Days of Heaven* its milieu, and one that likewise explores interactions of the rural and the urban. As if to nudge its narrative into the realm of allegory, *Sunrise*'s characters are not identified by name but through generic descriptions, their actions suggesting a representative account of the country and the city in conflict. Thus the ominous "Woman from the City" arrives in the country for vacation and seduces "the Man" with promises of bright lights and modern amenities, going so far as to convince him to drown his dutiful, provincial wife in the lake that acts as both their village's centerpiece and its boundary against the metropolis. The Man experiences a last-minute change of heart though. Instead of following through with his plan he escorts his wife to the city, their reconciliation achieved, curiously enough, through technologically mediated urban spaces such as the photography studio and the neon spectacle of the carnival. After a near-deadly trip across the stormy lake, the couple makes a speedy return to the safety of the provinces. Nice place to visit, it turns out, but you wouldn't want to live there. Although the Man is ultimately persuaded by the virtues of his rural environment to repudiate the urban-modern and to abandon his murderous plans (the lake never looked so lovely as the night he rowed his wife out to its center), the film promotes a hard distinction between urbanity and rusticity by imagining a nostalgic idyll in which an innocent hamlet brushes up against the destroying angels of progress and sophistication.

Malick's film trades upon similar contrasts between the rural and the urban, but the total effect is modulated: the arrival of city people does indeed precipitate the corruption of a country space, but there's an unmistakable sense that those wheat fields are already tainted by an unbalanced distribution of capital and labor, by the creative destruction of industrial development, its fluid vectors of exchange and its massive machines. So while *Sunrise* offers a warning against the effects of the urban on a culturally bounded rural space, *Days of Heaven* is more specifically concerned with the countryside's imbrication in sprawling networks of commodity capitalism and industrial technologies.

An even earlier antecedent to *Days of Heaven* is D. W. Griffith's 1909 short film *A Corner in Wheat*. Based on Frank Norris's novel *The Pit* (1903), the film describes the efforts of a commodities speculator who spends lavishly after monopolizing the wheat market, only to be killed in an accident at a wheat mill. Interspersed with this account, the film also exposes the consequences of the monopoly on a group of industrious wheat farmers, binding the two worlds but never allowing them to share a single frame. In a striking montage, the film flashes between the excess and chaos of the trading floor and the determined self-sufficiency—and loneliness—of a farmer planting his fields. These are two fundamentally different modes of labor, two fundamentally different lifestyles, and the spatial distance between the country and the city becomes a defining feature of these divisions. *Days of Heaven*, on the other hand, merges elements of the country and the city, undoing their fixed meanings. Specifically, the film relocates the wealth of the city and the wheat market—what Griffith's film presents as "gold of the wheat"—back within the country itself, in the Farmer's lavishly furnished home and in his reputation as the region's richest man. The Farmer here has little to do with the farmer of the earlier texts—a "farmer" in Malick's late-century imagination looks, above all else, like an agent of agribusiness.[11] While Griffith juxtaposes the two worlds, positioning them in a distant relationship of cause and effect, Malick forces them into the same space, where the effects and the causes are somehow both less clear and more immediate, always colliding, always jostling for primacy.

Contemporary criticism of *Days of Heaven*, however, has often upheld common spatial binaries. Ben McCann, for example, argues that the film underscores the "dichotomies between urban and rural": "Bill, Abby, and Linda flee the industrial blight of the city, all steel-grey color schemes and grimy bleakness . . . [for] an exploration of, and integration into, nature."[12] While it's true that the film derives plenty of energy from the tensions between the country and the city, the "natural" world the characters step into is neither a pastoral retreat nor is it unburdened of industrialization. In its way, in fact, the Panhandle farm of *Days of Heaven* is as thoroughly modernized as the Chicago cityscape the family flees. It is, for instance, tied to the same national and international trade and rail routes as Chicago, and subject to forces that generate landscapes of diffusion and mixture.[13] Not surprisingly, then, the countryside of *Days of Heaven* is an uncanny blend of the organic and the mechanical, of both horse-drawn threshing machines and steam-powered harvesters; technological devices litter the scene: airplanes, filmstrips, a mechanical calculator, and motorized vehicles of all varieties. The film likewise envisions a topography that, with its vast rows of uniform crops stretching uphill and down, owes its very shape and purpose to techno-industrial intervention. In fact, the farm itself is perhaps best described as a factory inconveniently subject to the vagaries of the open air: weather, fire, a plague of locusts scaled to the Book of Exodus. To underscore the centrality of the monocrop apparatus of the wheat farm and its ties to urban-industrial production, one early scene pictures Linda, working her way, piece by piece, through a pile of artificial flowers in a Chicago tenement building, sewing identical fabric petals to matching stems in an act that accents the Fordist methods, if not magnitudes, that will be essential to the mass cultivation of another kind of plant later in the narrative.

The farm's method of industrialized human labor is one of the surest signs of its investments in both industrial and political modernity. For if, as Giorgio Agamben declares, "the birth of the camp in our time appears as an event that decisively signals the political space of modernity," then the biopolitical turn toward the management of laborers on display in *Days of Heaven*'s camp scenes provides an optic that brings the film's larger investigations of early-twentieth-century rural-industrial modernization into focus.[14] Although Agamben is primarily interested in the concentration camps of Europe, his analysis gains additional traction in labor/relocation camps of the United States such as the one represented in Malick's film. Within a tightly circumscribed space anchored by a house that, according to the screenplay, "occupies the highest ridge around, commanding the view and esteem of all" ("Don't any of you go up around there," the Foreman warns), migrant workers are channeled across and through the landscape, subject to constant surveillance, fed and lodged, and generally protected as bare life throughout the harvest season.[15] Although they arrive at their own volition, when in the camp the workers are always subject to the authority of the Foreman, always made to feel the force of the Farmer's sovereignty. As Linda observes, "He had a big spread and a lot of money. Whoever was sitting in a chair when he'd come around, they'd stand up and give it to him." And yet it's the Foreman who acts as the sharpest instrument of the Farmer's power: with a single gesture, for example, he directs the crowd of workers after the priest's pre-harvest blessing; he is also the one who challenges Bill for his wasteful sacking practices ("You wanna stay? Shut up and get back to work!"). And so, although they are paid, the relative absence of self-determination among the migrant workers—as well as their location on the fringe of the agricultural South—ensures that they continually operate in the shadow of the plantation, an economic-production regime that, as commentators from Eric Williams to Sven Beckert have noted, played a direct role in the global rise of capitalist modernity.[16] A voiceover from Linda, running above a montage of sackers that includes images of Bill and Abby struggling with hand-toted loads of wheat, explains the arrangement: "From the time the sun went up, until it went down, they was working all the time. Non-stop. They just kept going. You didn't work, they'd ship you right outta there."

The farm, then, becomes an intermediary space tying the slave-holding plantation to the long series of horrific camps that appear and reappear throughout the twentieth century. To this end, it's worth considering Achille Mbembe's reading of the "plantation and its aftermath" as the "emblematic and paradoxical figure of the state of exception."[17] Although the film provides acute representations of bare life workers who are, in Mbembe's words, "kept alive but in a *state of injury*" by their enforced subordinate position, it is also centrally concerned with the problems that arise when those positions begin to lose distinction, when the state of exception fails so soundly that the sovereign slips out of place.[18] On a plantation that isn't quite a plantation, the film depicts a relationship between a near-slave and her master that unravels the delicate power structures maintaining order on the farm. And by drawing Bill, a hungry and savvy worker, up to the master's quarters in violation of exception's spatial boundaries, the Farmer precipitates his own personal destruction and the dissolution of his sovereignty.

Anthological Postmodernism

Much as *Days of Heaven* stages a series of conflicts revolving around the arrival of a mechanized landscape most readily associated with capitalist modernity, it remains a product of a late-1970s period most readily associated with the postmodern. Is this characterization primarily a matter of chronology or of aesthetic agency? In his assessment of Malick's oeuvre, Lloyd Michaels argues that the films all present a "resistance to the irony, fragmentation, and lack of conviction that characterizes postmodernism as well as much of modern cinema."[19] On one level *Days of Heaven* does seem to hold a lack of conviction at arm's length, but it's certainly not the case that either the film's narrative schema or its characters lack fragmentation. In fact, it's this very "postmodern" quality that has offended many of the film's critics, who complain of its underdeveloped narrative and its ponderous visual aesthetic. It's not that the film lacks for action; it's that the exposition offered occasionally feels insufficient, too full of gaps and, in a word, too fragmented to account for that action. Ultimately, Michaels may fail to recognize the nesting-doll approach Malick takes to the formal qualities associated with the film's relevant periods, its use of important technical features of postmodern cinema to reanimate and reevaluate the meanings of the modern moment it depicts.

More specifically, the film's fictional location in time is strongly signaled in its shorthand references to films, photographs, and paintings from the first half of the twentieth century. Cinematographer Nestor Alemendros, whose work is responsible for so much of *Days of Heaven*'s visual texture, explains the templates that Malick and his crew used as well as their reasons for shooting with natural light:

> Our model was the photography of early films (Griffith, Chaplin, etc.), which often used natural light. . . . In the daytime interiors we used light that came sideways through the windows as in a Vermeer. There were also references to Wyeth, Hopper, and other American artists. But as the credits indicate, we were particularly inspired by the great photoreporters of the turn of the century (like Hine), whose books Malick had a plentiful supply of.[20]

Not only does the film seek to recreate the physical details of the period, it also attempts to recreate the period's distinctive visual patina. The final product may be a case of form dictating content since accounts of the film's production hold that major features of the original script were jettisoned because of uncooperative light. In its anachronistic approach to lighting, then, the film deliberately replicates the outmoded practices of the same era that it seeks to represent.

With this technique in mind, I want to suggest that *Days of Heaven*'s commitments to historical verisimilitude come to embody a version of Joanna Mancini's concept of "anthological modernism," a description of projects aiming to preserve strands of folk culture threatened by the standardization of modernization—or, as Mancini has it, "the development of technologies for the containment of authenticity."[21] (Prominent examples here might include Harry Smith's *Anthology of American Folk Music* (1952), the fieldwork of John and Alan Lomax, and the conservationist ethos pervading *Fox Fire* magazine.) While Malick's film lacks some of the rigor for the "authentic" that characterizes efforts of other anthological modernists (*Days of Heaven* includes a number of subtle anachronisms, for instance), and although the film is not exclusively concerned with "folk" cultures, it is guided by a similar drive to document a cultural moment edging toward obsolescence—the point before industrial development lays claim to a major share of American agriculture and its landscapes. Hence Malick's intense efforts to evoke the period's material culture, from the mansion down to the farm tools, in an attention to detail that prompted critic David Denby to decry the film's "studied, post-modernist museum show texture."[22] Despite its best efforts, though, the distance of time and space ensures that *Days of Heaven* cannot fully recapture its subject, and there remains an unavoidable trace of the pastiche in its efforts. This is a version of the pastiche that is, in Richard Dyer's estimation, "always an imitation of an imitation."[23] It's worth taking Denby at his word, then, and positing that the absence of the "real thing" points toward both the film's modern concerns and its postmodern methods since, as I show below, viewers encounters with *Days of Heaven*'s subjects are frequently mediated—in ways both obvious and less-than-obvious—by texts.

A relevant, related technique here, and one laminated onto discussions of the postmodern by Frederic Jameson, is photorealism. In his celebrated examination of the photorealist painters, Jameson might also be explaining some of what is behind *Days of Heaven*'s careful recreations of an absent referent: photorealism, he writes, "looked like a return to representation and figuration, after the long hegemony of the aesthetic of abstraction, until it became clear that their objects were not to be found in the 'real world' either but were themselves photographs of that real world."[24] We should not mistake *Days of Heaven*'s careful evocations of turn-of-the-century material culture *and* aesthetic techniques as an attempt simply to recover a lost world since in its practice of constructing moving pictures out of stationary—and iconic—ones, the film participates in the same shift toward simulacra. It's in this move that the contrast with Mancini's "anthological modernism" becomes enormously suggestive: if we adapt her terminologies to accommodate the self-referential world of the postmodern, it's easy to see that late-century attempts to preserve and reproduce a vanished culture will always bear a touch of the simulacrum. I suggest that *Days of Heaven* qualifies as a form of "anthological postmodernism" because of its extra remove from the cultures it represents: where anthological modernism dealt directly with the people and practices it sought to catalog, the pastiche of Malick's anthological postmodernism uses media and aesthetic artifacts as the port of entry. These are mechanically reproducible artifacts such as films, photographs, and art books that work, in fulfillment of Walter Benjamin's famous prediction, to unfasten the art object from its aura, thereby creating radical aesthetic and political possibilities.[25] In Malick's case, the air of self-conscious intertextuality has the potential to upend longstanding associations and implications of rurality and rusticity in the twentieth-century imaginary.

Take, for instance, the specific reference to paintings such as Wyeth's *Christina's World* (1948) and Hopper's *House by the Railroad* (1925) in the shape and setting of the Farmer's mansion [Figure 1]. These references to visual art also ground the potential meanings of the film's spatial coordinates. In 1935, Grant Wood's widely read manifesto "Revolt Against the City" proposed a wide-scale movement away from the city toward the generative possibilities of "the great central areas of America."[26] It is to these reputedly provincial agricultural regions that American artists and intellectuals should look for inspiration—to the "newer America," that great-untapped vein of raw aesthetic materials.[27] *Days of Heaven* works the same stretch of ground to different effect. The prairies—so important to Wood and his cohort of American Scene painters but also essential to other arbiters of Anglo exploration and the frontier mythos, from Walt Whitman to William Cullen Bryant, Frederick Jackson Turner to Carl Sandburg and Hamlin Garlin (whose novel *Boy Life on the Prairies* (1899) provides the original screenplay's epigraph)—are scorched and left barren in *Days of Heaven*. There is, we can assume, an ecologically regenerative function to the flames, but none of that happens within the film's proscenium—this is a story of destruction, not reconstruction. Given that, *Days of Heaven*'s direct reference to iconic American paintings works to darken the basic optimism ascribed to the prairie and the agricultural, striking the American Scene by exposing the extent to which its messages of ecological renewal and self-creation are vulnerable to capitalist modernity's economic and social violence. Case in point: the film's close-up shots of the boiler that powers a harvester's steam engine point up a direct link between the fields and the blast furnace. These are different kinds of extractive industries—monocrop wheat alongside steel—but the form of agriculture on display in the film joins the manufacture of steel under the aegis of industrial power and eco-engineering, for, as Rachel Carson once explained, "Single-crop farming does not take advantage of the principles by which nature works; it is agriculture as an engineer might conceive it to be."[28] When this fire finally consumes the Farmer's property, then, the scene stands as an exploration of the energies of industrial expansion spilling out of their containers, disordering the landscape. And the film's narrative offers not an elegy but the reenactment—both symbolic and actual—of murder.

