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Our goals
SCAJ strives to be an *inclusive* platform for showcasing papers written by students for students from the department of Cultural Anthropology at Utrecht University and University College Utrecht. Furthermore, by encouraging students from all backgrounds to submit their papers for any anthropology course of choice SCAJ aims to *represent all* anthropology students as such. In accordance, SCAJ strongly believes in the power of knowledge-sharing. Students hold the ability to *educate* and *inspire* fellow students by displaying their work.

Our values
SCAJ aspires to be *transparent* when it comes to methods and processes regarding the creating and publishing of the journal. Taking into account that SCAJ is an undergraduate/graduate journal, we have no intention of pretending to know more than our fellow students in the academic field. *Equality*

between the core team, reviewers, authors, and readers is therefore strongly emphasized. By stressing this, SCAJ aims to be an *accessible* platform for both writers and readers.

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Introduction

In times like these it can be challenging to find a balance between keeping yourself informed on the global developments that influence your daily life, and staying focused on your research and studies. As news and (social) media are continuously persuading us to follow the securitization and management of the pandemic, our classes and professors demand equal attention and dividing this attention can be a difficult task. Especially from the, for some, increasing discomfort of home.

Because we have been spending most of our time by ourselves lately, our academic dialogue has likewise been condemned to the screen. However, I happily share that the distance has not prevented you from submitting your written work. After a rigorous selection process, the Students of Cultural Anthropology Journal offers you nine pieces of academic work written by students of anthropology across a variety of subjects and by authors from a variety of backgrounds!

The current edition is home to a few premieres this season. First, it is worth mentioning that for this edition our selection committee was joined by a student from the master Cultural Anthropology: Sociocultural Transformation. This means that bachelor students from UU and UCU, from the academic master, and from the research master are represented in the review teams. All of your efforts help us work towards our goal of inclusivity and education regardless of year or track of study.

Second, I wish to point out that this third edition contains two pieces featuring the results and discussion of bachelor's fieldwork! Driessen takes us in her article to post-Brexit Scotland where she researched processes of identity and nation-building, discussing local people's perception of Scotland's place within the UK's unitary state. Beumkes will tell you about her experiences as a fieldworker in the forests of Northern Germany, where her conversations with members of an eclectic Buddhist community shed light on the perceived meanings of religion and spirituality. If you are currently working on the first milestones of your thesis, or you are an aspiring ethnographer looking into the topics that could be an option for you, be sure not to miss out on these two interesting articles.

Third and finally, I draw your attention to the fact that, out of nine, no less than four elected papers were written for the seemingly quite popular subject of Anthropology of Power, taught at UCU. Take the time to delve into the fascinating subjects of eugenics and biocolonialism in the Human Genome Diversity Project, or read about the power dynamics at play within and between critical/radical

mental health movements. Besides, you will find a postcolonial analysis of anti-Black violence in urban Brazil, and be invited to think about the epistemological questions raised in a paper on the intersection of symbolic violence and rape cultures on US college campuses. All of these papers together display an intriguing and exciting look into the potential of cultural anthropology to decipher intricate power relations.

For the creative processes of academic development to thrive, it can be worth your time to lean back and put your own schedule aside to make room for the stories and writings of other students. Students who, much like you, spent hours in the swirl of thoughts and ideas that precede the birth of an academic writing assignment. We may not see it in each other's eyes as we are leaving the lecture halls, we may not read it in the amounts of coffee cups stacked on our desks. But writing, we are. And devotedly so.

Machteld Nuiver
Editor-in-chief

Before Reading

Before you start reading the papers that have been selected for the third edition of SCAJ, we feel it is our place to share a few noteworthy comments.

First, the core team of SCAJ would like to emphasize that both the content of the papers as well as the added motivation for producing the work (as quoted beneath the author's name), are completely written by the authors; the core team of SCAJ left their substance untouched.

Furthermore, we would like you to be aware of the fact that referring to the content of this journal in your own academic work might not be encouraged by professors. The works published in SCAJ are written by Cultural Anthropology students who mainly built on theory of other scholars and are not (yet) considered credible sources themselves. If you are in doubt whether to refer to a certain paper published here, we advise you to consult your professor.

The order in which the papers are published in this journal is not based on our judgment of their respective qualities. Rather, we have tried to organize it in a way that is pleasant to read. This means we have tried to avoid placing papers with similar topics next to each other. Other than that, the arrangement of papers is completely random.

The papers published in SCAJ do not serve as example papers for the courses offered by the University of Utrecht, nor should they be taken as being fully representative of the university's curriculum. SCAJ is an independent platform that relies entirely on the work of students. We are not tied to the university. The papers may not be copied in any format whatsoever without explicit consent from the author.

Enunciating an Epoch

A Discussion of the Anthropocene, Indigenous Politics and Ontology

Or Shahaf

This piece tries to trace a crucial intersection between the struggles against ecological degradation and neocolonial capitalism, through a case study of indigenous ethnography. More than anything else, I think it demonstrates the importance of broadening one's inquiry into these matters, as a required step for understanding the inseparability of climate change, global capitalism and colonial heritage, as well as grasping one's own entanglement within them.

Introduction

The Earth is changing. This is hardly news to anyone, since it has been changing for well over four and half billion years. Indeed, one observing the planet with the spatiotemporal apprehension of a gas giant may react to the rapidity of changes in climate with a disinterested yawn. Most humans, I dare wager, tend to prefer a far more modest point of view, and when they look at the Earth, they see unsettling changes. These changes are so massive that they may well prompt the definition of a new geological epoch, named for the orchestrator of change: the *Anthropocene* – a geological epoch in which a single species has seized the reins of a whole planet and is navigating it straight down the road to annihilation.

The discourse in the paragraph above may seem relatively innocuous at first, and unless you belong to that specific strain of the inattentive and callous, you may well find

yourself in agreement. As its writer I certainly am, but at the same time I will dedicate the following paper to elaborating on why the naïve assignment of responsibility to whomever the archetypal human-being may be is both harmful and counterproductive.

I will begin by discussing the idea of Anthropocene, its inception and implications. To that I will add ideas from Donna Haraway to supplement the definition of the epoch with terms that can help us understand the matter at hand more thoroughly. I will also introduce Marisol de la Cadena's notion of the *Anthropo-not-seen*, which together with the concepts mentioned earlier, can help us understand the case study that follows it within the context of anthropogenic climate change. The case study is based on de la Cadena's decade long ethnographic research in Peru, working closely with two indigenous Quechua-speaking locals, Mariano and Nazario Turpo, as detailed in her paper *Indigenous Cosmopolitics in the Andes* (2010) and her book *Earth Beings: Ecologies of Practice Across Andean Worlds* (2015). Finally, I will return to the original starting point of the paper and demonstrate the requirement of a deeper inquiry into the foundations of the wicked problem we call climate change, and the new epoch it entails.

Theories and Practice

Extending the Meaning of the Anthropocene

The name Anthropocene can only be traced back a couple of decades, appearing first as a working term used to describe the extent of the effect of human activity on specific and global ecosystems (Mathews, 2020). Although it is not recognised as an official term by any geological body that may have the authority to do so, it became increasingly prevalent, rapidly seeping into popular culture, climate justice movements, and interestingly enough, research and literature in the humanities that are often eager to tackle the effects of humans on their world. An important question that arises with the proposition of a new ecological epoch is when and how did it start. In the case of the Anthropocene, answers are often associated with "The Great Acceleration", a name given to the era after World War II, when many of the world's nations have undergone an unprecedented process of economic growth, leading to a massive increase in exploitation of natural resources. Other suggested starting points include the first detonations of nuclear weapons and go as far back as the industrial revolution itself (McNeill & Engelke, 2014). These answers are important to our inquiry because as we can quickly notice, they all point at processes that originated as global north practices. These practices are thoroughly entangled with and are

dependent upon other practices associated with the global north: capitalism, extractivism, colonialism, imperialism, globalisation.

What is necessary to note here is that the rise and context of the Anthropocene is fundamentally entwined with oppression. All of this is not to say that the term Anthropocene should be avoided or completely replaced, and it is certainly not to deny human involvement in climate change. The term Anthropocene implies and perpetuates a division between humans and nonhumans, and that division, its genesis, apprehension and consequences, needs to be meticulously engaged with. The danger in thinking through this division is the careless depoliticization of the struggle for environmental justice, which as we will soon see, is a struggle that consistently intersects with any and all forms of opposition to oppression, in our case decolonial and indigenous conflicts. What we therefore require is an extension of term at both ends. On one end, this means backing away from the human, and looking at the far larger multispecies and abiotic network that pervades the planet. On the other, it means zooming in on humanity, and finding out what specific historical contexts, ways of living, and ontologies create and feed anthropogenic climate change, and the implied Anthropocene as its background. I will therefore continue with an outline of additional views on how to think and speak about our entangled present.