Days of Heaven thus forms both an evocation and revision of the period, its attitudes, and the historical forces at work therein, using common images/moving images to signal an awareness of its own mythic valences. The title of a 1977 article by critic Roger Copeland analyzing a cinematic technique common to the era, from Woody Allen's *Play It Again, Sam* (1972) to Peter Bogdanovich's *Nickelodeon* (1976) to George Lucas's *Star Wars* (1977), acts as an

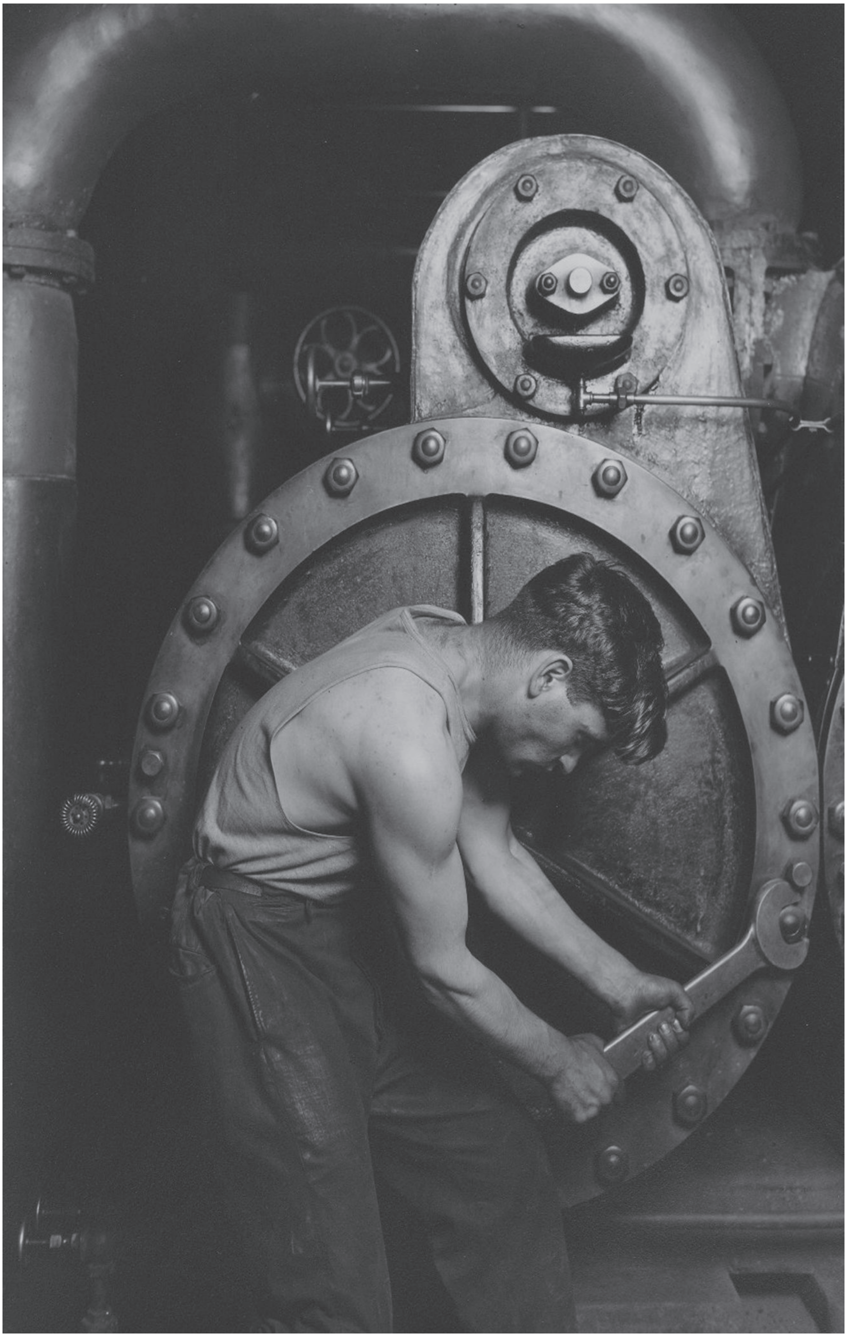


Figure 1: Power House Mechanic Working on a Steam Pump, Lewis Hine, 1920.

appropriate description of Malick's film, released the following year: "When Films 'Quote' Films, They Create a New Mythology."[29] *Days of Heaven*'s mingling of the historical, the fictional, and the mythic is apparent from the film's opening sequence: the credits appear over a series of turn-of-the-century photographs and a recording of a movement of Camille Saint-Saëns's "Carnival of the Animals," a combination of sound and sight that deliberately evokes a supernatural descent into the past as the eye of the camera glides along the photos, slowly, horizontally and vertically, zooming in and panning out, as they each dissolve and reemerge as new images. The result is a patchwork of disparate scenes, bound by nearly invisible seams, that create an atmosphere of otherworldliness-in-this-world, with no particular responsibility to sequential logic or chronology: Chansonetta Stanley Emmons's "Dorothy on the Rocks at Ugunquite, Maine, 1910" alongside H. H. Bennett's widely circulated 1886 picture of his son leaping across Stand Rock in the Wisconsin Dells; Lewis Hine's famous images of industrial workers, immigrants, and child laborers; a city-alley baseball game running up against a William Notman image of a late-nineteenth-century ice palace [Figure 2]. This is a realist fable, the sequence suggests, and these are the materials of which that long ago and far away consists. The final image in the series, a portrait of Linda by contemporary photographer Edie Baskin in the period style, is given voice when her narration breaks into the scene, such that the film allows the material remains of history—the photographs—to actually speak, kickstarting a narrative that will bring forth the material inequities responsible for so many of these iconic images [Figure 3]. It's clear from that early moment, then, that there's a whole image-bound genealogy being referenced, animated, and then unwritten throughout the film.

The film's soundscapes also encapsulates many of its thematic tensions. In its opening frames, prior to any dialogue, the first diegetic sound heard comes from two steady streams of water running off a factory downspout into a polluted ditch; the second major sonic incursion belongs to a roaring blast furnace. In both cases, the pictured human activities that accompany these sounds—gathering scrap metal, feeding coal into the furnace, even the quarrel that propels the film's plot—are scarcely audible. The same is true of the ways that human voices register in the film: they float as one frequently obscured part of a crowded atmosphere, and much of the narrative's indeterminacy derives from an inability to follow the voices. When the group first arrives at the Farmer's estate, a short reprieve of relative quiet greets them. As Bill, in a contemplative set piece, surveys the outer edges of the Farmer's property, viewers discern a range of subtle nonhuman sounds: the swishing of bison tails, the cry of a distant bird, a rustling wheat field; crickets, in a premonition of the finale, swell in and out of earshot. Yet once the harvest commences, the countryside sounds with as much industrial power as the city, as threshing machines drown out the sound of fleeing animals and, most aggressively of all, gas- and coal-powered tractors chug and stomp with preternatural authority.

Figure 2: Photograph of Linda by Edie Baskin, *Days of Heaven*, opening credits.

Nondiegetic sounds figure the film's larger themes as well. Italian composer Ennio Morricone, most widely recognized for his work in spaghetti westerns such as *A Fistful of Dollars* (1964), provides the film's orchestral score, with a darkly melodic theme presses the plot forward at portentous moments. The soundtrack's fingerpicked guitar stylings come from Leo Kottke, who made his reputation in the early 1970s with reimagined, refracted explorations of American vernacular traditions, a sensibility that aligns with Malick's own in *Days of Heaven*. The buoyancy of Kottke's "Enderling" undergirds two key moments, with different inflections in each instance: first, when the group rides the train away from Chicago, on their way to the wheat fields, carried by the possibility of leaving the past behind; the song makes an ironic return when the group flees—this time by boat—the scene of the Farmer's murder. "Carnival of the Animals" and its descending figures repeat as well in the film's final moments, as Linda lowers herself from her boarding school window. The last words belong to her, and they address neither her own family nor the recent conflict that has shaped her future; she's ruminating on the fate of her unnamed friend ("this girl"): "I was hoping things would work out for her. She was a good friend of mine." If Linda's narration often makes it difficult to locate any stable narrative center or trajectory, it nevertheless stands as the most sonically distinguished, and distinguishable, voice in a film wherein human voices consistently compete with external sounds. The question such dynamics raise underlines the film's larger philosophical queries: what is the place of the human, of human culture, amid natural and/or industrial forces that sheer toward the uncontrollable? Whatever answers *Days of Heaven* may or may not provide, it's clear that the human presence is, both literally and figuratively, muted.

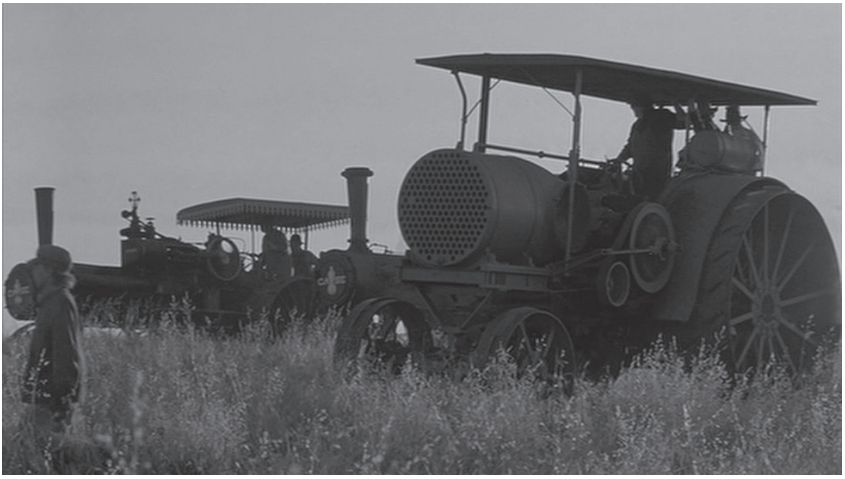


Figure 3: Harvest scene, *Days of Heaven*.

While the film is more straightforwardly oriented toward traditionally proportioned storytelling than Malick's most recent work, *Days of Heaven* never conforms to common expectations about exposition and cleanly delineated relationships of cause and effect.[30] In fact, its ability to hold discrete perspectives and experiences of time in suspension, without resolution, is as much a matter of theme as it is structure. According to Gilles Deleuze, the act of concurrently representing multiple temporalities produces a key innovation in the grammar of cinema, the "time-image"—a web of visual signs capable of at once encapsulating the past, the future, and the present. More broadly, *Days of Heaven*'s narrative architecture operates as a large-scale embodiment of the time-image since, as a reckoning of events that runs a basically linear-progressive formation up against the backward motion of Linda's flashback voiceover, the film stages a direct overlap of competing temporal registers. The technique is common enough—especially in midcentury noir films—yet there is a sharply avant-garde iteration of the time-image on display in the film that corresponds to Deleuze's vision of "modern cinema," one in which the role of the time-image shifts and the "sensory-motor schema . . . is shattered from the inside," resulting in a new condition in which "perceptions and actions ceased to be linked together, and spaces are now neither coordinated nor filled."[31] So if Linda occasionally seems distant from the dramatic pulse of the film's action, one explanation is that she is simply acting out her inevitable role as a signing subject in the tangled, overrun networks of meaning generated by the modern cinema's time-image. Deleuze describes this phenomenon in language that captures the existential position of *Days of Heaven*'s human figures, who drift and crash amid soaring, wide-angle scenery: "Some characters, caught in certain pure optical and sound situations, find themselves condemned to wander about.

… These are pure seers, who no longer have the consolation of the sublime."[32] Appropriately enough, the characters who aren't dead after the film's jarring finale cannot resist the urge to wander, to court oblivion by rambling—as Linda escapes through the window of her boarding school and Abby boards a train taking soldiers off to war. "Where you going?" Linda asks her friend as they stumble down the railroad tracks at dawn in the film's final scene: "For a walk. I don't know where but . . ." It's as complete an answer as the film provides.

While Linda's ability to narrate isn't entirely erased in the film's explorations of pure sound and image, it is continually disrupted and inconsistently present: her voice drops in and out of the film just as her body itself remains offstage during key scenes, such as the climatic confrontation between the Farmer and Bill. In other words, the film's frequent swerves away from the story—its readiness, in fact, to supplant plot development with image for image's sake—offer Linda fewer opportunities to perform as an agent in the film's fated sequence of events: at several stages, she feels less like an actor than—to borrow again from Deleuze—a "seer," less like a participant than a witness to a spectacle that weaves together human and nonhuman dramas.

South by Great West

As I've suggested above, *Days of Heaven*'s depictions of the force and volatility boiling beneath the surface of the farm's labor arrangements complicate popular images promoting the stasis—the "coherence," to borrow Massey's term—of the country districts. Yet according to James Gregory's analysis of Dust Bowl migration in the 1930s, the "Western South enjoyed a history and tradition of mobility, of geographic and occupational fluidity."[33] Although Gregory is primarily interested in the effects of migration on the creation of a distinct Okie culture in California, he's getting at a key tension—mobility versus stasis—that informs the sociological dynamics of the region. Of course, the one character that never leaves his place is the Farmer. From a post on the hillside, propped up by a swelling bankroll, he alone can afford the luxury of fixity. So while mobility is often rightly hailed as a signal of personal autonomy, it is just as frequently a sign of insecurity and uncertainty—an observation nicely captured by the film's emphasis on flowing bodies, carted back and forth by trains that the riders themselves cannot control.

Days of Heaven also subverts established notions of spatial coherence by locating a vibrant contact zone in the middle of a rural labor camp. With its mélange of immigrants and corners cluttered with imported goods, the areas in and around the Farmer's house are marked by flows of capital labor and consumer products moving from the metropolis and beyond, with the railroad acting as the main artery of exchange. In an indication of the always-already transnational profile of the U.S. labor infrastructure, the screenplay explains that the "harvesters speak a Babel of tongues, from German to Uzbek to Swedish. Only English is rare."[34] The seemingly remote camp comes to exemplify Mary Louise Pratt's contact zone, "a social space where cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other."[35] Indeed, on one level, it's possible to read the narrative's entire conflict as a discordant union between representatives of the urban working class and the residue of a patrician agricultural tradition. For instance, when the Farmer first suspects something amiss in the brother-sister relationship of Bill and Abby, he forcefully confronts his wife: "I don't know how brothers and sisters act where you come from . . ." The implication, of course, is that a distance—differences of region and class—will always obtain between the Farmer and his wife. Although thrust into the same space, the barrier that adheres to their distinct histories is never allowed to fade. For this reason, when the truth becomes apparent, the Farmer primarily directs his irrepressible rage at Abby, the one who betrayed his trust by dissembling herself into a narrative of uplift in which she was plainly out of place. "You're a liar!" he screams while tying her to a column on the front porch, arresting her troubling mobility by binding her to his place, at the entrance of the baronial mansion. To read the film as a meditation on labor and landscape is to understand that the Farmer cannot accept his own attraction to, and intimacy with, an uncontained laboring body. His final, explosive response, in other words, is catalyzed by the sudden realization that Abby's role as a laborer, as *his* laborer, cannot be erased as she moves from his field to his bed.

In marked contrast to his impoverished workers, who demonstrate a basic healthfulness through their efforts in the fields, the Farmer is both the film's wealthiest and its sickliest character. It is only through contact with Abby, the Farmer's primary conduit to the earth itself, that he is revitalized, since the same structures that distance owners from the means and modes of production simultaneously exploit the workers and enervate the owner. The most obvious image here is of the Farmer reclining under a shaded canopy in the middle of a field while an accountant computes his earnings and the workers harvest the crops. His position as the owner has isolated him from all forms of labor: there's the foreman to manage the fields, the accountant to tend to the numbers, and a whole flock of workers to handle the wheat. It may be true, as Lloyd Michaels suggests, that the film doesn't offer a simplistic picture of "the Farmer as an insensitive capitalist tyrant or the migrant workers as oppressed victims."[36] But even the romantic triangle that propels the film's action is one that hinges on the kinds of work these different bodies perform, and there's something about the arrangement of labor and capital on the farm that makes its ultimate implosion inevitable.

Accordingly, the film both reaffirms the value of labor and records acute anxiety about the values of industrialization. That combination leads Adrian Martin to consider the influence of Malick's time as a student of Heidegger: throughout *Days of Heaven*, according to Martin, there exists a persistent impression that "there is no pure Being, only the action of hands upon the world, fashioning (for better or worse) a living space, a temporary arrangement of people and materials."[37] Heidegger might also provide a key to understanding the film as a discourse on a decidedly antimodern strain of modern thought. In an essay explaining his decision to decline an academic post at the University of Berlin, Heidegger explains that his work, his philosophy, is "intimately rooted in and related to the lives of the peasants," a group that steadfastly resists the intrusions of "citified officiousness."[38] The philosopher stands at odds with the brand of modernity flowing out from the city, finding instead a more "authentic" mode of being in rural dwellers with an ostensibly closer relationship to the land itself.[39] Similarly, in *Days of Heaven*'s restaging—and eventual unwriting—of the Antaeus myth, it is through contact with the earth, in some Heideggerian manner of autochthony, that one is most fully nourished. Paradoxically, however, the land also becomes a source of dissolution. By tracing the contours of a personal, ecological, and cultural apocalypse, the film finally encourages viewers to recognize signs of resistance to the ways in which modernization-via-industrialization alienates agricultural laborers and transforms their practices. Although the "traditional" farmer of the recent past remains a vanished presence throughout the film, *Days of Heaven* aims to make the invisible visible by recasting situational violence as a form of structural violence, one that undergirds the systems of industrial-scale agriculture that filled the absent farmer's void.

While the film is technically set in the former Confederacy—at one of antebellum slavery's most far-flung outposts, just below the 36°30′ mark set by the Missouri Compromise—its preoccupation with vast horizons and one-on-one confrontation tends toward the filmic vocabulary of the Western. As I've intimated above, however, *Days of Heaven* just as frequently, although not uncomplicatedly, tropes the South. For instance, in allowing the voice of Linda—a working-class orphan from the slums of Chicago—to tell about the South, the film engages in a dynamic act of regional and historical crossing: she is an uninitiated guide to the southwestern landscape, and so the "southernness" of the southwestern edge of the Great Prairies is only subtly brought into view.[40] Consequently, in its intraregional scope the film seems to anticipate Massey's rejection of a "coherent region" in favor of spaces transected, and marked, by intercultural crossings. Yet "the South" remains an essential character in the film's dramatic structure since so much of the action takes place against a backdrop of labor practices and cultural codes with plainly southern inflections.

Further, *Days of Heaven* engages "the South" in its depictions of a curious alternate account of race and counter-migration. As African Americans fled the post-Reconstruction South of the Nadir and settled in upriver midwestern cities such as Chicago, many urban whites—often first-generation immigrants—pushed away from the urban centers and into the Midwest, the West, and out along the edges of the South, such as the Panhandle. In keeping with the general westering movements of U.S. history, southerners and their attendant culture landed in points west.[41] And so in the western region of the westernmost "southern" state, legacies of southern history and culture assert themselves in unanticipated ways. These appearances, however, are unmoored from any particular geographic coordinates. Often as not they register aurally, in the film's diegetic soundscapes: the priest, for instance, dedicates the harvest in an unmistakable southern accent; a Cajun-inflected Doug Kershaw song plays a key role in the post-harvest party, as does a country blues harmonica. The result is a portrait of a South of suggestion and remnant, of compressed and overlapping micro-regions—a multiple and migrant South. It is, in fact, a transregional South, triangulated against the midwestern prairies and Chicago, and forming something close to what Lewis Simpson provocatively labeled the "postsouth."[42]

And yet stubborn, historically specific signifiers of the "South" persist. As I've argued above, perhaps the most obvious shadow of the region and its history appears in the presence of an extensive body of workers who toil under the rule of a single white man up in the big house. This connection deepens when it becomes clear how frequently non-whiteness, "blackness" even, operates, to use Stuart Hall's formulation, as a floating signifier that occasionally hovers above the bodies of working-class Euro-American immigrants as well.[43] Eric Lott, in his celebrated discussion of minstrelsy, described a logic that "equated working-classness with blackness as often as it differentiated between them," an observation that adds significance to the moment of mutual identification that springs up between Linda and the African American dancer—each of whom performs the sort of step that gained currency in minstrelsy.[44] (The dancer acknowledges their class kinship, as well as the cultural kinship between the industrial centers of the Midwest and the diasporic South, when he encourages Abby by exclaiming, "Chicago! Well, go ahead!") With its attention to cross-racial recognition, the scene ultimately displays what Lott identifies as the "minstrel show's cognitive equation of [the] black and white working class."[45] The dance is being expropriated, signified upon, and shared across racial boundaries—and it is also one of the most directly communicative moments in a narrative centrally concerned with the limits and failures of human communication. The dancer's self-conscious evocation of the codes of Jim Crow is clear in the way that he slyly deploys them, and Linda's nimble adoption of the same codes solidifies the pair's kinship. Of course, it's telling that a young working-class girl is the one to initiate the communicative dance: with nominally less to lose than her adult counterparts (and under the cover of adolescence), Linda intuitively grasps and embraces the connection between herself and the black dancer.

It's possible, from this angle, to perceive the Foreman's relentless skepticism about Bill and Abby as the expression of a phenomenon that historian Joel Williamson identifies as the "continuous quest for invisible blackness, the steady distrust of the alien, and the ready belief in the existence of the enemy hidden within." The result, which Williamson claims in a deliberate echo of Richard Hofstader, is a "distinctly paranoid style."[46] Although the adviser's paranoia might ultimately be justified, it's clear throughout that he feels obligated to mind the gap between the Farmer and creeping working-classness, a loose equivalent to blackness.

The film's take on the practice and theory of the agrarianism in the early twentieth century also underscores its southern concerns, as its attention to the effects of industrialization on the culture of agriculture crosses over into the ground of the Nashville Agrarians—the coalition of artists and intellectuals active in the 1930s that imagined a deliberately agricultural and consequently "southern" response to the rise of urban industrialism. In a piece roughly coeval to *Days of Heaven*—the introduction to a 1977 edition that brought the Agrarian manifesto *I'll Take My Stand* (1930) back into print—prominent southernist Louis Rubin holds that the group would be aghast at a postmodern South wherein the "rural hinterlands have been bound into the complexities of an industrial society to a degree that had thoroughly blurred the once sharp distinction between countryside and city."[47] The reinforcement of the urban-rural binary in Rubin's introduction essentially takes the Agrarians at their word, but, as its close contemporary *Days of Heaven* argues, the city and the country were never so easily distinguished; although their dispersal was frequently uneven, the processes of modernization and development always bled out into the "hinterlands," resulting in an uneasy tangle of machine and nature.

Though it takes a more nuanced view of the relationship between the country and the city, Malick's film ultimately upholds several central Agrarian protests. For instance, the film's depictions of the plight of migrant workers is of a piece with the description of the "modern laborer" in John Crowe Ransom's "Statement of Principles": "His labor is hard, its tempo fierce, and his employment is insecure."[48] Likewise the film is steadfastly skeptical of the human and environmental consequences of large-scale, industrial-strength agriculture. For his part, Michaels optimistically holds that in its depiction of "the receding railroad tracks meld[ing] with the farmlands at dawn," the film presents a "synthesis" of the industrial and the agricultural.[49] While it's certainly true, as I've been arguing all along, that these two elements can never be separated in total, to call the troubled relationship between industry and agriculture that emerges after the film's final scenes a synthesis feels a bit too bland: their confluence is unordered, explosive, and, in the case of the Farmer and Bill, ultimately deadly.

At the conclusion of his landmark analysis of urban and rural forms in British literature and culture, Raymond Williams surveyed the tenacity of "the ideas and the images of country and city," highlighting a "need to trace, historically and critically, the various forms of the ideas" despite a wide-scale transformation of their fundamental relationships.[50] *Days of Heaven*'s general readiness to promote a kind of post-Agrarian agrarianism, what Janet Fiskio calls the "New Agrarianism," serves as both a mark of its late-twentieth-century provenance and an oblique comment on its engagement with discourses of region and regionalism.[51] In this regard, the film has a natural ally in the figure of Wendell Berry.[52] In 1977, just a year before the release of *Days of Heaven*, and the same year that Louis Rubin reintroduced *I'll Take My Stand*, the Sierra Club published Berry's most sustained agrarian manifesto, *The Unsettling of America*. While there's no evidence to support a causative relationship between the two texts, it's safe to say that the ideas developed in Berry's book had cultural currency in the late 1970s. (There is at least one direct link between the two: decades later, in 2016, Malick served as executive producer of Laura Dunn and Jef Sewall's documentary film *Look & See: A Portrait of Wendell Berry*.) *Days of Heaven* picks up these currents and channels them through a narrative that details a transformative period in the development of the practices and scales of American agriculture. The late 1970s represent another such transitional moment, nicely summarized by Secretary of Agriculture Earl Butz's famous admonition to farmers during his tenure in the Nixon Administration: "Get big or get out." For Berry, this pivot from small-scale, traditional farms to massive holdings cultivated by machines and underwritten by corporations is a lamentable turn in the state of farming, but it also evokes a broader human problem:

> Once, the governing human metaphor was pastoral or agricultural, and it clarified, and so preserved in human care, the natural cycles of birth, growth, death, and decay. But modern humanity's governing metaphor is that of the machine. . . . We began to see the whole Creation merely as raw material, to be transformed by machines into a manufactured Paradise.[53]

It's obvious, as his accountant confirms, that the Farmer is the "richest man in the Panhandle" because he has the most land, commands the greatest body of laborers, and has the most efficient machines. And the finished film's visual attention to large-scale agricultural machines is indicated in the detailed stage direction of the original screenplay, which specifies the types ("a mowing machine called a binder"), brands ("[a] Case tractor—forty tons of iron, steam-driven, and powerful as a locomotive"), and functions ("[s]ixty foot belts connect the tractor to the separating machines, huge rattletrap devices that shell the wheat out at deafening volume") of its machinated props.[54] It's also clear that the Farmer's attempts to "manufacture Paradise" extend into his personal life as well, in his decision to assume a kind of ownership of Abby and her history—and this is a tendency that the film rewards with a fiery cataclysm.

As with his forbearers in the 1930s, it's easy to dismiss Berry's agrarian thinking is often dismissed as overly romantic, but the varieties of agrarianism that have emerged in his wake deserve some attention.[55] Similarly, *Days of Heaven* registers a palpable unease about industry and technology in a way that reverberates through an array of contemporary underground and alternative food movements. These loosely affiliated groups and individuals are bound by an attempt to shift the balance from an economy of consumption to one of production and have drawn a wide swath of people, have found place in a catholic set of ideologies: urban farming, the "opportunivore" movement, freeganism, and localism being just a few examples.[56]

Yet this connection between the disappearance of a small-scale farming economy and modernity/modernism isn't a subject of A/agrarians alone. In the modes of agriculture presented in *Days of Heaven*, we see the onset of a process that, in Jameson's bleak—and much-cited—prediction, ultimately yields the postmodern landscape: "One way of telling the story of the transition from the modern to the postmodern lies then in showing how at length modernization triumphs and . . . nature is abolished along with the traditional countryside and traditional agriculture."[57] While the full complexity of the signifier "nature" isn't fully present in Jameson's statement, and although *Days of Heaven* can't finally answer questions about the abolishment of nature in the late twentieth century, it does dramatize a major turn in the development of modern agriculture and its effects on the nonhuman. With its penetrating look to the past, *Days of Heaven* seeks to map the origins of this transition.

It's also possible here to note that these spatio-economic connections parallel the film's troubles with periodicity. A reading of Malick's film exposes the consequences of rurality's persistent mobilization in U.S. arts—"The pastoral ideal," Leo Marx argued at the outset of *The Machine in the Garden*, "has been used to define the meaning of America ever since the age of discovery"[58]—just as it allows us to consider how conventional approaches to chronology, periodization, and categorization (e.g., modernism, postmodernism) might tend to obscure important continuities and forestall useful conclusions. If *Days of Heaven* is routinely referenced as a "postmodern" work, I hope to have shown the extent to which its material, aesthetic, and philosophical contexts demonstrate that the new of the postmodern is already inextricably embedded in the new of the modern. Such distinctions matter in a narrative committed to overturning common conceptions about the regenerative possibilities of the agricultural frontier-as-New World, what Henry Nash Smith famously called the "myth of the garden."[59]

The rural presence of creatively destructive modernization also offers a frame through which to understand the final, fatal encounter between the Farmer and Bill. Industrialism and its machines of standardized parts put tools such as screwdrivers in the hands of more and more people during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Appropriately enough, this common tool becomes the weapon that Bill uses, in a fit of self-defense, to impale the Farmer. Though less obvious—and considerably grimmer—this is a gesture as loaded against the dehumanizing effects of industrialization as is the journey of Chaplin's factory worker through the cogs and gears of the giant machine in *Modern Times*. But, in contrast to Chaplin's, it's not an action that occurs along the front line of any modernist response to industrialism.[60] Coming from a film released in the late 1970s, the act in *Days of Heaven* is a repetition, with the difference appearing as increased violence and an eye toward the vacuity of the familiar pastoral myths. Here arrives the impossibility in this film of ever escaping the grasp of what Marx identifies as "the protean conflict figured by the machine's increasing domination of the visible world," a dynamic illustrated in the harvest scenes, wherein machines crowd nearly everything else out of the frame [Figure 4].[61] The film's attention to ecological disturbance scales down to the individual human, of course, but also up to the eco-planetary, as the implements on display in the film—the "rakes and flails" mentioned in the screenplay, as well as the threshing machines and tractors—act as ominous metonyms of the plow that broke the plains in the 1930s.[62] It's a standard narrative now, but when farmers of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries stripped out the prairie grasses that held the region's topsoil to construct the large-scale, monocrop wheat fields on display in *Days of Heaven*, they set the stage for the environmental and economic catastrophe of the North American Dust Bowl.[63]

Though it clearly evokes myths of the pastoral, the film is ultimately committed to evacuating them, particularly as they relate to the redemptive potential of romance, violence, domesticity, and the frontier. With the male protagonists killed in the fury, the film cuts loose Linda and Abby, scattering them across a nameless, placeless locale. Even this move of separation, however, carries a revisionary stress mark: unlike Huck Finn or Ishmael or Natty Bumpo or any of the other usual suspects in masculinst American wandering, it is ultimately the women who light out, once again, for the territory. There are, however, no illusions about the simple matter of space and freedom to traverse it: Abby is last seen in the company of a group of soldiers heading off to war at the back of a caboose; Linda's final scene shows her following the line of the railroad tracks. Each is more or less contained, enclosed, and guided by the rails. In the end, perhaps the best way to understand the romantic turbulence that spins apart the overlapping worlds of the Farmer and Bill-Linda-Abby is as the cover of a churning, unnavigable conflict between labor and capital, between the dusk of yeomanry and the dawn of mechanization. Likewise, as the film brings issues of race and/or cultural difference to bear on a "pastoral ideal" that has often lacked such awareness—in both the myth-and-symbol school of the mid-20th century and in the historiographical turn of the late twentieth century—it also invites a meditation on similar lacunae frequently perceived in contemporary alternative food movements, what one recent commentator has called their "unbearable whiteness."[64] The pastoral still calls—but the garden's bounties have been, and continue to be, inconsistently distributed.

In 1991, nearly a decade and a half after the premiere of Malick's film, William Cronon earned acclaim for shedding new light on the mutually constitutive links between the natural resources of the Great West—wheat, lumber, and meat—and the rise of the great interior metropolis Chicago, "eras[ing] the false boundary" presumed to obtain between the country and the city.[65] Cronon's analysis invites us, again, to think about scalar relationships: folding individuated landowners and laborers into macro-orders of regional, national, and continental core and periphery. For its part, *Days of Heaven*'s portrayal of a trade route in reverse—one that utilizes the rails to bring laborers in and haul crops out—anticipates Cronon's account, imagining how, through contingencies of mobility, ecology, and technology, the same body that fells a factory foreman in Chicago precipitates the destruction of an agricultural dynasty in northern Texas.[66] And in a 21st century moment that considers the possibilities of rising agropolitical action, Malick's meditation on a farm gone wrong creates a startling series of images—highly stylized, arrestingly resonant, unexpectedly prescient.

Notes

The author wishes to express appreciation to Deborah Barker, Leigh Anne Duck, and Linck Johnson for feedback on early drafts of this essay.

1. Pauline Kael, *5001 Nights at the Movies* (New York: Holt, 1991), 447; Dave Kehr, "Review: *Days of Heaven*," *Chicago Reader*, 1978, https://www.chicagoreader.com/chicago/days-of-heaven/Film?oid=1056586, accessed March 6, 2018; Harold Schonberg, "Review: *Days of Heaven*," *New York Times*, September 14, 1978; The "greatest film ever made" is from Nick Schanger, "Film Review: *Days of Heaven*," *Slant Magazine*, October 22, 2007, accessed March 6, 2018, https://www.slantmagazine.com/film/review/days-of-heaven.

2. Two articles in this vein are Charlotte Croft, "'From the Hegemony of the Eye' to the 'Hierarchy of Perception': The Reconfiguration of Sound and Image in Terrence Malick's *Days of Heaven*," *Journal of Media Practice* 2, no. 1 (2002): 19–29; and Hubert Cohen, "The Genesis of *Days of Heaven*," *Cinema Journal* 22, no. 4 (2002): 46–62.

3. Maria Farland, "Modernist Versions of Pastoral: Poetic Inspiration, Scientific Expertise, and the 'Degenerate' Farmer," *American Literary History* 19, no. 4 (2007): 930.

4. Two recent studies that explore the myth of the garden with an enlarged scope and updated set of concerns are George Handley, *New World Poetics: Nature and the Adamic Imagination of Whitman, Neruda, and Walcott* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2007) and Zachary Hutchins, *Inventing Eden: Primitivism, Millennialism, and the Making of New England* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014).

5. Leigh Anne Duck, *The Nation's Region: Southern Modernism, Segregation, and US Nationalism* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2006), 7.

6. Terrence Malick, *Days of Heaven*, unpublished film script, 13, accessed March 6, 2018, http://www.pages.drexel.edu/~ina22/splaylib/Screenplay-Days_of_Heaven.pdf. This version of the script bears the revision date June 2, 1976.

7. Doreen Massey, *for space* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2005), 97.

8. Two foundational explorations of the modern and the urban include Walter Benjamin's work on Baudelaire and Paris ("On Some Motifs in Baudelaire," *Illuminations*, trans. Harry Zohn (New York: Schocken Books, 1969), 155–200; "Paris the Capital of the Nineteenth Century," *Illuminations*, trans. Edmund Jephcott (New York: Schocken Books, 1978), 146–62) and Georg Simmel's "The Metropolis and Mental Life," in *Blackwell City Reader*, ed. Gary Bridge and Sophie Watson (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2002), 12–19.

9. Massey, *for space*, 97.

10. See, for instance, Janet Casey, *A New Heartland: Women, Modernity, and the Agrarian Ideal* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009); Benjamin Child, *Uneven Ground: Figurations of the Rural Modern in the US South* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, forthcoming); Farland, "Modernist Versions of Pastoral"; Jolene Hubbs, "William Faulkner's Rural Modernism," *Mississippi Quarterly* 61, no. 3 (2008): 461–75.

11. According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, "agribusiness" first appeared in print in a 1955 edition of *Harvard Business School Bulletin* (autumn 41) and entered the American lexicon in the decades that followed.

12. Ben McCann, "'Enjoying the Scenery': Landscape and the Fetishisation of Nature in *Badlands* and *Days of Heaven*," *The Cinema of Terrence Malick: Poetic Visions of America*, ed. Hannah Patterson (New York: Wallflower Press, 2003), 77.

13. As Tony Judt has declared, "More than any other technical design or social institution, the railway stands for modernity." Judt, "The Glory of the Rails," *New York Review of Books*, December 23, 2010, 60. The railroad also plays a vital role in William Cronon's landmark account of the agricultural hinterland's vital connections to the rise of modern Chicago. See his *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1991), 55–96.

14. Giorgio Agamben, *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life* (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 1998), 174.

15. Malick, *Days of Heaven*, 10.

16. See Sven Beckert, *Empire of Cotton: A Global History* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2014), and Eric Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994). See also Edward Baptist, *The Half Has Never Been Told: Slavery and the Making of American Capitalism* (New York: Basic Books, 2014). Although their unit of labor is best measured in days rather than weeks, it's worth noting that their wage (three dollar a day) seems a fairly generous

wage for 1916. Pete Daniel quotes a Federal Emergency Relief Administration report that estimated the average yearly wage of a New Deal–era tenant farmer in Meriwether County, Georgia, at $75 a year. Pete Daniel, *Breaking the Land: The Transformation of Cotton, Tobacco, and Rice Cultures since 1880* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 82. Even worse is the condition of countless sharecroppers from the same place and time who ended each harvest season in debt.