Multispecies theorist Donna Haraway prefers to think of the Anthropocene as a boundary event between epochs, rather than an extended era. Her list of reasons to move away from the term is considerable but we can begin at the larger end mentioned before, while simultaneously moving towards the other end.

> No species, not even our own arrogant one pretending to be good individuals in so-called modern Western scripts, acts alone; assemblages of organic species and of abiotic actors make history, the evolutionary kind and the other kinds too. But is there an inflection point of consequence that changes the name of the "game" of life on earth for everybody and everything? It's more than climate change; it's also extraordinary burdens of toxic chemistry, mining, nuclear pollution, depletion of lakes and rivers under and above ground, ecosystem simplification, vast genocides of people and other critters [...] (Haraway, 2016:100)

What Haraway protests is the incessant separation between humans, or least a lot of humans, from the mode by which other forms of life and entire ecosystems are intertwined within a bigger network. She also offers additional terms that can help us navigate towards a more particular engagement with what it is that defines the time we live in and

draw attention to the oppressive regimes I mentioned earlier. *Capitalocene* takes us all the way back to Marx and to how capitalism creates and defines the world we live in. It promises progress and modernity, paid for among others, with alienation and the dislocation of countless people and other species. Capitalocene, unlike Anthropocene, can be understood as 'a system of power, profit and re/production in the web of life.' (Moore, 2017). The Anthropocene's main goal is to shift our understanding of how humans affect and govern over that web of life, and there is nothing utopian about it; Capitalism as a human organisation is no longer an external force that distantly controls actions from the background; it is the very foundation of modernity and progress, and it actively drives the planet in a particular direction.

Plantationocene is another useful term that helps us specify the Anthropocene even further. It transfers attention once again not just to unidirectional large-scale human activities but to unmediated human interaction with soil, ecosystems and other species (Haraway, 2016). Humans change the earth through monoculture farming, neo-colonial extractivism and oppressive labour that all stretch back to times well before the Great Acceleration and discussions of climate change. These practices become an important aspect to bear in mind for the rest of this inquiry; plantations and the plantationocene cannot be discussed without addressing the consequences and legacies of colonial and imperialist powers, which include induced patriarchal structures, racist hierarchies and massive spikes of inequality among peoples which comprise diverse genders, racial groups, orientations and so on. This also already serves in denial of the possibility of any apolitical description of the epoch which is often a justified criticism of the term Anthropocene, with the other two terms being far more explicit about its political dimension.

Marisol de la Cadena further helps us politicise the inquiry by pulling it towards concrete practice in discussion of what she terms as the "Anthropo-not-seen". Already within the same context as the one brought up by Haraway, de la Cadena tells the story of protests by the Awajun Wampis indigenous group against unwelcome government-backed attempts at "development" projects. These conflicts help us understand the Anthropo-not-seen, which she defines as

> [...] the world-making process through which heterogeneous worlds that do not make themselves through practices that ontologically separate humans (or culture) from nonhumans (or nature)—*nor necessarily conceive as such the different entities in their assemblages—both* are

> obliged into that distinction (and thus willfully destroyed) *and* exceed it. (de la Cadena, 2019:40)

This term along with those mentioned before helps form a critical view of what the Anthropocene is and what it defines. In case of the Awajun Wampis and other indigenous populations in South America, de la Cadena traces this world-making process back to fifteenth century colonisation of the Americas, making us once again notice the relation between historical oppressive system, current neo-colonial extractivism and the inevitable destruction of ecosystems. It also brings forth the inquiry into ontological plurality and the tension between conflicting ontologies. Can and should we reconcile between these two contradictory world-making processes, considering the dominant one's history of oppression and hegemonic power at present? The following case study focusing on Peru and other Andean states can help see what that might look like.

Earth-Beings and Indigenous Political Emergence in the Andes

In order to ground our thus far conceptual inquiry in practice, I am going to elaborate on Marisol de la Cadena's work and use it as a case study that demonstrates the importance and salience of the concepts previously articulated. De la Cadena's ethnographic fieldwork is concerned primarily with Peru, but also refers to other Andean regions in Bolivia and Ecuador. This is because her focus, and therefore ours, does not conform to historically composed borders, and is instead articulated around indigenous thought, ontology and the history of the region. What de la Cadena's analysis entails can in essence be described as a political emergence of indigeneity in the contemporary Andes. Understanding what that process entails requires that we first return to the history of the region, and specifically to how the chimeric ontology that de la Cadena describes came to be and developed over centuries.

In the seventeenth century Catholic priests traveling the Andes disavowed any form interaction with non-human entities as idolatries. These entities were opposed to what they perceived as God's true creation, or the Western conception of nature, and any reverence towards them was akin to worshipping the devil (de la Cadena, 2010). This is a single, though interconnected, aspect of Western worlding brought up through colonialism, that to this day constitutes the basis for a political hegemony that is founded on the same one-world ontology. It demonstrates how far back the conflict on what constitutes nature goes. For the indigenous Quechua, these entities are *Earth-beings*; nonhuman beings that

they actively exist alongside and interact with, taking the form of mountains. The inclusion of Earth-beings is not metaphorical, poetical, or superstitious. It arises from the relation that all discrete entities possess to their geographical context; an assemblage understood through the Quechua term *ayllu*. Or in the words of Justo Oxa, a Quechua schoolteacher:

> The community, the *ayllu*, is not only a territory where a group of people live; it is more than that. It is a dynamic space where the whole community of beings that exist in the world lives; this includes humans, plants, animals, the mountains, the rivers, the rain, etc. All are related like a family. It is important to remember that this place is not where we are from, it is who we are. (Oxa, 2004:239)

The hegemonic structure that is present in modern day Peru uses the western definition of nature as objective, a matter of scientific study, to push the existence of earth-beings, an integration of agency with nature, to the margins as a matter of ethnic or cultural belief. Of course, this is far from the only colonial legacy still in place in Peru. Historically, the colonial hacienda rule took over the land that was the ayllu which included the Ausangate mountain, or earth-being. The result was prevention from use of the pastures for animal husbandry and for growing produce which disconnected the locals from their land and diminished their way of life. This in turn became the starting point for organisation of movements and protests against the hacienda which eventually recovered the territory. The recovery includes the reaffirmation of Ausangate as a powerful earth-being presiding over the region and part of the ayllu, but that reaffirmation has not been enough to designate it as a political actor, since the process of reclaiming the land coincided other efforts that sought to end the hacienda rule and so the recovery of the ayllu was overshadowed as part of the comprehensive agrarian land reform (de la Cadena, 2010, 2015)

That was far from the end of this lengthy conflict. Like in many other places in South America and the global south, the more recent advances of neoliberalism meant a resurgence for attempts of asserting a Western understanding of nature as a standing reserve of resources, in areas where these ideas negate the foundations of the way by which different forms of being inhabit and negotiate the world. One the important nuances about this case is how through it we may disengage with our own preconceptions of what such struggles are trying to achieve, the rationale behind them and other forms of careless essentialising. De la Cadena's research focuses, alongside other events, on the attempts of stopping the establishment new mining operations in the

region. In her view at the time, the new mine would destroy local pasture areas which would greatly affect daily lives of people that rely on them. Her informants, though in agreement, add the negative impact on tourism which would impede their own economic prospects. So how are we to interpret this clash between anti-mining locals which after centuries of hegemonic oppression still maintain a bond with nonhuman entities, and neoliberal, state-backed attempts of designating the same space as "unused" and ready to be excavated? The key lies understanding the political presence of such nonhuman entities, which in turn brings us to reconsider the very notion of a political entity.

> In Mariano and Nazario Turpo's world political skills include the relations between human beings and other-than-human beings that together make place: mountains, rivers, crops, seeds, sheep, alpacas, llamas, pastures, plots, rocks—even dogs and hens. And as the new liberal state (unable to see these relations) dismisses this place, abstracts it, and legally reterritorializes it (e.g., by declaring it "empty" or "unproductive" space) to make room for mining and the economic benefits it would potentially generate, people like Nazario and Graciano concerned about the destruction of their place, bring their concern to politics. (De la Cadena, 2010:355-356)

Let us now recall the Western understanding that generated the hegemonic basis of this liberal state: the creation of politics not only manufactures the ontological division between humans and nature, but it also defines politics as an exclusively human issue while nature is to be objectively quantified through science. As far as our earlier discussions go, this is very much in line with the thought process that talks of the uniquely potent Anthropos that is the sole agent in the destruction of a passive nature.