17. Achille Mbembe, "Necropolitics," trans. Libby Meintjes, *Public Culture* 15, no. 1 (2003): 21.

18. Ibid., 21.

19. Ibid., 4.

20. Nestor Almendros, *A Man with a Camera*, trans. Rachel Phillips Belash (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 1984), 169.

21. Joanna Mancini, *American Literary History* 16, no. 2 (summer 2004): 223. Mancini's essay "'Messin' with the Furniture Man': Early Country Music, Regional Culture, and the Search for an Anthological Modernism" offers a probing description of old-time country music of the 1920s and 1930s and its participation in cultures of modernization and modernism.

22. David Denby, "Down in the Dumps in Texas," *New York*, November 19, 1984, 53.

23. Richard Dyer, *Pastiche* (New York: Routledge, 2007), 2.

24. Frederic Jameson, *Postmodernism, or, the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* (Durham, Duke University Press, 1992), 30.

25. See Walter Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," in *Illuminations: Essays and Reflections*, trans. Harry Zohn (New York: Schocken Books, 1968), 217–52.

26. Grant Wood, "Revolt Against the City," reprinted in Joseph S. Czestochowski, *John Steuart Curry and Grant Wood: A Portrait of Rural America* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1981), 131.

27. Ibid., 130.

28. Rachel Carson, *Silent Spring* (New York: Mariner Books, 2002), 10.

29. Roger Copeland, "When Films 'Quote' Films, They Create a New Mythology," *New York Times*, September 25, 1977.

30. Most of Malick's work in the twenty-first century—*Tree of Life* (2011), *To the Wonder* (2013), *Knight of Cups* (2015), and *Song to Song* (2017)—whittles narrative down to its most essential elements, frequently offering just a sketch of a plot alongside rangy explorations of philosophical abstractions via sound and image.

31. Gilles Deleuze, *Cinema 2: The Time-Image*, trans. Hugh Tomlinson and Robert Galeta (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1989), 40–41.

32. Ibid., 41

33. James Gregory, *American Exodus: The Dust Bowl Migration and Okie Culture in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 29.

34. Malick, *Days of Heaven*, 8.

35. Mary Louise Pratt, "Arts of the Contact Zone" *Profession 91* (New York: MLA, 1991), 34.

36. Lloyd Michaels, *Terrence Malick* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2009), 41.

37. Adrian Martin, "On Earth as It Is in Heaven," *Days of Heaven*, DVD booklet (New York: Criterion, 2009), 11.

38. Martin Heidegger, "Why Do I Stay in the Provinces?," in *Heidegger: The Man and the Thinker*, ed. Thomas Sheehan (Chicago: Precedent Publishing, 1981), 28–29.

39. Of course, the dangers of such thinking are plain to contemporary commentators, who often argue that this same interest in a "grounded" civilization led to Heidegger's early support for German National Socialism. For a perceptive reading of the Heidegger problem, see Dominick LaCapra's *History and Its Limits: Human, Animal, Violence* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009), 90–148.

40. Fred Hobson's famous examination of the "southern rage to explain" stipulates that the telling be done by southerners, a tactic *Days of Heaven* sidesteps. See Hobson, *Tell about the South: The Southern Rage to Explain* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1998).

41. James Gregory's *Southern Diaspora: How the Great Migrations of Black and White Southerners Transformed America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005) offers a rich overview of the variegated trajectories that led southerners out of the region.

42. For the earliest presentation of the "postsouthern," see Simpson's "The Closure of History in a Postsouthern America," in *The Brazen Face of History: Studies in the Literary Consciousness of America* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1980), 255–76. Further elaboration is offered by Michael Kreyling, *Inventing Southern Literature* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1998); Scott Romine, "Where Is Southern Literature? The Practice of Place in a Postsouthern Age," in *South to a New Place: Region, Literature, Culture,* ed. Suzanne W. Jones and Sharon Monteith (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2002), 23–43; Martyn Bone, *The Postsouthern Sense of Place in Contemporary Literature* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2005).

43. Stuart Hall, *Race: The Floating Signifier*, dir. Sut Jhally (Media Foundation, 1996).

44. Eric Lott, *Love and Theft: Blackface Minstrelsy and the American Working Class* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 71.

45. Ibid., 70.

46. Joel Williamson, *A Rage for Order: Black-White Relations in the American South since Emancipation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 238.

47. Louis Rubin, "Introduction," in Twelve Southerners, *I'll Take My Stand: The South and the Agrarian Tradition* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1977), xiii.

48. John Crowe Ransom, "Statement of Principles," in *I'll Take My Stand*, lx.

49. Michaels, *Terence Malick*, 55.

50. Raymond Williams, *The Country and the City* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), 289–90.

51. Janet Fiskio, "Unsettling Ecocriticism: Rethinking Agrarianism, Place, and Citizenship," *American Literature* 84, no. 2 (2012): 302.

52. Zackary Vernon has recently discussed Wendell Berry's relationship to the troubled legacies of Nashville Agrarians in "The Problematic History and Recent Cultural Reappropriation of Southern Agrarianism," *ISLE* 21, no. 2 (spring 2014): 337–52.

53. Wendell Berry, *The Unsettling of America: Culture and Agriculture* (San Francisco: Sierra Club Books, 1977), 56.

54. Malick, *Days of Heaven*, 13, 23.

55. Berry's influence on the current crop of food activists is unmistakable. Michael Pollan, in particular, has been loudly appreciative. See Pollan, "Wendell Berry's Wisdom," *The Nation*, September 2, 2009, 29–31.

56. Burkhard Bilger's profile of the radical agrarian Sandor Katz, himself a denizen of a gay farming commune in the wilds of Tennessee, identifies the diversity of his followers: "Some identify themselves as punks, others as hippies, others as evangelical Christians; some live rustically as homesteaders—the 'techno peasantry,' they call themselves; others are thoroughly plugged in." Bilger, "Nature's Spoils." *New Yorker*, November 22, 2010, 104.

57. Jameson, *Postmodernism*, 311.

58. Leo Marx, *The Machine in the Garden: Technology and the Pastoral Ideal in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), 3.

59. "The myth of the garden" acts as a guiding trope in the final section of Nash Smith's *Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and Myth* (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1950), 123–262.

60. Chaplin, like Griffith, is an abiding presence throughout the film. His 1917 feature *The Immigrant* is screened during an important sequence that highlights Abby's willing embrace of the luxuries of the Farmer's home. Likewise, in the original screenplay Bill is described as a figure "like Chaplin" (5).

61. Marx, *Machine in the Garden*, 364.

62. Malick, *Days of Heaven*, 17.

63. The allusion here is to Pare Lorentz's documentary *The Plow That Broke the Plains* (1936), one of the earliest and most influential examinations of the human contribution to the Dust Bowl disaster. See also Donald Worster's classic study *Dust Bowl: The Southern Plains of the 1930* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), 65–98. There's another layer of geographic specificity to the film's depictions of farming machines. According to Pete Daniel's incisive work on the mechanization of American agriculture, farmers in the Texas Panhandle were among the first to transition away from hand labor. "Oklahoma, Texas, and the Mississippi Delta mechanized first," Daniel explains, citing the region's relatively flat topography and its lack of a stable labor force as important causes. See Daniel, *Breaking the Land*, 241.

64. See, for instance, Julie Guthman, "'If They Only Knew': The Unbearable Whiteness of Alternative Food," in *Cultivating Food Justice: Race, Class, and Sustainability*, ed. Alison Hope Alkon and Julian Agyemon (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2011), 263–82. In 1931, a full generation before the appearance of any of the classic myth-and-symbol studies mentioned in the introduction, Constance Rourke's *American Humor: A Study of the National Character* (New York: New York Review of Books Classics, 2004) proposed a triune formation of national mythic figures: the Yankee, the backwoodsman, and the minstrel. The crude navigation of racial difference was, of course, the whole occasion for the kinds of minstrelsy Rourke investigated. See Rourke, *American Humor*, 70–90.

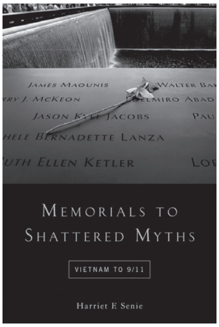
65. William Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1991), 19.

66. In order to highlight the centrality of industrialized labor, Malick adjusts particular details of the original screenplay: where the script put Bill on the run after a broken burglary, for instance, the impetus in the finished film is the fight with the foreman.

Review Essay

Material Memory: The Politics of Nostalgia on the Eve of *MAGA*

Bryan D. Price


MEMORIALS TO SHATTERED MYTHS
VIETNAM TO 9/11
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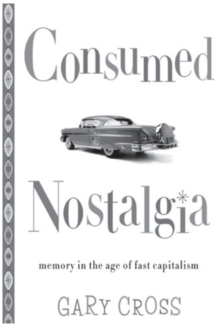
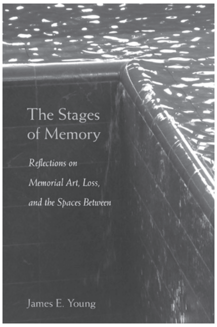

Consumed Nostalgia
memory in the age of fast capitalism
GARY CROSS


The Stages of Memory
Reflections on Memorial Art, Loss, and the Spaces Between
James E. Young

Make Tea, Not War
Save Our NHS
Down with This Sort of Thing
Keep Calm & Carry On
Stop Worrying & Enjoy Your Life
Work Hard & Be Nice to People
Make Do & Mend
Read Some Fucking Orwell
Live Within Our Means
Support Our Boys
Make Britain Great Again
Take Back Control
Send Them Back
The Ministry of Nostalgia
Owen Hatherley

Charlottesville

On the evening of August 11, 2017, images began coming over the internet and cable news transoms of mainly young and serious-faced white men carrying torches and chanting "you will not replace us"—a phrase with a European provenance geared toward Muslims—along with the anti-Semitic derivation, "Jews will not replace us," and the Nazi-tinged incantation of "blood and soil." They were marching in a column toward the Rotunda on the University of Virginia's campus in Charlottesville, which houses a statue of the school's founder, Thomas Jefferson. This torchlight march bearing the ritualism of a midnight ride by the Ku Klux Klan or even a Nazi rally—many of the participants displayed Nazi paraphernalia—was a precursor to a rightwing demonstration the following day to protest the

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impending removal of a memorial to the Confederate General, Robert E. Lee. That day's rally erupted in violence culminating in the death of a young woman.

As the chaos unfolded, the former Klansman and past member of the Louisiana House of Representatives, David Duke, told a news reporter that the rally would "fulfill the promises of Donald Trump." This vague comment seemed to draw even closer together the ideologies of the President and his most fervent white nationalist supporters, who had gathered that day in an unashamed display of a self-conscious white supremacy the likes of which seemed hidden away in our nation's id. When the President failed to condemn the far right participants who precipitated much of the violence—or differentiate between the far right protesters and the liberal counter-protesters—it seemed to confirm the fears of many that President Trump's ideological predilections were intimately bound up with a particularly virulent strain of nativism, if not outright white supremacy.

MAGA

Much of what many have found so alarming about the recent turn of events has to do with the ways in which this confluence of whiteness and what it means to be American is inflected by the contested nature of collective memory. The instigation, for instance, of the Charlottesville debacle had to do with the civic worthiness of a Robert E. Lee statue, an object in which many see a distillation of Southern courage and heritage, and yet others see a monument that commemorates a time of mythical white unity, erected, like many Confederate monuments, as a symbol of the power, awe, and terror of white supremacy. The President, since Charlottesville, has made the protection and celebration of Confederate monuments a dominant feature of his culture war posture known, if only euphemistically, as *Trumpism*.

Trumpism is by no means a precise ideology—at least not yet—but in a very broad way it is characterized by an indifference to suffering, fear-mongering about perceived outsiders, the exacerbation of existing cultural fissures in order to undermine any kind of consensus, the aestheticization of violence, and, most important for the purposes of this essay, a revanchist need to reclaim the hegemony of a largely patriarchal whiteness lost to liberalism's meddling desire to topple it. This longing is characterized by the deeply nostalgic slogan *Make America Great Again*, shortened to the quickly mutating neologism *MAGA*, a phrase that, if one is troubled by this recent reckoning with American Fascism, chills the blood.

In this climate of *MAGA*, it is difficult not to see battle lines drawn across the arc of time in which we ask ourselves what constitutes not only *America* and *greatness*, but at what temporal point did it all turn so wrong? Even if we believe that history is cyclical and dynamic, as I do, it is hard to argue that this particular moment is not characterized by some kind of intense and rare malaise. Given this feeling of melancholy across the ideological spectrum, it is natural to seek out critical shifts or even ruptures where time breaks and we are prompted to gaze back over the abyss. As our horizons of expectation concerning future happiness have become constrained, a reaction, for many, has been to abandon conventional politics—a circumstance unaided by the growing power of plutocratic mega-donors, making it seem as if the American experiment in democratic liberalism is itself slipping away into the past—and fixate on a very narrow and tribalist politics of culture and identity typified by appeals to some prelapsarian unity that many seek to restore. This desire takes its most noxious form among those so-called "white nationalists" who advocate for a derogation of utopia in the shape of a white "ethno-state."

•••

Much has been made of *Trumpism* and the longing of its most nostalgic adherents. Since the rise, and particularly the triumph of Trump, it has become *de rigueur* to write think pieces, columns, and other stories probing the deep connections between *Trumpism* and nostalgia with titles like, "Trump's Rhetoric of White Nostalgia (*The Atlantic*)," "Why White, Evangelical Nostalgia Voters Choose Trump (*The Atlantic*)," and "Nostalgia: The Yearning That Will Continue To Carry the Trump Message Forward (*The Guardian*)." Recently in the *New Yorker*, the Russian and American journalist, Masha Gessen, who is very familiar with the current global confluence of nostalgia and authoritarianism put it, perhaps a bit gently, noting how, "In the nostalgic campaign that got him elected, Trump promised to take his voters back to an imaginary past in which they felt better, more secure, and generally more great than they do in the present." This is at once obvious for nearly any conservative politician, and yet extremely distressing given the violence lurking behind his supporters' calls for restoration.

While liberal historians, as well as polemicists, have long condemned nostalgia's fugue state for the more egregious cases of conservative reaction and historical amnesia that have, at intermittent moments, gripped the United States and Europe, under the spell of *Trumpism*, nostalgia has emerged as something more sinister, actuating dark fantasies of racial realignment and the coming of an authoritarian regime tinged with threats of violence. In the midst of our current malaise, in other words, the mere mention of nostalgia is often conflated with the rise of *Trumpism*.

I was struck by this fact when going over a recent spate of books having to do with how we consume, mourn, and are confounded by the slipperiness of our collective past. These works, Harriet F. Senie's *Memorials to Shattered Myths: Vietnam to 9/11* (2016), James E. Young's *The Stages of Memory: Reflections on Memorial Art, Loss, and the Spaces Between* (2016), Gary Cross's *Consumed Nostalgia*: *Memory in the Age of Fast Capitalism* (2015), and Owen Hatherley's *The Ministry of Nostalgia* (2016) offer an almost disorienting look at the politics of nostalgia on the eve of Trump's rise, before his ubiquitous red hat had been burned into our collective imaginations. The authors are all critical, to one degree or another, of nostalgia, but their critiques do not anticipate the force and fury with which this restorative nostalgia has devoured our political culture and discourse. Two of these works, for instance, which are explicitly devoted to monuments, do not allude in any substantive way to our current infatuation with Confederate monuments. To be clear, this is not a failing at all of the authors, but rather an illuminating fact about the intensity and speed with which we have come to this moment. And while each of these works do not foresee the coming specter of *Trumpism* with its recrudescence of a Confederate-era white supremacy, as one digs deeper down, the trajectory towards this reckoning reveals itself.

Material memory

In each of the works under review here, there is a rather vivid material component to memory and nostalgia. Whether these works deal with monuments (material reminders meant to collectively remember, largely traumatic events), or the quotidian things that people collect in order to remember various pasts lost in the maelstrom of modernity, or even the ubiquitous tchotchkes inscribed with the banal statement, *Keep Calm And Carry On*, as a means of misremembering some form of British midcentury austerity, underlying the consumption of these objects is the fundamental desire to mobilize the past in order to reconstitute some vague sense of the familiar as the present becomes both estranging and fractured.

This emphasis on materiality and fracture makes nostalgia into a potent force that blurs the boundaries between politics and aesthetics. In this way, nostalgia is often affiliated with the world of the senses. Discovered by a Swiss doctor in the seventeenth century, nostalgia was at first a literal disease (akin to homesickness) that afflicted soldiers and servants made to serve far from their Swiss homes. The concept migrated, first geographically and then metaphorically, but it has always maintained a deeply sensual component. These early sufferers of nostalgia, as Jean Starobinski has shown us, were actuated by sound: the rush of a river or the familiar noise of a cracked bell reminiscent of abandoned native villages. It has become almost a cliché to dwell, like Proust, on the turbid flood brought about by a tea-soaked madeleine. Just as nostalgia has metastasized and crossed disciplinary boundaries, it has colonized various discourses concerning materiality from the vast—architecture, landscapes, ruins, monuments—to the scaled down and quotidian—memorabilia, keepsakes, collectibles, photographs.

In the hands of twentieth-century philosophers concerned with revisions brought about by modernity, a potent metaphor emerged that blended nostalgia and materiality having to do with the trajectory between unity and fragmentation. There is a passage, for instance, from the Isaiah Berlin essay, “The Decline of Utopian Ideas in the West,” which conveys this material imaginary concerning nostalgia in its broadest sense. “Our lives,” wrote Berlin, “are conceived as an agonized effort to piece together the broken fragments of the perfect whole with which the universe began, and to which it may yet return.” This “persistent idea,” Berlin continued, “underlies all the old Utopias and has deeply influenced western metaphysical, moral, and political ideas.” Or consider, Albert Camus’s *Myth of*

Sisyphus (1942), which addresses a world that has been revealed as inscrutable and wrecked, producing a "nostalgia for unity" and an "appetite for the absolute." Camus continued, "So long as the mind keeps silent in the motionless world of its hopes, everything is reflected and arranged in the unity of its nostalgia. But with its first move this world cracks and tumbles: an infinite number of shimmering fragments is offered to the understanding."

This modernist handling of nostalgia begins in the acknowledgement that absolutes have been wrecked and destroyed: reduced to "partial objects" and other shattered bits. This idea of time materialized and then smashed into multitudes however, is at its most potent (and famous) in Walter Benjamin's allegory of the Angel of History that characterized the unfoldment of time-as-history in terms of the ruins and debris of progress unfolding as a catastrophic rupture that produces the desire to "make whole what has been smashed." "This is how the angel of history must look," wrote Benjamin in his last manuscript before taking his life in 1940 while he himself was running from his Nazi pursuers,

> His face is turned toward the past. Where a chain of events appears before *us*, *he* sees one single catastrophe, which keeps piling wreckage upon wreckage and hurls it at his feet. The angel would like to stay, awaken the dead, and make whole what has been smashed. But a storm is blowing from Paradise and has got caught in his wings; it is so strong that the angel can no longer close them. This storm drives him irresistibly into the future, to which his back is turned, while the pile of debris before him grows toward the sky. What we call progress is this storm.

Instead of nostalgia being, as many of its detractors would have us believe, the past frozen into a deathly form of perfect ideological compliance, in Benjamin's estimation it was an ambivalent gaze that fell upon the past as a dispersion of fragments that could never attain their original unity. In this way the past may, instead of exuding some vampiric quality, live alongside us and be made useful in its hybridity and heterogeneity.

Monumental Nostalgia

As metaphorical or even literary as these conceptions of time and memory are, they are given real material resonance in the various avenues nostalgia offers to reconvene the past, however imagined that past may be. As James Young writes in his introduction to *The Stages of Memory*, "Part of our contemporary culture's hunger for the monumental . . . is its nostalgia for the universal values and ethos by which it once knew itself as a unified culture." This idea of "monumental nostalgia," where contested visions of experience and remembrance collide has become, as referenced above, a particularly intense flashpoint in this recent installment of our ongoing culture war pitting history against myth, and as these allusions to fragments and wholes would suggest, a perceived universality concerning American values against the multitudinous nature of our contemporary culture oriented toward a variety of particularisms.

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A discussion of monuments, particularly in the hands of Senie and Young, inevitably becomes a discussion of death, primarily political death, bordering on martyrdom. The event—though the word is far too benign—that hangs over any such discussion is, of course, the Holocaust. This is particularly the case for Young, the director of the institute for Holocaust, Genocide, and Memory Studies at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst, as well as a widely published author on public art, collective memory, and memorials, who covers a wider global frame than Senie, an Art History and Museum Studies Professor at City College, City University of New York, who offers analysis confined to the United States. The connective tissue between each of these works, however, are extended discussions of the 9/11 memorial (*Reflecting Absence*) and a shared awe at the gentle woundedness of Maya Lin's Vietnam Veterans Memorial, the placidity of which, Senie characterizes as "therapeutic." Each also focuses on the contentious nature of memorial building, focusing on the trajectory from a spontaneous web of memorials to judged competitions, and then the finished products themselves, of which Young eschews in favor of anatomizing the traumatic "process and work of memory (17)." Senie, as her title would suggest, *Memorials to Shattered Myths*, is more concerned with the quintessentially American desire to deflect our attention from "actual events," which she reads as a "form of denial" that emphasizes the funerary aspect of American commemorative built environments that seek to overwhelm our need to resolve historic problems with the solemn demand that we respect the dead—an instinct familiar to all who observe after an American mass-shooting the admonishment to not "politicize" the tragedy.

While the absence of *Trumpism* in these works on monuments in particular, as I had mentioned above, was striking given its prominence in recent discourse, in taking a closer look, one can detect the gathering storm. Young, for instance, completes *The Stages of Memory* with a chapter on Utøya, the Norwegian Island that the terrorist Anders Breivik visited on July 22, 2011 in order to murder 69 young members of a Workers' Youth League summer camp after having detonated a bomb in Oslo killing eight. I fixate on this chapter because it complicates the American exceptionalist idea of a country, held widely by conservatives, of a people, a creed, and a culture, ideologically separate from its European forebears, revealing instead global links among identitarians for whom their nation, and by extension, patriotism, is subservient to their whiteness.

Like many ideological fanatics, Breivik left behind a manifesto, in which he wallowed in retrograde ideas that have become commonplace in America lately as media attention has been showered on radical white supremacists like

Richard Spencer, the president of the National Policy Institute, who advocates for an all-white state and who helped to organize the violent Charlottesville rally. The narrative of Anders Breivik and his terrifying murderous rampage at Utøya ties our current pathologies to those of Europe along the racist lines of preserving some vague form of whiteness rooted in the conception of the past as prelapsarian and pure, and the present in a state of cultural ruins. Of an imagined and Edenic nineteen-fifties family who could have time-traveled to the present and then made their way back to tell of their miraculous travels, Breivik writes, "Their story would be of a nation that had decayed and degenerated at a fantastic pace, moving in less than a half a century from the greatest countries on earth to Third World nations, overrun by crime, noise, drugs and dirt."

Breivik presents a worldview that is not far removed from what is offered today by *Trumpism*; the manifesto is littered with fallacies, imagined futures (and pasts), and paeans to a beautifully resilient western (white) European history that had fallen under the spell of Marxism, feminism, and then, inevitably Islam, all of which sought to erode the traditional hegemony of an all white Europe. "Time is of the essence." He wrote, "We have only a few decades to consolidate a sufficient level of resistance before our major cities are completely demographically overwhelmed by Muslims." The coming Muslim horde, according to Breivik, was conditioned by a liberal culture of "political correctness" that disallowed critiques of otherness based solely on its deviation from whiteness, and thus slaughtered what he perceived to be the future of liberalism in the form of innocent children.

Young, in delineating the unfolding of a memorial process which was made even more complex by the geographical scope of the tragedy—the murdered children came from all over Norway, which produced a commemorative unfoldment that was similarly territorially spread out—acknowledges the idea that Norway was ill prepared to commemorate such a tragedy, because it had been "blessedly" free of both "domestic mass murder and the memorial traditions" that attend them. Left unsaid was that this act of diabolical mass murder seems more at home in America with its addiction to firearms and the polarizing controversy such an addiction invites. Senie, in her interrogation of the American scene, pays close attention to such events and their meaning through memorial-making (or the eliding that that process conveys), focusing in particular on the Columbine Massacre and the Oklahoma City bombing, the memorial to which, Senie notes, fails to address the "fissures in the social fabric of Middle America" that the man who perpetrated it, Timothy McVeigh, was a product of. These fissures, typified by McVeigh's "passionate interest in guns and survivalism," had to do with a long-standing conservative mistrust of the federal government, and its "infringement on individual rights."

Memorials to Shattered Myths works as a helpful preamble to our current malaise. The point of Senie's work is that in our failure to account for the root causes of these self-inflicted tragedies by instead focusing on the private trauma associated with personal grief we have also failed to confront a tortured history that, in my estimation, has led inexorably to our current reckoning. This places a heavy burden upon memorials, but the seemingly unending repetition of such incidents reveals our failure to even approach, however tentatively, a resolution of radical differences that are invigorated by a commemorative impulse to forget them. In promoting a narrative that focuses on the depoliticized memory of the dead, or even the singular "evil" of the lone perpetrator, as opposed to the historical movements that such perpetrators represent, we have left these wounds to fester and metastasize, bringing us to this moment where such noxious ideologies have become normalized by a media climate obsessed with paying equal attention and, sadly, respect, to "both sides," even if one side seeks to exterminate the other.

In lamenting the process of the Oklahoma City Bombing in particular, Senie writes, "Although the bombing offered ample evidence of a dissident core in the nation's heartland, no aspect of the three-part built memorial… acknowledges fissures in the body politic (61)." The instinct to collapse the difference between, in Senie's phrase, the "heroes and victims" of a given tragic event creates the conditions for our historic irresponsibility in which we obscure or totally elide our tragic missteps and absolve ourselves of our moral culpability as a society. To not confront the pathologies that exist within these "fissures in our body politic," is to, in other words, make an unofficial "pact of forgetting"—though not, as in Spain, legally—in which we agree not to peer behind the curtain of our differences in order to commemorate, not only the victims of a tragedy, but the rancid and dissident worldview that has produced such monsters as Timothy McVeigh who are motivated by their illiberalism and radical anti-statism as justifications for mass-murder. When we agree to forget not only the meaning, but the causes of a tragedy, we rob ourselves of resolution and doom our progeny with further damage. This has become apparent in our recent reckoning with Confederate monuments, a product of more than a century of amnesia hastened by the attention we have paid to various myths of honor and the war dead at the expense of what such people fought and died protecting: a culture built upon the rock, not only of buying and selling human beings, but of a white supremacy that is returning upon us like a dark wave.

Capital and Austerity

It can be argued that this recent rightward shift has been hastened by the 2008 global financial crisis in which the scarcity of certain resources, particularly jobs and housing, has created a global backlash against immigrants and refugees. And while conspiratorial fanatics like Timothy McVeigh—and other recent anti-statists, such as Cliven Bundy—may conjure up fantasies of a tyrannical Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms or the Bureau of Land Management, plotting, behind closed doors, the enslavement of the American people, capital, by and large, unregulated and untethered from any sense of the common good, has done, it would seem, far greater damage to the fortunes of working people in this country and abroad. As anxieties rise, wealth falls, jobs are lost, homes are abandoned, and debt piles up, nostalgia, because of its terminological slipperiness, becomes a seductive conceptual framework through which to view politics, culture (particularly so-called consumer culture), art, aesthetics, anything really that falls within the realm of criticism.

Two recent works, from two very different perspectives (as well as continents), seek to elucidate the links between capital and nostalgia, a complicated project that goes back to at least the postwar period in America. Gary Cross's *Consumed Nostalgia* and Owen Hatherley's *The Ministry of Nostalgia* describe something disquieting about how the past is mobilized in order to make palatable the negative revisions brought about by modern capitalism. In Cross's hands, nostalgia becomes therapeutic as a kind of siren song enveloping cultural artifacts designed to deliver those of us troubled by the vicissitudes of capitalism into a simpler past; for Hatherley though it is just as seductive, but instead of encouraging consumption it makes palatable the bare existence of Britain's recent movement toward austerity and the dismantling of its welfare state. In each case the author seeks to anatomize nostalgia and trace its theoretical equipment into the past, and in each case finds its genealogy degenerate from something natural, actual, and based on lived experience to, for Hatherley, the protection and reimagining of a "remarkably distorted idea of the past," and for Cross, a state of pure infantilization, reducing nostalgia to the desire to recover or re-experience one's past through the consumption of certain artifacts associated with childhood.

Cross seeks to empathize with such desires in an age of "fast capitalism…a particularly intensive form of commodity culture, entailing the increasingly rapid pace of production and purchase, creating profit through the fast turnaround of investment." Such a process, in Cross's analysis, has created disquietude among many, producing a "distinctly modern" kind of stress by which, "people found identity and meaning in specific goods but, as a result felt their selfhoods were threatened when those things disappeared." As a reaction to "fast capitalism" a new strain of nostalgia emerged in the second half of the twentieth century, christened by Cross as "consumed nostalgia," which has largely been manifested in the collecting of dolls and other toys (including "muscle cars") and the consumption of old music and 1950s and 1960s-era television shows. In this way, Cross opposes this consumption of one's personal childhood ephemera to older varieties of nostalgia, which he terms *communal, familial*, and *fashion*, primarily on the grounds that consumed nostalgia is bound to a desire to re-experience the past and, in a related way, speaks to something intensely personal as opposed to collective or communitarian—an attempt, for better or worse, to depoliticize nostalgia, which has the quality of forgiving "fast capitalism" for creating such "disquietude." This in turn makes it so the critique falls, unjustly in my opinion, on nostalgia, as opposed to capitalism.

In Hatherley's case, *austerity nostalgia*, is deeply political in its offering in place of past promises of working-class liberation through a robust, socialist welfare state, "a return of repression itself" by urging the acceptance of suffering and going without made palatable by the cold comfort of Blitz-era encouragement. Just as the campaign of Donald Trump brought to the world the nostalgic slogan *Make America Great Again* in the material form of a red hat, austerity nostalgia, according to Hatherley, has been reduced to shorthand in a similarly mass-produced fashion recognizable worldwide. Hatherley relates in an anecdote about being confronted in a department store in Poland by, "a collection of notebooks, mouse pads, diaries and the like, featuring a familiar English sans serif font, white on red, topped with the crown above the legend, in English: *Keep Calm and Carry On*." This seemingly innocuous phrase, for Hatherley, alludes to a manipulative cultural process by which Britons have been seduced by this notion of themselves as self-denying, ascetic, tough-minded, and able to withstand all manner of deprivations. But instead of marshaling such fortitude in order to resist Hitler's Blitzkrieg, its contemporary form is mobilized as a means of acquiescing to Tory austerity measures and the neoliberal push to privatize, at least portions of Britain's welfare state in the form of public housing and the National Health Service. Austerity nostalgia then, is the kind of nostalgia that seeks to make the endurance of suffering agreeable, perhaps even enjoyable on the grounds that such asceticism is woven into the British character. Such a nostalgia exists under the assumption, like those who long for the historical unity, some may say homogeneity, that monuments can confer, that a single strain of historical patrimony can be reinstated in a multivocal present.

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Each of these works fits into a longstanding critique of nostalgia as fictive, amnesia-driven, quasi-fascist, or therapeutic. As early as 1948, the liberal historian Richard Hofstadter condemned an "overpowering nostalgia" for producing a "ravenous appetite for Americana," by which he meant "historical novels, fictionalized biographies, collections of pictures and cartoons, books on American regions and rivers." This was certainly not the first attack on nostalgia, but it revealed the contours of a now popular and longstanding critique of nostalgia as sentimental, weak-minded, opposed to the hard *truth* of history, and—as Cross suggests—oriented toward objects and other fetishized commodities.

This critique spooled out in different directions over the ensuing decades coming to its apogee in 1991 with Michael Kammen's *Mystic Chords of Memory*, which enjoined previous works (both British) such as Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger's *The Invention of Traditions* (1983) and Robert Hewison's *The Heritage Industry* (1987), in castigating nostalgia as "those memories and traditions so new in origin that the banality of their invocation is manifest." Such memories, Kammen further advised, were to be dismissed "as mere nostalgia . . . the exploitation of heritage . . . the utilization of utterly contrived myths." Nineteen ninety one also saw Christopher Lasch's *The True and Only Heaven*—in which he devoted a (largely brilliant) chapter to nostalgia as the "abdication of memory"—and Fredric Jameson's *Postmodernism, or, the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism*, which discerned a difference between the pain-inflected "modernist nostalgia" of a figure like Walter Benjamin and the commodified pastiche of *retro* that capitalism offered as a pallid substitute for the past.

While each of these works fit into this critical genealogy of nostalgia, what is so different about them is how they envision the stakes of nostalgia. In the case of Cross, because of the scope of his inquiry the stakes are quite low, which makes the analysis unsatisfying somehow. I cannot help thinking that this is through no fault of his own, but because of this moment we have found ourselves in, where nostalgia is invested with so much critical import, which, without even its recent embeddedness with *Trumpism*, I believe it deserves. Cross's instinct to depoliticize nostalgia has the effect of confining nostalgia's, in this case, negative force, to a largely affluent consumer culture addicted not merely to antiques, but to their childhoods.

This insistence on tethering nostalgia to the recovery of one's childhood lies partially in Cross's intellectual background, having written a book about the history of children and their relationships with toys—*Kids' Stuff: Toys and the Changing World of American Childhood* (1999). Tracing such desires into adulthood though provides only a restricted vision of a concept as protean and capacious as nostalgia. What is particularly troubling is that Cross presents "consumed nostalgia" as the most advanced (not as sophisticated but most reflective of the present) stage of an evolutionary concept. While Cross certainly allows for a "modern nostalgia" that "is a richly complex and even contradictory phenomenon," he often uses language intimating that his concept of "consumed nostalgia" holds some present primacy: "Today's nostalgia seems to help us cope with the extraordinary speed-up of time by letting us return to our childhoods…Today's nostalgia is rooted in special emotions linked to recovering memories distinctive to the objects of modern childhood and consumerism," and "the homesickness that once drove [nostalgia] has largely been replaced by a desire to recover the things and experiences of a novelty-driven consumer society." Cross cannot in a single work be made to consider nostalgia in its many forms, and yet to reduce it to what can be read as a retreat from the instability of capitalism and modernity into the womb of childhood, in my opinion, does little to convince its (largely progressive and liberal) critics of its aesthetic, as well as political worthiness.