So, what could be the way forward? Continuing with this case study we examine a framework that explains the political debut of these earth-beings, and by extension the importance of rethinking what we all consider to be political actants. When Mariano Turpo was organising struggles against the hacienda he could have been described as attempting to recover land by nonindigenous leftists that appear to be fighting for the same cause. This understanding however, constitutes an equivocation that is the result of a connection between two worlds that are able to coincide in their goals, even though their apprehension of how entities operate in that world contradicts. De la Cadena describes this as a 'partial connection' between worlds, that together are more than one but are less than two, due to the entanglement of indigenous and Western worlding in Peru (de La Cadena, 2010). This

connection allows for earth-beings to be represented even if their place in the indigenous world is not explicated on a single objective plane. Their immediate exclusion recalls the politics of the West as a unifier of a single world, or put another way, the Christian and later modernist fabrication of the 'one-world world' and the concurrent "Anthropo-not-seen" (de la Cadena, 2019). This idea of "normal" politics describes rational human beings vying for power in order to represent their fellow human political actors and their interests in dealings with the state. In a Western-based political hegemony, this representation is possessed solely by the elite, and a hierarchy dictates that some people may well have their interests accounting for less than those with more power. And yet outside of this hierarchy are those who do not conform to that division between human and nature to begin with, and their ontology is reduced to religious beliefs, perhaps a step above their original colonial description as devil worship (de la Cadena, 2010, 2019). De la Cadena speaks about indigenous emergence as the understanding that, through the same partial connection, earth-beings have the opportunity to be brought into the political sphere, but not merely as a way of conforming to the politics of oneworld world, quite the contrary: continuously pushing towards the recognition of earth-beings as active actants transforms and recreates politics. Instead of power relations and struggles within singular worlds, a new pluriversal notion of politics is created, one that "[…] includes the possibility of adversarial relations among worlds […]" (de la Cadena, 2010). From the point of view of dealing with ontological contradictions, this is the first step in reconciling the fundamental notion that more than a single ontology can be allowed to exist.

Same Phenomenon, Different Cases

The same process towards politics which affirm a plurality is present and evident across the globe. De la Cadena's account speaks about integrating non-Western ontologies into a hybrid form of daily politics, but other instances look at laws and constitution as a way of advancing away from a "one-world world" and towards a framework of multiple ontologies. In neighbouring Ecuador, the current constitution, adapted in 2008, recognised the "rights of nature", enshrining in law the inalienable rights of ecosystems to have their integral existence, maintenance and evolution respected, and be politically represented should those rights be breached. While the benefits for conservation and biodiversity implied in this law are clear to any Western environmentalist, the basis for it lies in the Andean understanding of *Pachamama* as a beyond nature active entity

who creates and supports life, and requires respect (Tanasescu, 2013). Another example comes from much farther away. In New Zealand, decades of appeals and judicial work have culminated in the recognition the Whanganui river and the ecosystem that houses it as a single entity with indivisible physical and metaphysical properties. This is once again in line with the way that the Maori ontology of the local iwi (indigenous social unit) sees the river. Granting these rights does not constitute a dissolution of that ontology in a western law system, rather it opens up a massive space within that system for non-Western ontologies to finally exist on equal footings (Charpleix, 2017). Inspired by these considerable advancements, we can also see comparable attempts in Europe, where the lack of an equivalent indigenous footing may prove challenging when attempting to find a reason to modify laws in the name of nonhumans. Most of these are based on Bruno Latour's *Parliament of Things*, a conceptual framework concerned with political representation for nonhumans. Concrete cases include the Embassy of the North Sea, which attempts to map out and understand an entirely different mode of being, that of a sea, starting from the basic, western-based idea, that if anyone must *own* the sea, then the sea owns itself ("Embassy of the North Sea", 2020). Not far from there, in Rotterdam, Het Nieuwe Instuut is experimenting with a more general outline for practically implementing the Parliament of Things called *Zoöp*. A Zoöp organisation functions by shifting away from the common notion that every being within its space is to be treated and considered based on its harm and benefit to humans. This means, much like in the cases in South America and New Zealand, that nonhuman participants are entitled to representation as political actors, which is not necessarily mediation through a theoretically objective description of science ("Zoöp Background", 2020).

Discussion

This takes us back to the very beginning of this inquiry, attempts to define the earth's current epoch and by extension, humanity's place in relation to it. The case study discussed brings forward the understanding that Anthropocene, if it comes to imply a certain relationship between humans and nature, is already lacking in depth to explain that relationship, based on the fact that this relationship may not exist everywhere in the same way. What the Anthropocene does is make us reconsider the way we as a species interact with what we perceive as nature; are we extracting too many resources, is the planet overpopulated, do we need to find better ways of consuming energy and materials? These are all questions that

affirm the separation between humanity and the rest of the planet, adopt an apolitical Anthropocene, and, as one may or may not observe, repeatedly run into a stone wall in the form of the wicked problem of climate change.

The complementary views on the Anthropocene, along with the case study we investigated, can help us paint a clearer picture of a planet in peril, a peril that manifests differently in different areas. The case in Peru does not conform to the Anthropocene because the two sides of the struggle cannot be described as a singular agent of change, namely Anthropos, that brings about the epoch. Instead, we find the Capitolocene, in the form of open-sky mining, that shaves off the Earth in order to sell gold on the other side of the globe. We find the Plantationocene, in the form of states that describe lands as unproductive because they are not ecologically exhausted and arid as countless other massive monoculture farms. Lastly, we find the Anthropo-not-seen; more-than-human assemblages that understand that the Earth is changing, but do not and cannot separate the destruction of a part from the destruction of the whole.

Conclusion

To conclude, let us concisely reiterate the argument presented in this paper. As a part of attempts of defining, understanding and dealing with climate change, many across the world now realise that a reckoning of the effects of humanity on the planet is long overdue. Part of that process led to a new proposed geological epoch; the Anthropocene - a time where the presence of humanity on the globe is akin to that of a geological force. While investigating the link between climate and humans is undeniably important, we learn through the case study that a straightforward use of the term Anthropocene is misleading for two main reasons. First, it fails to address the historical and contemporary practices that overwhelmingly accelerate the destruction of ecosystems. Second, it affirms a Eurocentric dichotomy between humanity and nature, a separation that does not exist across the planet and certainly not in the same way. By actively engaging with those peoples and practices that can offer alternative formations of reality, and that were and are historically repressed from expression, we can better understand both what led our terrible situation, and maybe even find a way out.

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Madness Politicized

Medicalization, Politicization, and the Subject in Radical Mental Health Movements

Gina Meimann

I had been noticing a rather odd separation between wellbeing and diversity – with mental illness being conceptualized on the wellbeing side and as such, all interventions being centered around self-improvement and/or consumption. In other words, I was told to "just do yoga" one too many times. These ideas led me into a rabbithole of Mad politics and made me reconsider truths I held about myself and my relation to the psy-complex - I'd love for others to also get to discover this (although not unproblematic) often overshadowed side of Madness.

"Do you pour [distress] into crooked little paintings and big-voiced songs? Do you drive too fast and scream at people who get in your way? Do you hide with it in bed or rage with it at work? Do you smother it with a martini or a prescription for Prozac? [...] Do you turn for help to a doctor or a priest? To a witch or a Wal-Mart? What map do you follow?" (The Icarus Project, 2014, p. 3)

Introduction

While many campaigns such as #MedicatedAndMighty have been fighting to reduce the stigma associated with taking psychiatric medication, oppositional camps are warning of the increasing influence of large for-profit pharmaceutical companies, indicative of a much larger intermingling of medicine with the global market. Among

the many critics of the mental health system, a variety of movements has emerged, of which some do not believe in a biomedical model to distress at all, their critiques ranging from post-modernist and anti-capitalist to permaculture-based. This raises a variety of questions that often remain unquestioned: Is hearing voices an inherently bad thing? Is it a fault in brain chemistry or a spirit calling from the ancient past? Is consumerism not just another one of these voices – and why would it be more legitimate? What does it matter if "it's all in your head"? Is the cure in Ritalin, Yoga, a shopping spree or within all of these at once? How sick can an individual be within a sick society? How can we capture a snapshot of sanity within a world transforming as rapidly as ours – yet ideas of Madness, in one way or the other, have persisted throughout time? How are some people trying to remove the word Mad from our society, whereas others throw queer-inspired parades to celebrate being *crazy*, *insane* or *nuts*? Or was Shakespeare on the right track and Madmen are carriers of truth – but have been buried under layers of big pharma propaganda?

These questions largely concern the relationship between politics and medicine – especially within a field that strives towards being *more* scientific. Many of these movements have ended, transformed, and morphed into others, creating a strong web of critique that has found its way from academia to the people, and then back into academia. In the following, I will outline the progression of these movements within the spheres of academia and activism in conjunction with the questions, conflicts, and contradictions they raise about medicalization, politicization, and the agency of the individual within this.

The first step in understanding the sentiments behind critical mental health movements is to question the very idea of a *diagnosis* that underlies medical practice. Rather than innocent labels, diagnostic processes can constitute powerful tools with a significant political effect. Within the current diagnostic process, the power shifts almost entirely to the one who diagnoses (Jutel, 2019), who is further backed by an extensive system of professionals, the *psy-complex*, an "assemblage of diverse elements that frame and make possible the place and the operations of psychology" (Pulido-Martinez, 2014, p. 1598). This extends beyond the *psy-professions* into a variety of other institutions

that perpetuate or require medicalized understandings of madness, considering there are "psychologists and psychiatrists serving as experts on talk shows, writing columns in women's magazines, talking on the news after every crisis or tragedy, writing books for laypeople, informing disciplines such as criminology or pedagogy, and serving as experts in courts of law" (Taylor, 2014, p.405). This extension reaches beyond borders, with some referring to the psy-sciences as expansionist, imperializing (Whitley, 2012) and colonizing, "in the process of homogenizing the way the world goes mad" from overshadowing a variety of indigenous beliefs to "literally marketing [diseases]" abroad (Watters, 2010).

Besides the reach of psychiatric diagnosis, the medicalization thereof is significant, as this complex holds the discursive power to structure society through the delineation of what is considered normal versus what is abnormal. As one of the most famous critics of the psy-complex, Michel Foucault urged us to not understand madness as a transhistorical object intelligible by science, but rather understand that "what we are […] is historically contingent and that what we think is human nature […] is a set of constructs particular to our own time" (Taylor, 2014, p. 404). Throughout history, Mad people were not indubitably deemed sick; they could be tragic, eschatological, sinful, and often serve as tellers of truth. As uneasy reminders of unspeakable truths of human nature, Mad people were often sent into exile or imprisoned in institutions focused on exclusion over healing as one among the many "nonworking people". From this point of view, Phillipe Pinel did not, in fact, 'liberate' the Mad at the Salpêtrière as immortalized in a variety of paintings, but rather moved their oppression from the realm of morality or sin into the realm of pathology, with treatments moving away from "exile, confinement, or punishment [toward] therapy and cure," (p. 407).

Beyond the history of psychiatry, there are more contemporary critiques of the psy-complex. Cohen (2016) notes in his Marxist critique that the mental health system operates in an intrinsically flawed dynamic of "[normalizing] the fundamentally oppressive relations of capitalism by focusing on the individual – rather than the society – as pathological and in need of adjustment", (p. 19) for example by diagnosing children with disorders that align closely with capitalist requirements of compliance and discipline. This medicalization of capitalist ideology

further expands the reach and validity of the psy-complex (Hickey, 2014). The omnipresence of such discourses can be attributed to a combination of the authority given to 'hard' sciences and the increase of positivist, quantitative and 'truthful' psychology - "a rabbit hole of pursuing a valid biomedical nosology" (Bassmann, 2019, p.340). As such, the psy-complex can be considered one of capitalist reproduction through both pathologizing oppressive social relations and delineating the norm of productivity – in addition to rather intimate engagement with the pharmaceutical industry.

Some contemporary critics of the psy-complex denounce the very essence of its scientific basis. These calls for radical reform are for example based on assertions that the history of the DSM has often reflected social norms at any given point in time as opposed to scientifically-grounded analysis – from women being diagnosed with hysteria, to homosexuality being categorized as a mental disorder. As opposed to being object to critical analysis, the latter decision stemmed from a simple vote following a series of protests (Lewis, 2016). Further, "the homosexuality diagnosis [was construed] an outlier error of bad science that could be corrected through improved standards of scientific rigor" (p. 86) and as such, helped psychiatry further its authority by further establishing the DSM as the 'boss text' of the psy-sciences.

Beyond these structural concerns, a diagnosis significantly disrupts the patients' individual biography and identity (Adame, Morsey, Bassman, & Yates, 2017). Since the breadth of diagnostic definitions often cannot match an individual's complex identity, predictions can be dangerously inaccurate and limiting (Bassmann, 2019). Additionally, many remain concerned about the related dangers of misdiagnosis, racism, stigma, and overmedication (Holzmann and Genn, 2018). These effects are especially relevant in the context of psychiatric diagnosis since Madness can come with a significant shift in a person's self-understanding if they are suddenly understood as being 'out of their mind'. Further, medicalizing discourse can create an individual subject that "[produces] the ends of government by fulfilling [itself]" (Rose, O'Malley, & Valverde, 2006, p.86). Thus, the psychiatrized subject is not only perceived by society as mad, but also understands and, consequently, polices itself as such –

ultimately contributing to the oppressive structure's reproduction.

Mad movements

These critiques form the basis for many critical mental health movements. One of these is the more broad-based movement of antipsychiatry, which began in the 1960s as a civil rights movement amidst deep divisions between biological and psychoanalytic psychiatrists. Subject to criticism were the validity of psychiatric categorization, diagnoses, as well as certain invasive treatments such as compulsory admission to institutions, forced drugging, and convulsive and psychosurgical procedures. These movements were importantly, and in contrast to others, led by psychiatrists as opposed to Mad-identifying people themselves and largely favored reform over revolution, dissented by Chamberlin (1990) as "largely an intellectual exercise of academics and dissident mental health professionals" (p.324) and seriously critiqued as ignorant of the sum of struggling ex-patients willing to contribute. These groups are now largely said to have sunk with the more general replacement of the political left by more conservative viewpoints, replaced by groups who were not accused of being "radicalized without being politicized" and whose solitary "raison d'être was inherently antiestablishment" (Rissmiller & Rissmiller, 2006, p. 865).

This replacement occurred through a variety of movements in the early 1970s, generally referred to under the umbrella term of *consumer/survivor/ex-patient*. This conglomerate name by itself well highlights the disagreements within these movements, concerning both their aims as well as appropriate nomenclature, both proving to be a constant threat to the movements' integrity. These movements largely drew on initial *Mental Patients' Liberation* groups, whose guiding principles center around the *exclusion of non-patients* and *consciousness raising* (Chamberlin, 1990). The former goal intends to protect self-definition and self-determination, since the inclusion of non-patients often removed groups from their liberatory goals to adopt a more reformist stance. The latter goal emphasizes the importance of sharing experiences among themselves, largely inspired by second-wave Feminism's axiom of *the personal being political*. In the spaces provided by these liberation movements, ex-patients often discussed experiences they had previously interpreted as personal, to later find themselves crystallizing their understanding

of their own oppression through found commonalities. This further empowered them in drawing boundaries from discriminatory practices experienced as a group as opposed to negatively impacting their self-understanding and consequently, their strategizing as a movement. While the long-term goal has remained the abolition of involuntary treatment, interim steps of improvement are pursued, albeit consciously contextualized within an abolitionist framework. Despite increasing involvement in policy following the movements' insistence to be heard, many professionals were reluctant to include politically involved ex-patients as opposed to tokenized and compliant ex-patients that maintained their distance from organized movements. At the time of writing, Chamberlin (1990) reports that even the widely critiqued American Psychiatric Association claims to speak "on behalf of patients" – the movement running at constant risk of co-option.

These movements' terminology turned out to be another threat. The nomenclature of the *ex-patient* was quickly deemed controversial due its "embrace of the medical model", leading to the major publication of *Madness Network News* advertising the term *ex-psychiatric inmate* instead and thereby further likening asylums to prisons and emphasizing their literal as well as conceptual confinement. Contingent on "differing emphases and priorities," *inmate* and *survivor* terminology more combatively paralleled *client* and *consumer* language, (Chamberlin, 1990, p.328) the latter supposedly implying "an equality of power that simply does not exist" (p.334). Additionally, the combination of *psychiatric* and *survivor* stresses that it is not merely the illness itself that is survived per se, but rather psychiatry as a system (Adame, 2013).