Perhaps it is Cross's constrained vision of the materialities of nostalgia that unsettles me. The things that demand our nostalgic attention ought not be confined to the remnants of our childhoods. To quarantine nostalgia to the specifically personal—to the plane of psychology—forecloses a host of nostalgic attachments. In our current age, it is important to see nostalgia in its many guises, some innocent and innocuous, some sophisticated and productive, and some grimly malignant. On at least two occasions Cross mentions the late scholar of Slavic literature, Svetlana Boym, and her groundbreaking *The Future of Nostalgia* (2001). No figure has done more to repair nostalgia's battered image than Boym, famous for her typology that separated nostalgia's quasi-fascist and conspiratorial imagination from its poetic, modernist desire to reflect upon the past's shadowy back alleys. Boym's project emphasized the poetry of the discontinuous, the fragmentary, the partial, and the ruinous in light of the totalizing force that describes the xenophobic and reactionary quality of nostalgia. Opposing his own vision of nostalgia, Cross writes, “instead of seeking a lost community or cause, we recover our personal childhoods in a vast array of objects and recorded sensations. This essentially negates Boym’s critique of nostalgia.” I respectfully part company with Cross on this point. Boym, far from reducing nostalgia to an “intolerant tribalism” or “narrowly cast familialism,” created a powerful hermeneutic with which to “read” a variety of landscapes, texts, and images across numerous historical topographies in order to discern various productions of nostalgic desire where one would have scarcely noticed them before for fear of trafficking in such a disparaged idea.

The history of nostalgia is rich, complicated, and largely one which turns on lexicographical matters. Having been coined to describe a seventeenth century disease (a literal homesickness) it has been made to carry a lot of freight over the years migrating between the realms of medicine, psychology, politics, and culture. Perhaps the plane that *Consumed Nostalgia* covers is too narrow for my taste, too wedded to the dictates of psychology and the realm of the individual. I think Boym points us toward nostalgia’s more complicated analytical promise. “Unlike melancholia,” Boym noticed, “which confines itself to the planes of individual consciousness, nostalgia is about the relationship between individual biography and the biography of groups or nations, between personal and collective memory.” This hybrid notion of a nostalgia that plays between the spaces of the individual and the collective, politics and aesthetics, the temporal and the material, offers the richest vision of nostalgia as it relates to our understanding of histories complicated by the “disquieting” injunctions of modernity and capitalism.

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In Hatherley’s field of vision, nostalgia can be insidious, but it is more of a political tactic (or strategic language) than an infantilizing disease. And while he uses the mass-produced imagery of *Keep Calm and Carry On* as an entry point into the contours of nostalgia discourse, his passion lies in how this brand of nostalgia has been mobilized in order to revise the built environment of England, tilting it away from the egalitarianism that the welfare state had promised before the triumph of the Thatcherite right hell-bent on destroying the idea of the state’s responsibility to provide for its people in the form of a National Health Service, Council Estates, the comprehensive schools, and New Universities. It is not Thatcher at all that comes under attack, however, but who we refer to in the United States as the Baby Boomers (in Hatherley’s phrase, the similarly liberal “late sixties generation”) who have done much to dismantle the welfare state with “hysterical” attacks “on social democracy” as “statist” and even “totalitarian.” What emerges in *The Ministry of Nostalgia* is not merely an attack on the nostalgia that makes this dismantling possible through the consolation of oneself with the “iconography of a completely different and unlikely era,” but two competing visions of nostalgia itself, which Hatherley, perhaps unwittingly, reveals in his own desire to reinstate the past in the form of the welfare state that was partially put into practice between 1945 and 1979.

I use the term "unwittingly," because Hatherley does not seem to want his desired ends to be tainted by the stigma of nostalgia, but that is only because nostalgia has been freighted with such a stigma by generations of authors clearly uneasy about the ways in which the past and present are nested together. And, as is often the case, those who are branded as nostalgic are generally conservative, regressive, revanchist, or reactionary. Hatherley admits as much, noting, when it comes to weaponizing the past, "the Conservative party are, and always have been, the experts (12)." In absorbing Hatherley's instincts about the past and his prescriptions for the present, however, it is clear that another type of nostalgia is at work, one that is not oriented toward, what Boym characterized as "restorative" nostalgia, which describes the current nationalist tirades going on from Trumpist America to England and its Brexit fever. While Hatherley may find nostalgia to be an insidious feature of our current neo-liberal moment, what animates his own personal project of "attempting to rehabilitate the built environment created by this moment of social democracy," if not a nostalgia that operates upon a different ideological principle, not restorative, but in Boym's phrase, "reflective." His language invokes the materialist image of nostalgia as the bringing back together of a past torn asunder by, in Benjamin's phrase, "progress." "The fragments of it," Hatherley continues referring to his socialist project concerning a fair and equitable built environment, "*do* prove that an egalitarian future is feasible." At this present moment, an egalitarian future only seems possible to someone invested in the past, not with a cold-eyed and progressive rationalism, but with a utopian desire to reconvene what Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer, in their *Dialectic of Enlightenment*, had referred to as "past hopes," writing, "what is at stake is not the conservation of the past but the fulfillment of past hopes." In the end, nostalgia need not be what pushes us back into the past, but what pulls us into a more just future built upon the foundations of those dreamers whose hoped-for future may still be ours. That is a nostalgia worthy of defense.

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Reviews

IMAGINE THE SOUND: Experimental African American Literature After Civil Rights. By Carter Mathes. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2015.

There is a rich and vital history of African American creative practitioners who have used experimental and improvisational music to sound off against systems of fixity and oppression, to imagine alternatives to dead-end situations, and to enact other possible futures. In his engaging, critically astute, and deeply contextualized study *Imagine the Sound*, Carter Mathes draws on this history, on this music (particularly the music of John Coltrane and Sun Ra), to analyze the work of writers such as Henry Dumas, Larry Neal, Toni Cade Bambara, and James Baldwin to explore how the sonic functions in post-Civil Rights African American expressive culture as a force for black political resistance and radical thought. What is literary sound? How, that is, can sound be mobilized on the pages of literary texts? And how might the experimental edge, transformational energy, and critical force of the expansive sound we associate with free jazz and creative improvised music translate into literary form?

Drawing, in particular, on John Coltrane's far-reaching late career innovations with "experimental sound as a productive challenge to the limitations of the American mainstream" (23), Mathes's study asks, "how can we imagine a literary genealogy of experimental African American writing that continues to assert itself through elaborations of its sonority?" (196). Mathes hears in Coltrane a foundational context for exploring and analyzing what he calls "sonic innovations in literary form" (24), innovations that constituted "aesthetic and political approaches to refashioning African American literary form during the post-Civil Rights era" (24). In his chapter on one of the leading figures in the Black Arts Movement, Larry Neal, Mathes discusses how "the shifting quality of a justly intoned sound [as opposed to more traditional tempered forms of tonal expression] begins to define part of the conceptual break that free jazz articulates against the constraints of hierarchically ordered Western musical scales" (104). Reading these sonic interventions of free jazz alongside the struggles of black nationalism, Mathes opens up resonant areas of inquiry for contextualizing and understanding Neal's work, focusing on "the politics of sound as an expressive force of black revolution" (104). Similarly, in the chapter on Toni Cade Bambara, Mathes draws attention to sound as a resistant force in Bambara's fiction, reflecting her "desire to create works of art that are, in her words, 'indigestible to the imperialist system'" (145).

These links among literary aesthetics, sound, experimentation, and strategies of resistance are handled throughout with exemplary care and thoughtfulness. Although there are some moments where the analysis seems to me to stray somewhat from the main line of inquiry, and while I might at times have liked to see clearer signposting of the connections between some of the key strands of the argument, this is an important book that clearly broadens the scope and extends the reach of scholarship on African American literature and black experimental music. Its readings of the soundings-off that occur in the literary works in question are insightful and compelling, and the questions opened up by the critical and political terrain it covers remain timely and pressing.

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THIS BENEVOLENT EXPERIMENT: Indigenous Boarding Schools, Genocide, and Redress in Canada and the United States. By Andrew Woolford. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press. 2015.

Through the lens of genocide studies, *This Benevolent Experiment* illustrates how the Indigenous boarding school systems in Canada and the United States contributed to North America's cultural genocide of Indigenous peoples. Woolford sets the groundwork for his book by defending the term cultural genocide; he argues that the qualifier "cultural" does not minimize the genocidal objective of the boarding schools, nor does it ignore the many Indigenous communities that persevered and survived the boarding schools' attempt at cultural annihilation. To do this, Woolford invokes Rafael Lemkin's definition of genocide, adopted by the United Nations in 1948, which includes the extermination of a group's traditions, language, religion and culture for the purpose of eliminating the group as a whole. *This Benevolent Experiment* applies this definition to the assimilative mission of the North American Indigenous boarding schools to assert that Canada and the United States used the boarding schools as a tool for cultural genocide.

Woolford fashions the term "settler colonial mesh" to help readers understand how this cultural genocide operated on the macro-societal level (the larger social and political forces that conceptualized the "Indian Problem"), meso-societal level (specific government and non-government institutions, including the boarding schools, that sought to solve the "Indian Problem") and the micro-societal level (the individual actors, such as school officials, teachers, and staff, who interacted with students, parents and communities). Woolford visualizes each of these levels as nets, that when placed together form a mesh "that operates to entrap Indigenous peoples within the settler colonial assimilative project" (3). However, Woolford reminds us that mesh is porous, and therefore holes in the settler colonial project sometimes allowed for Indigenous resistance and survival.

Woolford applies the metaphor of the settler colonial mesh to two schools in Manitoba (Portage la Prairie Indian Residential School and Fort Alexander Indian Residential School) and two schools in New Mexico (Albuquerque Indian School and Santa Fe Indian School). Through this comparative analysis, Woolford contends that while the Canadian and U.S. systems were different in many ways, both Canada and the United States aggressively pushed residential schooling for the purpose of "destroy[ing] Indigenous groups as groups" (93-4). Furthermore, Woolford analyzes these schools to demonstrate how different assimilative practices were enforced, made flexible, and resisted in order to contract and expand the settler-colonial mesh, rendering it always in flux. Here, Woolford enters into conversation with scholars of the American Indian boarding schools, such as K. Tsianina Lomawaima and Brenda Child, by exhibiting how some students and parents took advantage of the porousness of the settler colonial mesh by resisting, or by taking advantage of, a Euro-American education.

Woolford not only contributes to the study of Indigenous boarding schools, but also to genocide studies, as he uses the histories of the boarding schools to show how non-human actors can play a role in genocide. Specifically, Woolford discusses the roles of food-scarcity, land/territory, and disease in the cultural genocide of Indigenous peoples. Woolford argues that geography has generally been overlooked in genocide studies, and outlines the various roles that geography played in how administrators attempted to control the student body. However, as Woolford illustrates, geography also allowed Indigenous communities to influence and sometimes manipulate school administrations.

This Benevolent Experiment concludes with an analysis of how Canada has attempted to unravel the settler colonial mesh. Woolford takes a close look at Canada's Indian Residential School Settlement Agreement (IRSSA) passed in 2006, Indigenous reactions to the Agreement, Prime Minister Harper's subsequent national apology, and the possible reasons why the United States has not followed Canada in similar reparations. Woolford argues that the United States lags behind Canada in reparations because of the U.S. boarding schools' perceived use of "softer" assimilation techniques marked by fewer reported cases of physical and sexual abuse. However, Woolford asks his readers not to glorify Canada's IRSSA, as it "might be enlisted as…another mutation of the settler colonial mesh" (293). In order for the government to allocate reparations, it must make individuals' trauma measurable and calculable, which unburdens the government but re-victimizes survivors. Woolford calls on Canada to "decolonize redress" through a consideration of collective, rather than individual, approaches to reparations.

Both scholars of the North American Indigenous boarding schools and scholars of genocide studies have much to gain from *This Benevolent Experiment*, including the introduction of the "settler colonial mesh" as a framework for conceptualizing cultural genocide, and an insight on the ways that non-human actors can play a role in genocide. In applying genocide studies to the study of boarding schools, and boarding school studies to the study of genocide, Woolford offers a valuable contribution to both disciplines.

Sarah K.P. Hayes Seminole State College

BY ANY MEDIA NECESSARY: The New Youth Activism. By Henry Jenkins, Sangita Shresthova, Liana Gamber-Thompson, Neta Kligler-Vilenchik, Arely Zimmerman. New York: NYU Press. 2016.

"By Any Media Necessary" pushes the reader into brand new territory by making cogent and beautifully illustrated points about the myriad of ways in which today's youth have "refreshed and renewed the public's symbolic power as they fight for social justice" (Jenkins et al, 2) specifically by exploring the connections and subsequent changes made by like-minded youth who are able to coalesce through social media. In this vital, exciting text, Jenkins et al take pains to illuminate connections between such disparate groups as Invisible Children, those who identify as DREAMers, young American Muslims, the Harry Potter Alliance and young Libertarians, proving both the power and problems that come when youth heartily embrace cultural disruption through the use of new media.

Jenkins et al make absolutely certain the reader knows that while the communities studied intentionally span a broad "ideological, sociological, geographical and community based spectrum," they share important traits such as "a strong emphasis on personal and collective storytelling" (13). By utilizing forms of new media (like YouTube and Facebook), youth activists can personalize their messages, and subsequently send these often deeply personal treatises across the globe in a flash in order to draw attention to varied political and social justice causes. The innovative actions presented in this text represent a sharp but welcome break from the activism of decades past.

"Participatory politics" is an important term throughout the text. Its inclusion signals a change from "participatory culture," where youth acted under the guidance of institutions, to linked-in cyberspaces where youth connect with one another in order to facilitate changes in the real world on their own terms. By bypassing the establishment in favor of a more collective, hands-on approach, youth are using the unique tools at their disposal to bring about such diverse ends as raising money and awareness to try and oust an African warlord, donating a massive amount of money to OxFam, connecting young Muslims post-9/11 and allowing DREAMers to achieve solidarity by "coming out" as undocumented online.

Jenkins et al expands the model by labeling what they uncover as a "*more* participatory culture," (emphasis more) by explicitly stating that the difference between the old definition and the new definition is that a *more* participatory culture "is one where the people have access to the means of cultural production and circulation and one where key decisions are made with the active and expanded participation of community members" (41). The book does an excellent job of showing how our expanded technological network allows culturally engaged young people to become more active citizens. This does not mean the road is easy, however, and Jenkins et al are adept at pointing out the spaces in which young activists have to struggle. But by skillfully identifying the limiting factors affecting participatory politics, Jenkins et al have created an invaluable resource for future activists who would seek to organize in new ways.

Young agitators caught in the present are actively working to forge a future by listening and adapting *now*, as opposed to relying on the same actions again and again. By creating deliberate public spaces that do not shy away from making the personal political, or even by closely allying their pop culture interests with real world concerns, Jenkins et al shows that youth are working hard at establishing alternatives to past forms of activism by tapping into models which actively encourage young people to use their collective power as citizens. This is achieved through what the text cites as a shifting participatory model, moving from the "informed citizen" (one who possesses full knowledge of an issue) to the newer "motivated citizen," who is not only constantly tuned in to the larger world through social media, but also galvanized to further action by the unique connections they can make with other like-minded youth through the internet.

It's encouraging to see that egalitarian models of youthful civic engagement are emerging as respected and valuable ways of making a difference. "By Any Media Necessary" highlights a kind of inclusive activism that is poised to foster a collective identity, one that is focused on a moral connection to community and by extension, the world.

Carolyn Marcille Buffalo State College

DANGEROUS GROUNDS: Antiwar Coffeehouses and Military Dissent in the Vietnam Era. David L. Parsons. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 2017.

In *Dangerous Grounds*, David L. Parsons adds a valuable perspective to the evolving scholarship on the antiwar GI-movement during the Vietnam War. Following scholars such as Christian Appy and Penny Lewis, whose work has challenged popular stereotypes about the class and racial composition of the larger antiwar movement, Parsons focuses on a network of GI coffeehouses that proliferated in military towns between 1968 and 1974. Like the GI movement itself, the coffeehouse network reflected a decentralized, but not disconnected set of local initiatives contributing to the antiwar effort. Part of what makes the movement so significant is how coffeehouses became spaces for GIs to organize resistance in a climate of countercultural comfort. At the same time, Parsons makes clear that the coffeehouses became sites of both racial and class conflict, as well as targets of government surveillance and policing.

Parsons begins his story with Fred Gardner, who believed stopping the war in Vietnam meant building "an antiwar movement *within* the army" (16, italicized in original). Taking inspiration from radical coffeehouses in San Francisco, where he lived, Gardner decided to open "The UFO" outside Fort Jackson in Columbia, South Carolina in 1967. He believed a "hip antiwar coffeehouse, designed for GIs, might be an effective way of starting conversations between antiwar soldiers and civilians" (17). The UFO soon caught the attention of national organizations, which began supporting more coffeehouses. The chapter introduces the UFO, the Oleo Strut outside Fort Hood in Killeen, Texas, and the Shelter Half outside Fort Lewis in Tacoma, Washington, which are the main sites explored in the book.