First held on September 18th in 1993, the *Psychiatric Survivor Pride Day* and Mad Pride Parades since have often been filled with celebration – festivals, parades, concerts, posters, flags, chants as well as the contradictorily symbolic *bed push*, emblematic of both the movements' origin in the fight against forced hospitalization as well as the current lack of available services or *beds*. According to an early attendee, these movements were aimed to "[provide] examples of activities successfully organized by an autonomous group of "crazy" people" (Finkler, 1997, p.764). Similar to the movements previously mentioned, Mad activism generally aims to replace biomedical approaches – yet with "a framework of

'madness'" (Beresford, 2020, p.1337). In contrast to previous movements, it added an emphasis on Pride – to the surprise of many: "What do you (or we) have to be proud about?" (Reaume, 2008).

Similarly, proponents of Mad Pride maintain: "nothing about us without us" (Adame, Morsey, Bassman, & Yates, 2017, p.2) and that "a healer should be one who is themselves healed", which *Mad Studies*, a field of scholarship inspired by Mad Pride, has embraced as its epistemological call (Abraham, 2016). One of the founders of the first Mad Pride parade, Rob, stresses that "Mad Pride never had a strict definition [...] it was very free floating" (Abraham, 2016). This has led to one of Mad Studies' fundamental current tensions: How can it be "protected from being undermined and subverted" while "wanting Mad Studies not to be owned by anybody" and "refusing to define its borders?" (Beresford & Russo, 2016, p. 271).

After observing related discourse in critical disability studies, Beresford and Russo (2016) warn of a divide between useful activism and mere theory-building, worried about a co-option of the movement such as that of disability studies' 'recovery' and 'peer support' models. While they initially attempted to challenge authority, similarly to Mad Studies' ideologies, they are now often employed to further "neoliberal and market-driven approaches to distress" (p.271). Instead of fighting the idea of service users as 'untreatable' and building up a community that supports each other, the focus on 'recovery' is now frequently used as a tactic to increase forced employment and cut benefits while 'peer supporters' are increasingly being used as unpaid workers to replace costly systems.

Mad Pride remains exclusive for some, especially if one takes a closer look at its ambition to *reclaim* the language of Madness. The idea of *reclaiming* the Mad label is central to the movement. This act could function as *reverse discourse* in the Foucauldian sense, which strategically returns the labelling power to the individual. In employing in a positive manner this word that has historically oppressed Mad people, it is re-signified. While the power that the Mad label has gained throughout decades is retained, its *oppressive* power is removed. On the contrary, it is then employed to empower oneself, to create a new self-identity and narrative whose meaning is dictated by nobody but those who have experienced it. This functions somewhat similarly to how Foucault explains the rise of the Gay Pride

movement: "what begins as a way of categorizing and controlling eventually becomes a way for like to meet like, and for an alternate discourse [...] to emerge," (Callis, 2009, p.233) giving labelled subjects the opportunity to form a community around this subversion. As a "community, a group with a common identity and set of values," the Mad Pride movement considers itself an alternative to the reliance on the psy-professions by "knowing that [they] can also rely on one another" (Finkler, 2009).

Others, such as Beresford, (2020) question why Mad Studies has adopted the "controversial, conflict-ridden" title that it holds (p. 1337). Mad terminology is intended to reject any kind of binary, instead aiming to capture nuance and the spectrum-like nature of Mad experiences – yet some understand this as the opposite, a continuation of the biomedical and as such, also postcolonial (see: Rentmeester, 2012) framing that supports a dichotomy of *mental illness/disorder*, even if only implied in opposition to its absence. Further, while the idea of reverse discourse posits the act of reclaiming as inherently empowering, Madness as such remains 'unreclaimable' by many – especially and validly so survivors of the most gruesome aspects of the mental health system. Language or more general sentiments understood as *ableist* or *sanist* seem to be rather difficult to get rid of– they are believed to be a more routine part of language and thinking and as such, provoke less or no disturbance like other words previously deemed oppressive by marginalized groups (Beresford, 2020). They maintain that few people reflect on their usage of words such as *stupid*, *mad*, or *insane* as much as they would on other minorities' terminology. Further, there remains ambivalence towards the word Mad due to it encouraging a *romanticization* of distress, a lack of coherent interpretation and the possibility of it leading to even further division – as with previous movements. The question of whether Madness can truly be employed for emancipatory purposes, or whether it is simply "imprisoned within a mental health paradigm" remains (p.1338).

Beresford (2020) offers a counterproposal of some sort, claiming that a "new language to match new thinking" must be invented; one that captures "extremities of experience and emotion" (p.1339). Yet, this comes with an acknowledgement that as soon as anything resembling a mental health condition is mentioned, as one interviewed survivor puts

it, "madness is straight in their heads [anyways,] isn't it". Maybe, he proposes, this is a "superficial expression of a much deeper problem: the movement's failure to unite around any kind of counter-philosophy" (Beresford, 2020, p.1338). Even the founders of the first Mad Pride parade, Mark and Rob, reflect with skepticism that "Mad Pride was a product of its time; an organization they can't see existing today [in a society dependent on medication]" (Abraham, 2016). Just as the movements preceding it, Mad Pride seems to be facing an identity crisis that does not seem to have emerged suddenly. Proponents of Mad Studies clearly believe it to "[make] a strong claim to its own identity," (Beresford, 2020) yet they remain constrained by this very openness.

While most active Mad Pride movements seem to largely have died out or morphed with other movements over the years, its academic variant of *Mad Studies* is as popular as ever. Described as a "field of scholarship, theory, and activism about the lived experiences, history, cultures, and politics about people who may identify as Mad, mentally ill, psychiatric survivors, consumers, service users, patients, neurodiverse, and disabled," (Castrodale in Beresford, 2020) it encompasses an increasing number of conferences, major publications, courses and as of 2020, even a master's degree (Queen Margaret University, 2020). Mad Studies approaches have been accused of ivory tower academism that is too far removed from lived experiences, since almost everyone writing about Madness seems to either have a PhD or be a candidate (Beresford, 2020). This leads many to question, beyond theoretical and intellectual critique, what the Mad person is supposed to do when they are trapped inside of an oppressive system.

The Icarus Project

The Icarus Project, which self-defines as "a support network and media project by and for people who experience the world in ways that are often diagnosed as mental illness" (The Icarus Project NYC, 2014) seems to provide an answer to many of the questions previously asked by "[tapping] into a desperate need for a more creative look at mental health and wellness," since "there was no place else where people who used psych meds and people who did not, people who identified with diagnostic categories and people who did not, could all talk with each other and share stories" (DuBrul, 2014, p.263). Initially starting out as an online forum

"fueled by the obsessive energy of two people working at a frenzied pace and holding it all together with lithium and duct tape", growing into network of "madfolks and allies," (The Icarus Project, 2013, p.83) Icarus by now showcases multiple publications.

Like Mad Studies, they feel limited by diagnostic labelling, categorizing, and sorting. Founder DuBrul (2014) stresses the alienation he has felt through words such as *disorder*, *disease* and *dysfunction*, (p.258) leading Icarus to question language like Mad Pride does and finding this necessary because "labels, language, fear and shame" isolates and "puts a wall" around those deemed mentally ill, which produces a reliance on authorities in identity-building, (The Icarus Project, 2013, p.85) thus reinforcing exploitative power relations.

One of their more artistic aims is to create a new language as suggested by Beresford, (2020), one so "vast and rich that it expresses the infinite diversity of human experiences" (The Icarus Project NYC, 2014). A proposed switch in language conjugatively fulfils a psychological function and the epistemic switch Mad Studies aims for: there is a "liberatory power of speaking our personal truths and about the power of personal narratives to challenge the power of the dominant narrative" (DuBrul, 2014, p.258).

The project's name, as well as the founders' self-understandings of their bipolar disorder, are a first attempt at creating this new language. Instead of conceptualizing their experiences as mental illness, they refer to them somewhat more neutrally as "different states of being" (The Icarus Project, 2014). Cofounder McNamara, (2013) for example, understands their feelings about their bipolar disorder as "the world [seeming] to hit [them] so much harder and fill [them] so much fuller than anyone else [they] knew" (p.4).

Beyond this attempt at neutrality, Icarus aims to portray these different states of being as not *exclusively* negative, but rather to acknowledge the fact that "the most incredible gifts can also be the most dangerous" (p.259). The name Icarus itself is viewed by DuBrul (2002) as a metaphor for his experience of living with what is labelled "bipolar disorder" in the ancient Greek myth of Icarus, who despite being warned about the wings his father built him, got so intoxicated by his new power that he flew too close to the sun and died. Delineating the focus from the negative sides of their experiences and aiming to stress the positive

ones, they refer to seeing "sensitivities, visions, and inspirations [not] necessarily [as] symptoms of illness, [but as] gifts needing cultivation and care" (p.259) – carefully stressing that dangers remain a part of their "gifts".

While this narrative is compelling, it has also proven dangerous. Reflecting back on whether he was "well" when he embraced his Madness, DuBrul clearly negates and admits that he employed his "Mad Pride to totally ignore all the warning signs that [he] was going off the deep end" (2012). As such, Icarus' understandings of distress are *decidedly* not intended to romanticize bad experiences, but to create a more balanced overall picture. Their focus is neither exclusively on brilliance, nor on madness, but on the *navigation* thereof, which they express in one of their published guides called "Navigating the Space Between Brilliance and Madness – A Reader and Roadmap of the Bipolar World".

This reader is understood as a *roadmap* in that it is intended to provide an alternative of "underground tunnels beneath the mainstream medical models" (The Icarus Project, 2013, p.3) constructed by schools, families or medicine. Within these different *maps*, the instructions for coping are seen as roads providing access. The underlying understanding is that Mad people have to figure out their own map, the reader functioning as an *atlas*. It acknowledges individual coping methods, but also hints at more political, anti-capitalist critiques common for Mad movements: "Do you smother [your distress] with a martini or a prescription for Prozac? [...] Do you turn for help to a doctor or a priest? To a witch or a Wal-Mart? What map do you follow?" (p. 3)

In comparison to other Mad Pride groups, Icarus' conceptualization of medicine is relatively accepting, understanding it as one of the *maps* available and as such, as a respectable way to deal with life. While they align in questioning the fundamentals of psychiatry and especially its increasing claim to the *truth*, their relative acceptance is rooted primarily in a principle of self-determination. They believe that Mad individuals retain their right to self-identify and as such, to harm-reduce and self-determine: "both lithium and yoga [are] equally valid means" (DuBrul, 2014, p.260). McNamara, (2013) further breaks this binary and reports to cope with their bipolar disorder through looking after animals. Both founders do partially attribute these attitudes to the age of founders and participants,

which led to them having much less long-term hospitalizations, thus respecting differing opinions of other strands of the movement. DuBrul himself has been raised not to trust medicine and asks, "how much of [psychiatric diagnosis] is really just a function of powerful pharmaceutical corporations, public funding cuts, and a society that equates productivity with health" (p.264). Simultaneously, he acknowledges that "the fact that he is […] writing [this] is proof that their drugs are helping [him]" (DuBrul, 2014). Like any critic of the psy-complex, they do value medical critique, but they simply value rights to self-determination more. Consequently, DuBrul (2012) aims to extend Mad Pride's dichotomy of being "for" or "against" the system:

> Like either you swallow the antidepressant ads on television as modern-day gospel and start giving your dog Prozac, or you're convinced we're living in Brave New World and all the psych drugs are just part of a big conspiracy to keep us from being self-reliant and realizing our true potential. I think it's really about time we start carving some more of the middle ground with stories from outside the mainstream and creating a new language for ourselves that reflects all the complexity and brilliance that we hold inside.

Ten years after Icarus was launched, they look back concluding that diagnoses can indeed be useful and specific – if only for some. Considering the diversity among those labeled mentally ill, they noticed that while others may benefit from refusing medicine, they acknowledge and accept that they themselves do depend on it in order to feel "grounded and present, engaged in the world, passionate about […] creative organizing work" (The Icarus Project, 2013, p.83). NcNamara has even started to embrace their bipolar label as a "framework of filters and illuminations through which [they experience] life [that is] fundamental to how [they] exist in the world" (McNamara, 2013). They remember their initial diagnosis being relieving, but subsequently being disappointed by their doctor not having "the magic key that would fix [the] broken mess" (p.4). They both continue to question whether acceptance or recovery is their ultimate goal and whether either of these are enough without *collective transformation*.

Another reason for Icarus to "embrace the term "madness" [is] because it connects

[them] to [their] art, [their] history, and each other". This collective identity that has both been formed by having been "misunderstood and persecuted throughout history, but also [...] responsible for some of the world's most extraordinary creations" (The Icarus Project, 2013). As a community, Icarus aims to recognize that "breakdown can be the entrance to breakthrough" and that by overcoming alienation, they can "tap into the true potential that lies between brilliance and madness". They neither seek a mere reduction of stigma, nor a cure, but believe that "we transform ourselves by transforming the world around us" – a decidedly political approach (The Icarus Project, 2013).

Many of Icarus' aims revolve around social justice, mutual aid, healing, and collective liberation through community organizing, which they express through another one of their publications about community organizing, "Friends Make the Best Medicine" (2013). Its vision is deeply rooted within the founders' backgrounds in permaculture and sustainable ecology and expressed in this 25,000-fold downloaded community guide through metaphors of dandelions and wind-borne seeds. Instead of seeing Mad people as weeds, they "imagine Icarus groups as wild and unpredictable dandelions" which "find ways to spread and extend their roots [deeply]" and "[enrich] the soil" (The Icarus Project, 2013, p.1). Generally, they advertise for a form of organization that, unlike a metaphorical "most unstable, unsustainable, unimaginative" hegemonic *monoculture*, they want their community to have "connected roots" allowing adaptability and mutual reliance:

> Concrete can't do that. Something about the living architecture of chaos and time, multitiered forests and microscopic algae, outlasts any of the straight lines and square institutions we're told to believe in. (p.2)

There is another reason for their choice in metaphor, which is the inspiration that Icarus has drawn from "the cultural and political underground," since "important stories and wisdom [are not easy] to find in the topsoil of mainstream culture" (DuBrul, 2014, p.270). Emphasizing his own punk roots, he weaves together ideas of madness and leftist politics, such as his 'punk rock' "understanding that society is sick and that acting crazy is absolutely natural" (p.263). While Mad Studies also acknowledges its diverse roots,

Icarus very actively embraces them, seeing them within anarchism, antipsychiatry, permaculture/sustainable ecology, LGBTQ+ movements, harm reduction, global justice movements, counterculture, and punk rock.

Yet another one of these roots can be found in their "Harm Reduction Guide to Coming Off Psychiatric Drugs" (Hall, 2012). Based on experiences of drug users, sex workers, and others involved in criminalized economies, the goal is to empower Mad individuals to make informed choices within the dichotomy of "pro-medication propaganda of pharmaceutical companies on the one hand and the anti-medication agenda of some activists on the other" (Hall, 2012). In addition to finding nuanced perspectives on both the de-medicalization and politicization, Icarus makes a point of emphasizing the individual's agency above all else.

Conclusion

Critical Mental Health Movements aim to provide solutions to the questions and concerns relating to medicalization and politicization of the distress faced by a variety of Mad individuals – although the diversity of these often remains unacknowledged. This politicization remains key, as these issues are increasingly being individualized through a neoliberal emphasis on self-improvement and resilience. While Mad Movements emphasize the political, they often slide into dangerous territory of de-medicalizing problems to an extent that endangers the diverse members of the Mad community within their daily lives by withdrawing medicine that is often considered the last resort. Additionally, through increasing academic abstraction, it runs risk at becoming even further removed from practice, similarly to previous movements often considered as having failed. While some may find capitalist and theoretical critiques liberating, others do depend on medication and as such, are likely to feel alienated within this critical discourse, especially those far away from academia – who are arguably in the most dire need of high-quality treatment. The Icarus Project provides an attempt at dealing with these conundrums by explicitly politicizing Mad issues while simultaneously prioritizing individual circumstances and doing their part in supporting communities through creative and political organizing. Icarus, too, has by now largely ceased to exist and hegemonic biomedical discourse on mental illness continues to grow, or is being replaced by

market-driven approaches. This emphasizes the importance of the questions brought up in the above – questions of the relationship between medicine, politics and capitalism; questions of activism turned academia; and questions of agency and self-determination within structural constraints while carefully balancing against individualized approaches that simply reproduce the status quo. The intent of this paper is by no means to deny the validity of medicine or to fully embrace any alternative model, but instead to shed more light on "the million shades of gray that the medical establishment has no idea how to describe" (McNamara, 2013).

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Heretic or Saint?

The Inquisition of Alice Goffman

Vénicia Sananès

Sometimes we - book enthusiasts (nerds?) - enjoy an assignment so much that we forget it was only an exercise, one that will eventually end up in the trash bin of our computer. I truly enjoyed writing this book review, so much that I'm extending its life, hoping it will encourage many more to read Alice Goffman's beautiful yet controversial book (don't worry, I won't give away the plot).