In chapter two, Parsons describes the role of these coffeehouses during significant episodes of the GI movement, such as the Fort Jackson Eight, when GI resisters fought the army for First Amendment rights to oppose the war. He also relates the Fort Hood 43 case, when a large group of black soldiers refused mobilization for riot control duty outside the 1968 Democratic convention in Chicago. This chapter also details other ways the coffeehouses supported acts of resistance, including peace marches, local boycotts, and counterculture demonstrations.

While chapter two begins documenting attacks on the coffeehouse movement, the third chapter pulls local and national acts of repression into focus. The House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) questioned them prior to the Chicago Eight trial in 1968, and the Committee on Internal Security followed in 1971. Police intimidation and harassment was routine. Legal charges mounted and created expenses that undermined business, particularly for the UFO. J. Edgar Hoover directed FBI field offices to use drug charges to target coffeehouse proprietors, and sent in undercover agents.

In his fourth chapter, Parsons traces the changing character of the GI and coffeehouse movement after Nixon's election in 1968. He explains how the coffeehouses nourished the GI underground press, but also reveals the increasing visibility of racial and class tensions inside them. He notes that just when "black GIs were becoming the driving force of GI activism, the stereotypical image of coffeehouses as hangouts for middle-class peace activists presented a distinct challenge for GI organizers" (99). Drugs, youth culture, and finances all challenged coffeehouse staff. Perhaps more than anything else, however, Nixon's Vietnamization strategy, which withdrew 400,000 American soldiers by 1971, led to fewer patrons. In some sense, the movement became a victim of its own success.

Dangerous Grounds pairs well with Beth Bailey's history of the transition to the all-volunteer army, but the book's audience goes beyond historians of the GI movement and the Vietnam War. Although he doesn't explicitly engage with the question of masculinity, Parsons' history complements Anne Enke's work on the creation of alternative public spaces during the rise of second-wave feminism. Twentieth century scholars of American studies interested in radical labor, black power, social movements, and even racialized policing will find it relevant. Further, it points toward projects investigating

the close ties between police, military and business communities in the postwar era, in part through regional examples of what's generalized as the military-industrial complex.
Justin Rogers-Cooper City University of New York, LaGuardia Community College

TURNS OF EVENT: Nineteenth-Century American Literary Studies in Motion. Edited by Hester Blum. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2016.

When does a turn constitute a new direction, and when does a turn require a look back? These are questions that contributors to *Turns of Event: Nineteenth-Century American Literary Studies in Motion* address through a sustained and cautious examination of the concept of a critical "turn." Through what editor Hester Blum calls the "meta-disciplinary reflections" collected in this volume, contributors, all established scholars, propose a critical lexicon of the conceptual and theoretical moves that constitute the work of literary and cultural studies of the long nineteenth century (2).

As Blum notes in her introduction, the essays focus less on the "particularity" of various turns and more on the "propensity of C19 literary studies to desire revolutionary movement, to join broader critical interests in turning as a way to reject stasis, to signal newness" (4). These "broader critical interests" include turns already made in cultural studies overall. Evidence of a digital turn organizes the first half of the collection, in which Geoffrey Sanborn reflects on the importance of face-to-face classrooms, Meredith McGill reconfigures book history within the field of comparative media studies, and Martin Brückner examines the metaphors and materials of cartography, digital or otherwise. The second half of the volume is dedicated to positioning American literary studies within the transnational turn. Michelle Burnham proposes that, as part of this movement, a turn toward the oceanic can open land-locked U.S. literary histories to an "alternative dimensionality" that "emphasizes America's ongoing material connectedness with the rest of the globe" (153, 155).

In interrogating the consequences of these and other turns, contributors advise against a "'fashionable fascination'" with critical "fads" (42, 3). As Sean Goudie cautions of the recent surge of interest in Caribbean studies, scholars must be careful of "half turns," of underestimating the power of re-turning to yet unrealized stories and histories of U.S.-Caribbean interactions (135). But as Christopher Castiglia demonstrates, historicizing the concept of a turn has the power to reinvest critical work with the "hope" central to its vision, the dissatisfaction that motivates scholarship to pursue "a differently functioning version of the real" (62, 69) As Ralph Bauer argues, a turn does not "make an absolute and exclusive claim to truth," but remains committed to "critical debate and 'dialogue' . . . that puts considerations of subject positions at its front and center" (93, 94). A turn, then, in Monique Allewaert's words, "evokes a partiality," a willingness to explore a new direction, in its knowns and especially in its unknowns (111).

Throughout, *Turns of Evens* remains committed to dissecting the concept of the turn, but not in so narrow a way that it limits its relevance to cultural studies and the humanities at large. For, here, the "literary" is also understood as multidimensional, as an interdisciplinary method of examining a range of "subject positions." Contributors prove that the "critical mobility" of American literary studies is characteristic of humanistic inquiry more broadly, a mobility ever expanding to the global yet committed to interrogating the terms that dictate a turn (2).
Amanda Stuckey York College of Pennsylvania

JUST ANOTHER SOUTHERN TOWN: Mary Church Terrell and the Struggle for Racial Justice in the Nation's Capitol. By Joan Quigley. New York: Oxford University Press. 2016.

Joan Quigley's *Just Another Southern Town* is an engaging and well-researched book on the civil rights activism of Mary Church Terrell in Washington, DC. Terrell was an important figure in the black freedom struggle, yet her activism remains understudied. Quigley's book thus seeks to redress this gap in the literature. It reveals how the issue of segregation—and Terrell's fight against it in the courts—was central to the modern movement in the immediate post-World War Two era. The book opens with the moment in January 1950 when Terrell was refused service in a restaurant. The rest of the book details how Terrell came to be a civil rights activist and what happened when she took the restaurant to court to challenge Washington's segregation laws. Indeed, as Quigley notes, the nation's capital had, since the days of Reconstruction, functioned as a "vanguard and testing ground, heralding reforms before the rest of the nation." (8)

Mary Church Terrell's life spanned nearly a century, from the era of Civil War and slave emancipation to *Brown versus Board of Education*, the 1954 legal case that declared segregation unconstitutional. Terrell was born in Memphis, Tennessee in 1863 to parents who had once been slaves. Mary was educated at Oberlin College and after graduating in 1884 she travelled around Europe. Upon her return, Terrell taught at Wilberforce University, and after moving to Washington, DC, she taught high school for a few years. In 1891, Mary married Robert Terrell, a Washington-based lawyer, and the couple settled in the nation's capital. Robert became a district judge and was active within the Republican Party. Both Mary and Robert were active Republicans (although Mary switched her allegiance to the Democrats in 1952), and Quigley's book explores the broader relationship between African Americans and the Republican Party, especially in the era of Theodore Roosevelt and William Howard Taft. This reviewer, however, was left wanting a little more in the book on the Republican Party's often contradictory stance on race relations, particularly during the 1920s.

The central focus of the book, however, is Terrell's legal case in the early 1950s, and Quigley's account of how the case panned out is detailed and riveting. Quigley does a good job of revealing a complex (and, as it emerges, a relatively privileged) individual who became more radicalized during the World War Two era. As Terrell put it in 1949, "we are tired of being patient with being pushed around." (140) What Quigley's book achieves is a richly woven narrative that places the Civil Rights Movement within a much longer time-frame, which connects the Reconstruction era with the 1950s. The book is also a reminder of both the central role played by African American women in the Civil Rights Movement, and the crucial role of the U.S. Supreme Court in the history of civil rights. Quigley has done a fine service of revealing how segregation was challenged in the nation's capital and the centrality of Mary Church Terrell to that story.

Stephen Robinson York St. John University, UK

FROM STOREFRONT TO MONUMENT: Tracing the Public History of the Black Museum Movement. By Andrea A. Burns. Amherst and Boston: University of Massachusetts. 2013.

In 2016, the Smithsonian's National Museum of African American History and Culture, located on the National Mall in Washington, DC, opened its doors to an enthusiastic public. This spectacular museum is a part of a rich legacy of African American museums that often began with little to no funding in small neighborhood buildings.

The radical social and political changes of the 1960s that gave rise to the Black Power Movement also fostered another site of black empowerment: the new black neighborhood museum (4-7). In *From Storefront to Monument: Tracing the Public History of the Black Museum Movement*, Andrea A. Burns examines the Black Museum Movement primarily through the history of the DuSable Museum, in Chicago, the International Afro-American Museum (now the Charles H. Wright Museum of African American History) in Detroit; the Anacostia Neighborhood (now Community) Museum in Washington, D.C.; and the American Museum of Philadelphia, opened in Pennsylvania in 1976. Burns analyzes archival materials that foreground the complexities and tensions that surfaced among museum administrators, community leaders, and residents during the Black Museum Movement while contextualizing the shifts in geography and politics that made African American museums dynamic sites of knowledge.

Burns's introduction centers around a meeting of individuals in New York discussing how traditional museums would remain "relevant" in the midst of the black freedom struggle. June Jordan rejected any compromise equivalent to the "nigger room" in a traditional museum.This meeting became an important part of an ongoing conversation about African American museums and their roles in society (1-2).Who will tell African American stories? Which will become a part of our national narrative? Where will these stories be told, and who will access and interpret them?

The book includes "origin stories" of the three aforementioned museums established in the 1960s. Burns, for example, chronicles the programmatic shifts in Chicago's DuSable Museum. In 1961, the exhibits were initially non-confrontational, designed without yet "challeng[ing] traditional representations. . . . " Curators used what Burns calls a 'we, too, were here' approach so that black contributions became a more surface part of the national narrative. Then exhibitions began to "revise" misinformation and became quite "political" as with sculptor Bob James's dioramas in 1968 (73-74). In chapter three, Burns includes a poignant example of"bottom-up" leadership at the Anacostia Museum. Local children, afraid of rats in their schools, inspired The Rat exhibit which addressed a bonafide social problem while teaching local children about rats (93-96).

Burns has presented a well-research and insightful study that recognizes the vital role of the Black Museum Movement in producing a robust public history. The text would be appropriate for undergraduate courses in Museum studies, African American history, or American studies and would also be an excellent resource for individuals who wish to establish community museums or understand the historic significance and inner workings of museums.

Zanice Bond Tuskegee University

PART OF OUR LIVES: A People's History of the American Public Library. By Wayne A. Wiegand. New York: Oxford University Press. 2015.

In the spirit of Howard Zinn's *A People's History of the United States*, Wayne A. Wiegand draws on library records, newspaper accounts, and the professional journals of librarians to present the public library as a contested space across lines of race, gender, class, sexuality, and age. Wiegand begins with Benjamin Franklin's establishment of the Library Company of Philadelphia in 1732, which Franklin hoped would inform and empower a community of "self-made" colonial men (and which ultimately offered its assistance to the writers of the U.S. Constitution). In what became a recurring theme among subsequent librarians, Franklin rejected fiction, instead preferring to collect books that offered so-called "useful knowledge." This judgment, on both books and their readers, proved elitist and sexist, and it was overruled, again and again, by popular demand. After all, as Wiegand notes, novels were empowering companions for different subsets of library users, including women, people of color, youth, and the working classes.

As a study of libraries (and librarians, as their gatekeepers), *Part of Our Lives* is largely a history of clashes over censorship and First Amendment rights—and over the uses of community spaces more broadly. American libraries have provided public platforms for the Humane Society, Amnesty International, and the National Organization for Women, as well as for neo-Nazis (and groups protesting against them). At various points in U.S. history, librarians have banned Mark Twain, Harry Potter, and suspected communist sympathizers—and proudly defended the availability of *Mein Kampf*. In more recent decades, libraries across the country have celebrated "Banned Books Week" to draw attention to censorship debates and their history—a history that Wiegand traces through a series of cultural, political, and technological changes.

In *Part of Our Lives*, the central questions that frame the history of American public libraries ask which public(s) they should serve—and how. In the Jim Crow South, for example, libraries enforced racial segregation and promoted pro-Confederate historical narratives. Librarians who spoke out against segregation were fired or threatened, and anti-racist librarians struggled at various points even to identify and stock titles that featured people of color without negative racial stereotypes. Unquestionably, libraries, like many other public institutions, perpetuated white supremacy both directly and indirectly, but they also served as spaces of resistance to it. In addition to a powerful anecdote that Wiegand relays about the author Richard Wright, public libraries offered meeting spaces for civil rights organizations, were the targets of civil rights protest campaigns, and, today, serve as memorials to those struggles.

Libraries have similarly reflected the country's relationship to poverty, including debates over whether or not to keep them open late enough to be accessible to workers, public disgust at libraries'openness to homeless populations, and attempts to open new branches and reach rural areas with bookmobiles. Library funding was a key component of both the New Deal of the 1930s and the War on Poverty of the 1960s, and cutting it has been a frequent topic of policy and discussion in the post-1960s period.

Part of Our Lives is a love letter to U.S. libraries, warts and all, and a helpful study in both the hopeful promises and the ugly failures of the American democratic experiment. Appropriately, children and teenagers have been central to the missions of public libraries for the last century. Libraries, Wiegand argues, were, collectively, one of the arenas in which U.S. history was decided. The nation's investment (or lack thereof) in the next generation through libraries will make them equally important to its future.

Dawson Barrett Del Mar College

DAMNED NATION: Hell in America from the Revolution to Reconstruction. By Kathryn Gin Lum. New York: Oxford University Press. 2014.

The ways communities developed the theological concept of hell, Kathryn Gin Lum's meticulously researched *Damned Nation* reveals, played a central social and political role from the emergence of the U.S. American republic through the Civil War. Unlike in post-Enlightenment Europe, belief in hell occupied the dominant and respectable religious position in antebellum America. Gin Lum's central argument is that hell mattered in the United States and shaped communal life in the emerging nation.

Following in the way that the scholar of religion Robert Orsi approaches the interconnections between history, religious studies, and theology, Gin Lum takes seriously the stories antebellum individuals and communities told about themselves and their realities. The questions Gin Lum poses—What does living with the fear of hell feel like? What responsibilities do belief in the existence of hell imply? What did it feel like to reject the dominant worldview that hell was real?—emerge out of these antebellum stories (239-40). Gin Lum draws on a variety of sources, including sermons, tracts, and material artifacts, to unearth how the prospect of damnation shaped how people established notions of community, distinguished themselves from others, and ultimately structured their social and political lives in the emerging nation. Importantly, Gin Lum also investigates the question of why Americans believed in hell—that is, she questions what accounted, in various contexts, for this particular American focus on hell. In doing so, she brings out ways individuals and communities disagreed on the significance and reality of hell, and how they deployed the threat of hell for different ends. Forms of dissent from dominant and respectable evangelical understandings of hell interacted with established social, cultural, and political categories in ways that shaped group identity.

Gin Lum considers, for example, ways Native American revitalization prophets opened up the idea that God gave different revelations to different people. Hell for Native American prophets such as Neolin, Handsome Lake, and Tenskwatawa, as well as for less prominent Native laypeople, was typically not tethered to an understanding of biblical morality. Hell and damnation were deployed from a different corpus of revelation than the reading of the Bible offered by White Christian missionaries. They deployed hell as a call to avoid assimilation to missionaries' agendas. At the same time, the threat of hell functioned for Native revitalization prophets in a similar way that it did for Euro-American Christians: it established group identity, patterns of behavior, and provided a way to describe their enemies (132).

Similarly, abolitionists and proslavery groups prior to and during the Civil War deployed the threat of hell for different ends. White abolitionists used hell within paternalistic arguments that slaves needed the abolitionists' intervention for their salvation. Slavery apologists drew on the image of hell to claim that slavery was consistent with the Bible and could hasten the salvation of the slaves. Former slave Frederick Douglass employed hell to criticize Christian hypocrisy, while former slave Henry Highland Garnet deployed the threat of damnation to urge slaves to use every means to defy slavery. In each of these cases, parties used hell to condemn the nation as a whole in the process of forwarding particular political options: the United States was a "damned nation."

In the end, Gin Lum convincingly shows that hell failed to decline in the United States with the dawn of the Enlightenment. The malleable trope of a "damned nation" continued to play a political and social role in the United States beyond the Civil War. By bringing together the study of history, religion, and theology, Gin Lum provides a portrait of the early American republic that enters into the worldviews of individuals and communities between the Revolution and Reconstruction. The narratives Gin Lum unearths and the way she weaves these narratives into theoretical frameworks make *Damned Nation* a valuable resource for scholars studying U.S. social, political, and religious realties.

Joseph Drexler-Dreis Saint Mary's College of California

MAVERICKS, MONEY, AND MEN: The AFL, Black Players, and the Evolution of Modern Football. By Charles K. Ross. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press. 2016.

It may be difficult to imagine the National Football League, the American sports behemoth of our time, competing with a legitimate rival organization. Yet such a challenger existed for most of the 1960s, and the story of the American Football League is documented by Charles K. Ross in *Mavericks, Money, and Men: The AFL, Black Players, and the Evolution of Modern Football*. Ross lays out his thesis on the first page: "the AFL was fundamentally responsible for facilitating the evolution of modern professional football in America." As indicated by the title, he devotes particular attention to the league's provision of opportunities for Black players, including those from Historically Black Colleges and Universities, who had been largely ignored by NFL owners. Other forward-thinking AFL initiatives included the equal sharing of television revenue among teams, the addition of players' last names on jerseys, and the two-point conversion. In general, Ross argues, AFL owners led the way into football's television era, setting up the ascent of the NFL following the leagues' eventual merger.