On the academic battlefield, Alice Goffman launches her own crusade when she publishes *On the Run. Fugitive Life in an American City* (2014). It is a vivid sociological ethnography in a journalistico-novel tone about the mass incarceration of young African-American men in a neighborhood of Philadelphia. This hybridity propels Alice Goffman and her book beyond the academic sphere. Her mainstreamed success soon mutates into a vehement debate where critique not only comes from scholars, but also from journalists, lawyers and bloggers. Reflecting on this controversial hybridity, I argue that Goffman's unorthodox approach popularizes the American penal state debate to which she almighty contributes whilst challenging the American academic dogma.

What does it feel like to grow up in a poor and segregated Black community in an American city? What

does it feel like to be wanted by the police and try to survive under the constant threat of prison? What does it feel like to be trapped in limbo of a bureaucratic system from which one cannot escape? This is what Alice Goffman describes in her poignant ethnography of a Black neighborhood she calls "Sixth Street," in Philadelphia. Through a micro-sociological lens, we dive into the everyday hypercriminalization and hyperpolicing from a bottom-up approach. Amidst urban violence and social misery, we meet with mothers, daughters, girlfriends and wives who are struggling and often failing to protect their sons, brothers, boyfriends and husbands. The penal system calls them criminals; Goffman demystifies them and calls them Mike, Chuck, Reggie, Tim and Alex. In a system where everybody is running – police after quotas, young men from the police and women after loved ones – relationships are elusive, the present is hazardous and their future is escaping. But running is trying to hope. They make a run for their dignity and together, as a community, become tacticians of their survival.

How can a community be that dispossessed and marginalized and still be the target of a relentless hunt? Indeed, Goffman's ethnography is an on-the-ground illustration of the prominent work of Loïc Wacquant on the penal state. Far from reaching the masses, incarceration is highly selective (Wacquant 2011): the young men of Sixth Street are first charged with being poor, and then with being black. Goffman unveils the paradox at the core of the penal system that Wacquant (2009a) allegorizes with the concepts of "invisible hand of the market" and "iron fist of the state." The invisible hand pushes the community away from decent jobs, education and social welfare, while the iron fist drags Black young men to prison. Overcriminalization and hyperpolicing are instruments of the penal system for managing social insecurity rather than criminal insecurity (Wacquant 2008). The American penal system is an institutional machinery managing and punishing a poverty created by neoliberal policies of economic deregulation and social-welfare shrinkage. The punitive state substitutes the welfare state. In fact, the zero-tolerance policy does not target crime, but poverty as a class, and should be read as politics of marginality (Wacquant 2007).

Indeed, Goffman's informants are ostracized and reduced, as Agamben (1998) would say, to a "bare life" behind bars or, in

its confinement continuum, in the ghetto. In the "state of exception" (Agamben 2005) created by the perpetual wars on crime, drugs and poverty, young Black men are stripped of their political life and rights - "Bios" - and reduced to their biological life - "Zoe" (Agamben 1998). Hyperincarceration, as "racialized poverty policy" (Wacquant 2011, 218), aims at excluding poor Black communities from society in order to gain sovereign power over them. Indeed, prison takes over the body of defective individuals that are parked away from a pure and purged society (Wacquant 2001). Once outside prison, former convicts often fail to enter the job market, cannot vote and their bodies continue to be a site of surveillance and control, with urine tests for example. The life-stories related by Goffman show how too many young African-American fight *corps-à-corps* with a putrid system that has been proliferating on necropolitical practices since slavery (Mbembe 2003).

Sadly, we came to a point where Alice Goffman's admirable contribution to the ongoing and urgent debate on hyperincarceration is being hushed up by the critique. Worse, we came to a point where a family name is enough to discredit and undermine six years of meticulous research. Instead, I humbly dare to suggest embracing the uncanny hybridity of this book that serves a greater purpose than an academic one: the penal reform.

A significant lot of reviewers accuse Goffman of sensationalizing violence and misery. Dwayne Betts (2014) or Victor M. Rios (2015), to cite only a few, charge her for giving the reader the misery show he expects. I understand how the tone of Goffman's book might be troubling. She also could have started and finished her book with less spectacular vignettes. But what if the everyday life of her informants *is* dramatically spectacular? Rather than accusing Goffman of sensationalism, I believe it is fair to qualify the field as sensationalistic. Empirically, I have never heard a gunshot in my life, nor do I know anybody who went to prison. Therefore, even if we must remember that the researcher's duty is not to fall into a "pornography of pain" (Fischer 2014), observing and studying harsh issues is still a work that must be done. In fact, the privilege lies with those, like myself, who can afford not to see the everyday misery and violence.

In another vehement review, Steven Lubet (2015) calls a former public defendant to check whether the arrest of Tim, an eleven-year-old boy co-driving a stolen car,

was true. This official informant claimed that this heavy punishment, three years of juvenile probation, would never had happened. Here I would like to reformulate Howard Becker's question (1967) and ask Steven Lubet which side he is on. Becker sheds light on a powerful bias which is "the hierarchy of credibility". Indeed, it seems like Lubet takes for granted that "members of the highest group have the right to define the ways things really are" (Becker 1967, 241). On the other hand, I recognize that Goffman might have benefitted from more "critical empathy" (Larkins 2015). For instance, she could have studied both sides and included the police's point of view, even though I believe this stand might have jeopardized the rare trust of her informants.

In the end, I sincerely think that the main virtue of Goffman's book is paradoxically its main critique: the hybridity. Rather than fear hybridity, scholars must acknowledge and embrace the hybrid character of their activities (Scheper-Hugues 2009). When Didier Fassin writes "Why Ethnography Matters" (2013), he might ask a complex question but surely not a rhetorical one. In fact, ethnography matters only if it *can* matter, only if it reaches the public. I believe Goffman's book allegorizes what Fassin (2013) calls "public ethnography". Without failing our moral debt as researcher, we also need to acknowledge our "public debt" (Fassin 2013) by making public issues truly public. The tone Goffman uses appeals to a broad and popular audience. Also, by relegating theoretical insights to the preface and to the note section, she succeeds in forging a "critical tale" (Van Maanen 1988) accessible to the public. What better proof is there than Mike being able to read the book? I wonder, what does it mean if scholars write elitist books that none of their informants can read or that do not reach the masses? Are they not reproducing the same inequalities that they denounce in the first place? Goffman as a medium, uses her privilege – the same as any researcher has - to translate the very lives of, and to, her informants. Moreover, what does this polemic say about the American academia? In an interview, Wacquant (2009b) confesses the differences between Europe and the United States regarding the conceptions of intellectual activity. He explains how the academic debate is more opened to the public in Europe than in America where "that space of collective translation is extremely compressed due to the locking of the political field and the self-enclosure of the academic

professions" (Wacquant 2009b, 126). Therefore, I think Alice Goffman tends to be seen as a heretic because she disrupts the American academic dogma by popularizing, or some would say vulgarizing, an academic debate. I wonder how this book would have been received, for example, by the French audience where intellectuals have been engaging in public debates both as scholars and active citizens since the French Revolution and the *Affaire Dreyfus*. More recently, when Didier Fassin's book on law enforcement in France (2011) came out, many of his articles were published in national newspapers and he was invited on the radio and television. However, I must admit that Goffman's ethnography misses one more step to go from popularization to politicization (Fassin 2013). Indeed, she would need to make the structural violence (Farmer 2004) and racism of the American society more visible by linking her findings to a historical, social and political framework in order to fully deconstruct the problems she addresses. Rather than making us feel, she needs to make us all *remember* why the ghettoized Sixth Street community has always been targeted, thus rendering the machinery of social oppression visible (Farmer 2004).

Like any researcher, Goffman will not, and must not for the sake of the debate, be a Saint. Debating is the architecture of knowledge. Criticism opens innovative and inventive walkways while invigorating the most pressing and persisting societal issues. However, for the greater sake of society, we should not be fooled by reviews taking our attention away from the underlying problem: American heresies. Indeed, the value of Goffman's contribution resonates in her critiques. If her book is making this much noise, it is because there are ears to hear it: in this case, millions of African-Americans persecuted by their penal state.

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Female Gangs in a Masculine Ruled World:

Motivations for Girls to Join an All-Female Gang in the United States of America

Kim Scholts

I submitted this paper because I want to raise awareness of the (often marginalized) girls and women who end up in gangs in the United States of America. The research done and literature available of gangs is almost always male-oriented and I want to show that even though there are less female gangs, they still exist. They are not the same as their male counterparts and also deserve to be understood.