The book opens with the AFL origin story: Lamar Hunt, trust-funded son of an oil tycoon, organized a new football league after failed efforts at becoming an NFL team owner. From there, readers follow a chronologically organized account of the AFL's rise and evolution, including ongoing battles between the two leagues' owners as they vied for talented players and television deals. Ross contextualizes these events within larger U.S. Black-politics developments, though at times the connection between the two is unclear (for example, I was left wondering: what exactly is the relationship between the "Freedom Summer," to which a separate paragraph is devoted, and happenings in the AFL?). In any case, he notes the significance of Black players not only entering the field, but occasionally doing so in the central strategic positions, quarterback and middle linebacker, long reserved for White players. In the final chapters, the AFL's long-term significance is highlighted by its merger with the NFL and the subsequent creation of the Super Bowl, now the epitomic confluence of sport, commodity, and national ritual.

Cultural studies scholars may find that the book leaves room for further critical analysis and discussion. For example, it is demonstrated that professional football players gained significant bargaining leverage (on salary and other interests) due to NFL and AFL owners' need to compete for their services; furthermore, AFL players created a Players Association, further solidifying such leverage. These developments merit discussion of implications regarding laborer-owner relationships in sport capitalism, particularly as they occurred ahead of the more famous labor fights of baseball player Curt Flood and others. Furthermore, this class issue can be directly connected to race: while it is important to acknowledge the greater opportunities for Black players in the AFL, as well as their successful demand to move the 1965 All-Star Game out of New Orleans (following instances of direct racial discrimination in the city), the league was still governed by an all-White commissioner, ownership, and Players Association. A discussion of such White hegemony would further connect the AFL to the present-day NFL, a league in which White capitalists continue to preside over Black-majority players, and have apparently blackballed (as of September 2017) quarterback Colin Kaepernick following his national-anthem protest of racism in law enforcement. Finally, the "Men" in the book's title points to an opportunity for gender analysis: in a male-exclusive league, how did the various actors come to understand themselves (and be understood) *as* men in the course of circulating and performing masculinity?

While tending away from such discussion, Ross presents a well-organized, well-evidenced account of the AFL's operation as a somewhat muted version of 1960s counterculture. The book is probably best fit for the reader who brings some interest in football, given the play-by-play descriptions of seasons and important games, though it should have appeal for anyone curious about the intersection of sport and racial politics. The text's accessibility and subject matter also render it a good fit for undergraduate classes in sport history, particularly those with sections focused on identity. In sum, *Mavericks, Money, and Men* sheds light on a crucial turning point in U.S. sport history, in which television-obsessed American began to turn to football as the new national pastime, and takes us straight onto the "field" for a better view of such change.

Steve Marston Independent Scholar

THE CONSTRUCTION OF WHITENESS: An Interdisciplinary Analysis of Race Formation and the Meaning of a White Identity. Edited by Stephen Middleton, David R. Roediger, and Donald M. Shaffer. Jackson: University of Mississippi Press. 2016.

At the current historical juncture, when white identity has unabashedly misappropriated racial victimhood and asserted itself as a point of pride, this collection of essays offers more than a theoretical examination of the dominant ideology underpinning American culture. The case studies in this volume provide concrete illustrations of how whiteness and its privilege are institutionalized in American society, over and against racial others. By demonstrating that white identity is constructed and maintained in service of power, each essay examines the meaning of whiteness and challenges the assumption that white entitlements occur naturally.

Although this argument flows from a well-established body of scholarship on whiteness, the collection offers a timely intervention, recalibrated for the special demands of twenty-first century politics. As its title suggests, the collection's interdisciplinary breadth underscores the important fact that whiteness finds traction in values and, thereby, reproduces itself throughout culture. In these essays, scholars of history, sociology, literature, law, economics, and psychology, using different methodological approaches, examine racial construction and the ideology of whiteness within a variety of cultural contexts and from multiple academic vantages.

There is no weak essay among the nine in the volume and the themes deserve particular mention. These include chapters that reexamine the politics of passing and the social meaning attached to mixed-race identity. A particularly strong contribution in this vein, Erica Cooper's essay tracing one-drop reasoning in the law, explores the white preoccupation with invisible blackness. Donald Shaffer's essay on mulatto identity in the fiction of Charles W. Chestnutt also expands our understanding of the representation of racial (im)purity in literature.

Several essays—those by Cooper and Steven Middleton, look at legal constructions of whiteness, while Robert Westley discusses the economics of slavery and David Roediger looks at the impact of emancipation on labor activism and veteran disability on the post-Civil War workforce. The psychology of whiteness figures in Tim Engles's discussion of literature and masculine identity and in Becky Thompson and Veronica Watson's theorization of white racial trauma.

Most unexpected is Sadhana Bery's "Making Whiteness in Reenactments of Slavery," an exploration of the startling phenomenon of "living history" installations that presumably reproduce the slave auction and flight from captivity through the underground railroad.

In these entertainment venues, white visitors seek the vicarious experience of African American bondage and terror.

In addition to offering a deep theoretical grounding in whiteness studies, the volume's interdisciplinary approach also contributes to its utility in both the classroom and scholarship. Although all of the essays are appropriate for interrogations of the construction of whiteness, individual chapters may be used for discipline-specific purposes. The contribution that offers the broadest overview may be Matthew Hughey's essay on "Hegemonic Whiteness: From Structure and Agency to Identity Allegiance," which theorizes white racial construction, incorporates case studies, and issues a call for additional research.

It is unusual to encounter a volume of scholarly essays that exhibit such uniform quality. Moreover, as a sum of its parts, this collection on *The Construction of Whiteness* is extraordinarily cohesive and will find a place in the canon on whiteness. Sadly, the subject matter is also quite topical and the essays offer a timely intervention in both institutionalized white privilege and brazen assertions of white victimhood.

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GRAFFITI AND STREET ART: Reading, Writing and Representing the City. Edited by Konstantinos Avramidis and Myrto Tsilimpounidi. New York: Routledge. 2017.

In 2011 the revolutionary bodies that occupied Tahrir Square demanding the ouster of Hosni Mubarak found its corollary in the passionate, angry, sarcastic and funny graffiti and street art on the walls of Mohammed Mahmoud street which lead into the Square. From an international perspective, graffiti and street art became the visual background for the revolution and numerous articles and books highlighted the graffiti and street art scene of this street during these days of rebellion. Many of these works, however, were written by scholars not familiar with the history of graffiti scholarship and they made numerous assumptions that revealed (Western) biases and inaccuracies. Luckily, in recent years, there has been a number of articles and edited collections that have embraced the (international) history of graffiti and street art and have offered wonderful contextual analysis of these words and images found on walls around the globe. Avramidis and Tsilimpounidi's *Graffiti and Street Art* is one of the best.

What makes this edited collection stand out is that a) the scholars are from a range of disciplines who offer analysis from a variety of vantage points, b) the articles highlight new methodologies (most specifically digital methodologies) to examine graffiti and street art, and c) the case studies are from unrepresented places and populations. Taken separately, each article is a superb analysis that adds insight to the way graffiti and street art interact with a specific built environment of a city. Taken as a whole, the collection reads the city as a performance space where graffiti, street art and the city form relationships that create new and complex city spaces. While their claim that they are signaling the beginning of a "4th wave" (11) of graffiti and street art scholarship is a bit grandiose, the collection is an informative read.

All of the articles within the collection are strong although a few scholars stand out for their deep historicity while simultaneously introducing new readings and/or methodologies of graffiti and street art: Jeff Ferrell highlights the dialectic nature between art and action that is the essence of graffiti and street art; Kurt Iveson, using the theories of Jacques Rancière, thinks through the politics of graffiti and street art as it interacts with cityscapes; Rafael Schacter lays bare the confusing and contradictory nature of classifying graffiti and street art as 'art'; Andrea Brighenti offers a wonderful contextualization of graffiti within the public sphere; Mona Abaza highlights the issues of non-Cairene scholars and reporters writing about the graffiti and street art movement in Egypt without proper understanding of place; Lachlan Macdowall examines graffiti and street art produced as digital objects, opening up the field to new avenues of exploration. All of these articles (and many more from the 15 articles in the collection) are excellent additions to the study of graffiti and street art and point to new horizons of inquiry.

I can offer no criticisms of this wonderful collection that Avramidis and Tsilimpounidi have edited (except for its $150 price tag). *Graffiti and Street Art* is a needed and welcome collection for the field of graffiti and street art.

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THE CITY SINCE 9/11: Literature, Film, Television. Edited by Keith Wilhite. Lanham: Fairleigh Dickenson UP. 2016.

With specific attention on the metropolis, the last fifteen years have seen several publications regarding changes to the post-9/11 urban environment. *The City Since 9/11* joins the list by gathering a diverse collection of essays with an overarching theme of looking at "the city as a contested site" (3). The connection Keith Wilhite establishes between the sixteen articles is their aim to examine "the city as a crossroads for local and global discourses about human precarity, the social life of the public sphere, state power, economic inequality, and future crises" (17); unfortunately, these tasks create such a wide gamut that the collection fails to provide any cohesion. The broadest consistency within these assorted articles is that they do indeed focus on major cities as represented in literature, film, and television *after* September 11, 2001, but not all the articles provide valuable interpretations of the city *since* 9/11. There is a sense that these assorted articles lack a direct focus in elucidating how cities have become contested in the wake of post-9/11 transformations.

Taken individually, however, there are several articles containing meaningful additions to the discussion of early 21st Century metropolitan literature, film, and television. There are a handful of articles that concentrate on works not often appearing in extended critical analysis. For example, there is noteworthy interpretation of Colson Whitehead's *Zone One* (2011) and the weaknesses of our cities, while William Gibson's Blue Any Trilogy (2003–10) is examined through its depiction of global homesickness, brought on by the numerous possibilities of the global world. Additionally, the film and television section contains articles that focus on "excess of representation" (199) in Alfonso Cuarón's film, *Children of Men* (2006), while two Scandinavian crime dramas, *The Bridge* (2011–13) and *The Killing* (2007–12) are assessed for their representations of abject space in Copenhagen. Multiple authors do, however, place their attention on some commonly examined metropolitan texts of the 21st Century, including Teju Cole's *Open City* (2011), Jonathan Safran Foer's *Extremely Loud & Incredibly Close* (2005), and Joseph O'Neill's *Netherland* (2008).

Wilhite states that the "since" in the title "implies an examination of the city attuned to its history" (2); yet, the articles often fail to highlight a clearly defined shift in time—there is insufficient contrast or distinction provided for the reader to demonstrate the changed environment after 9/11, and therefore the significance of "since" does not clearly come across as a shift in metropolitan identity. Indeed, certain issues covered were contested topics and themes before 9/11. What we fail to discern through substantial investigation is how things have really changed. It does not strike me that this volume—in its totality—greatly adds to the rapidly expanding analysis of our global cities with an eye to post-9/11 transformations. In fact, there is more than one article contained within where

the phrase "post-9/11" seems inserted merely to create the semblance of fitting in with the title of the book. Perhaps Wilhite's breadth is a tad too far-ranging in the incorporation of certain articles, therefore causing the collection to miss its mark. While all the articles are well written and contain soundly supported arguments, their accumulated failure to provide a broader, more cohesive, understanding of the city since 9/11 leaves this reader wondering why there was need to publish, in book format, these varied articles.
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HEATHEN, HINDOO, HINDU: American Representations of India, 1721–1893. By Michael J. Altman. New York: Oxford University Press, 2017.

Michael J. Altman's *Heathen, Hindoo, Hindu: American Representations of India, 1721-1893* begins and ends with Swami Vivekananda's address to the 1893 World's Parliament of Religion. Many studies of American religion do the same, but Altman turns that traditional historical narrative on its head. Rather than see that 1893 event as the inaugural moment of Hinduism entering American religious discourse, Altman reads it as a culmination of more than a century of American engagement with Indian religion. Indeed, one of the many contributions the book brings to the field of American religious studies is to understand much American engagement with "Hinduism" as a construction of various and conflicting Indian religious representations in the early United States.

As the title suggests, Altman is not engaging with a fixed religion called "Hinduism." Instead, his book is a trenchant study of how "Americans used representations of India in their own constructions and arguments about 'religion'" (140). Altman's book analyzes "how Hinduism became conceivable in America," providing a genealogy of thinkers and writers beginning in the late eighteenth century who used information about religion in India to construct various images of heathenism, bloody cult practices, mystical religion, and proto-Christianity (xx). Altman's overriding point is that these constructions, whether labeled "heathen," "Hindoo," or something else, speak to how American thinkers wrestled with Christianity and the very idea of religion.

Altman begins in the late eighteenth century, primarily New England, where Protestant Christianity, and Enlightenment ideas of religion provide various early imaginings of Indian religious life. The Enlightenment strain of thinking comes through Hannah Adams's frequently revised book *An Alphabetical Compendium of the Various Sects Which Have Appeared in the World from the Beginning of the Christian Era to the Present Day*, which attempted an "impartial and fair account of the world's variety of theological positions" (11). Despite claims of impartiality, Altman argues Adams's work is suffused with a Protestant Christian understanding of religion and, like other figures in this book, uses Indian religious practices to understand Euro-American ideas of monotheism and human reason.

Next, Altman moves to Anglo-American missionary activity in the early nineteenth century, which produced a print culture describing global missionary work. Its picture of Indian religious practices was lurid. Evangelical readers saw practices such as "sati," the immolation of widows on their husband's funeral pyres, as signals of an innate depravity of Indian religious practice. This picture of a violent, sexual "Hindoo" religion stands in contradistinction to Rammohun Roy, a Bengali writer who argued for an essentially monotheistic form of Hindoo religion, and who figured in battles between Unitarians and Trinitarians in New England. In the national discourse, school textbooks and magazines like *Harper's* constructed a white, Protestant American nationhood where India often served as its backward opposite. Similarly, transcendentalists like Ralph Waldo Emmerson and Henry David Thoreau deployed India as the purest representation of a mystical, introverted, and ascetic "East" against a pragmatic and action-oriented "West" represented by the United States.

Later in the nineteenth century Madame Blavatsky's Theosophical Society would find in India the source of "occult power" and "esoteric truths" (99). Yet they also came into unprecedented conflict with actual Indian religious practitioners, finding their inventions of Indian religion did not fit with Indian traditions. When Altman returns the World's Parliament of Religion in his last chapter, he therefore reads it (and its voluminous historiography) as a culmination of a century-long engagement with Indian religion.

Altman leaves the reader with important questions about alternative ways of doing American religious studies, about thinking genealogically rather than descriptively, and about moving away from fixed, essential definitions of religious categories. Returning to Hannah Adams, Altman also reminds us that comparative religion and religious studies have a longer American history. Overall, the book does an excellent job investigating a forgotten genealogy of Indian religion in American while pointing towards new directions in religious history.

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EAST MEET BLACK: Asian and Black Masculinities in the Post-Civil Rights Era. By Chong Chon-Smith. Jackson: University of Mississippi Press. 2015.

Situating cultural texts in the post-civil rights era, *East Meets Black* reveals the ways in which African American and various Asian and Asian American identities have circled each other through "racial magnetism." The concept captures the ways that race, nation and citizenship simultaneously push and pull against one another "as a system of social meanings in symmetrical contrast to each other" (3). Focusing primarily on manifestations of radical black masculinity informed by the social and political developments in the 1960s, the book examines Asian and black masculinities in literature, sports and music.

Chon-Smith significantly contributes to Afro-Asian scholarship by delineating the significance of the post-civil rights moment. The book revives the obscured relationship between blacks and Asians through the links between Patrick Moynihan, who promoted the notion of pathology emerging from black families in the 1960s, and William Peterson, who promoted the "model minority" stereotype for Asian Americans. It also shows the hidden influences of transnational capital in the domestic formations of dynamics between blacks and Asians. These dynamics impact how perceptions of Asian bodies continue to be filtered through the lens of black masculinity. Afro-Asian dynamics deploy differently depending on context. The dynamics among African American and Asian American writers works out differently than the representations of Afro-Asian buddies in Hollywood film. The book also teases out the factors in play in the Shaquille O'Neal-Yao Ming scandal, deftly handling the competing interests of race and citizenship against the backdrop of basketball. Here, the conflagration occurs within the context of national concerns about the international aspirations of the National Basketball Association as well as the influence of an American media not well-versed in the history of Asian Americans and stereotypical representations of them.

At times, the book focuses more on the impact of black masculinity on various modes of Asian masculinity rather than on the reciprocal interchange suggested the historical context of the post-civil rights movement. Chon-Smith explores the impact of African American masculinity on the way that Asian American literary editors situated their publishing project. At other times, the focus on Afro-Asian dynamics overshadows the analysis of masculinity. The examination of Ichiro Suzuki attempts to place him within a baseball tradition informed by the exclusion of African American players and highlighted by Jackie Robinson's entry into the major leagues. However, the book focuses more on his entry into American baseball, a sport that features far fewer black players. The analysis of the ways in which both Asian American spoken word and hip-hop artists transliterate hip-hop aesthetics and structures into an Asian American experience overshadows the attention on masculinity. The interrogation of the buddy film attempts to define a female buddy in *Romeo Must Die* in a parallel with *Rush Hour*, but could explore the dynamics of gender within the context of romance. Nevertheless, Chon-Smith's interrogation of Asian American masculinities is a welcome addition to scholarship on Afro-Asian cultural interaction.

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Notes on Contributors

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