Abstract

Despite an increase in female gangs in the United States since 2002 (Gutierrez-Adams et al, 2020), little research has been done on them. It is often based on male gangs, which puts girl gangs in a stereotypic lens. Academics have pushed the importance of researching female gangs (Moore & Hagedorn, 2001) as there are important differences for girls and boys to join a gang (Shelden, et al. 1996). Most articles revolve around issues such as researchers joining a male gang (Rodgers, 2007), or shine a light on the dangers of getting close to violent male gangs (Baird, 2008). Some only shortly mention the presence of girl gangs, but conclude gangs are generally 'male and masculinist' (Schneider & Schneider, 2008). Understanding what drives girls to join an all-girl gang can be beneficial for future research and intervention.

This article takes a more in-depth look in motivations to join an all-girl gang in the US. First, I explain what kind of all-girl gangs are present and how these are defined in literature. Secondly the internal motivations, such as emotional traumas, to join a gang are discussed. After that I conclude with external motivations to join, such as economic and power gain.

Keywords: *Female, Girl Gangs, US, Motivations, Intersectionality, Structural Violence*

Introduction

In 2012, the United States of America counted a total of 850.000 gang members, 10 percent of which were female members (National Gang Center, 2012). Although they do not make the news as often as their male counterparts, the numbers of female gangs have increased in the United States since 2002 (Gutierrez-Adams, Rios & Case 2020). Despite this rise little research has been done on them. Although most gangs are described as 'male and masculinist' (Schneider & Schneider 2008), women make up about 85.000 of the total gang members in the United States. A different and more rigorous academic approach on female gangs is needed to create a better understanding of them.

Most research and literature on gangs is focused on male gangs, rather than female gangs. Because of this female gangs are often treated the same way as the male variant. Shelden, Tracy & Brown (1996) argue that this creates wrong assumptions as there are conceivable differences between what motivates boys and girls join a gang. The little research that has been done on girl gangs show that girls have experienced sexual abuse, family conflict, and less parental monitoring than boys (De La Ru & Espelage, D. L. 2014). Academics have been pushing for the importance of researching female gangs (Venkatesh 1998; Moore & Hagedorn 2001; Gutierrez-Adams et al. 2020).

This paper is focused on creating a deeper understanding of the various motivations for women to join an all-female gang in the United States of America. I aim to stress the contextual inequality which is still present in the marginalized communities where girls grow up in. The paper shows the lack of research done on female gangs and why it is important to do so. It is essential to gain more knowledge on this topic to create a better perspective of them.

I will look at the case studies used in literature and provide an overview of female gangs in the United States. After the theoretical framework, I describe how literature defines a gang, the number of girl gangs over the years and how ethnicity is related. Next, I turn to the internal motivations to join a gang – such as various forms of traumas (Shelden et al. 1996; Gutierrez-Adams et al. 2020; Moore & Hagedorn 2001) and sense of belonging (Shelden et al. 1996; Gutierrez-Adams et al. 2020). I conclude with the external motivations to join, such as socio-economic context, and economic and power gain (Shelden 1996, 30; Venkatesh 1998; Moore & Hagedorn 2001; Gutierrez-Adams et al. 2020).

Theoretical framework

There are several reasons as to why people join gangs. Youth joining gangs often come from marginalized communities and ethnic minority groups (Gutierrez-Adams et al. 2020) who experience various forms of oppression. Social structures characterized by poverty, racism and gender inequality are subject to what Farmer (2004, 307) defines as structural violence, which is "violence exerted systematically — that is, indirectly — by everyone who belongs to a certain social order". Briceño-León and Zubillaga (2002) explain it similarly as violence inflicted by social conditions of poverty and exclusion prevailing in certain 'structures' of society. Structural violence is especially embodied in "people who live in poverty or are marginalized by racism, gender inequality" (Farmer 2004, 308). Violence happens in or creates a social context in which people have little prospect or no stable community to rely on. This can, together with other factors, push one into joining a gang. Noted by Kitchen (1995, 35), who states that the "continuous generational chain of poverty" and other economic conditions of "underclass African American women" often resulted in them having little to no other options than joining a gang in order to survive (as cited in Shelden 1996, 24). Similarly, Glebbeek and Koonings (2016) mention young gang members in Central America are mostly "from poor, overcrowded and marginalized neighborhoods", a social position which makes it difficult to find a proper job.

Joining a gang can satisfy the need for belonging, recognition, and a chance for economic stability. This is what is known for boys joining gangs, but this information has

the obvious risk of being generalized with female gang members as most research is based on male gangs. Research showed that part of the reason why girls join a gang is because they experienced gender specific traumas as sexual abuse, neglect, and violence (Shelden et al. 1996; Moore & Hagedorn 2001; Gutierrez-Adams et al. 2020). Similar to males joining gangs, research done by Gutierrez-Adams et al. (2020) among former girl gang members, shows they all came from a marginalized community or already had established social connections to people who were part of a gang. Another reason for girls joining gangs was to create economic stability for themselves (Shelden et al. 1996; Moore & Hagedorn 2001).

In this paper I take an intersectional approach as an analytical tool for examining motivations for girls joining gangs. Originating from the 1970s and 1980s, intersectionality is an important framework for looking at how someone's social and political identity influence their status and can create various forms of discrimination and privilege. Intersectionality is explained by Cho, Crenshaw and McCall (2013, 789) as a viewpoint to "examine spaces and discourses that are themselves constituted by power relations that are far from transparent" (as quoted by Gutierrez-Adams et al. 2020). Especially the connection of the three aspects of gender, race and class will be analyzed. Gutierrez-Adams et al. (2020) mention the importance of this perspective which realizes that one's social identity is ingrained in certain cultural systems of privilege and power.

Type of all-girl gangs

Both Shelden et al. (1996) and Venkatesh (1998) state that the definition of a gang has been diverse in the social sciences community and used inconsistently. This creates confusion as to what a gang is. Definitions range from groups with a focus on criminal behavior, separating them from a regular group (Shelden et al. 1996), to what Venkatesh (1998, 689) states as a group of people with a top-down structure engaging in both legal and illegal activities. Moore (1993, 28) explains that there are a lot of stereotypes about gang members such as being masculine, violent, involved in drug-use, and being all bad (as cited in Shelden et al. 1996). Stereotyping gangs defines the way they are dealt with, continues Moore (1993), which could potentially be dangerous. They often have a negative image connected to

fear and anxiety, which can result in attitudes of aggression towards a gang. However, not all of them are harmful. Besides, it is important to consider that gang behavior, and therefore its definition, can change over the course of time together with other changes in society (Venkatesh 1998). In the end, the definition of a gang in the USA remains inconsistent.

Often girl gangs are not considered as 'real' gangs but rather as sex objects, tomboys, girlfriends or little sisters connected to male gangs (Shelden 1996; Moore & Hagedorn 2001). Girl gangs have different group dynamics and often commit less serious crimes than male gangs (Miller 1975), but violence is not uncommon. Violence is, as Dziewanski (2020) states, used to acquire status and a reputation within the gang and is sometimes necessary for protection. Miller's (1980) case study on the all-girl gang 'The Molls' in Boston in the 1980's shows a different link to the male gang 'The Hoods'. The Molls committed crimes such as "truancy, theft, drinking, property damage, sex offenses, and assault (...)" (Shelden 1996, 23). Instead of connecting sexually with male gang members, they imitated their criminal behavior to be liked and recognized by them. These actions result in stereotypes of tomboys or other masculine identities. By keeping these stereotypes active, due to no further research, there will never be a full understanding of girl gangs. It also shows that female gangs are often studied in relation to male gangs (Venkatesh 1998). Most of these type of girl gangs can be identified as "auxiliaries" (Shelden et al. 1996). The latter is the female version of a male gang closely connected to them. They often have a similar name, such as the example of the Molls. Other gang involvement of females can be categorized as either "an independent gang, or regular membership in a male gang as a co-ed" (Shelden et al. 1996). Generally, most girls are found within the auxiliaries (Miller 1975).

Girl gangs have always been largely outnumbered by male gangs. In his Chicago gang research in the 1920s, Thrasher (1927) researched over 1,000 gangs and discovered only six female gangs, of which he said only two to be true gangs. A couple decades later, Miller (1975) noted that in New York, specifically Queens and the Bronx, only 6 independent female gangs were active. It is noteworthy to add that research showed inconsistent numbers of (women in) gangs over the past decades. A 1992 research claimed 3.2 percent of gang members to be

female, whereas research done in 1996 and 1998 showed 11 and 8 percent, respectively, to be female. However, numbers from self-identified female gang members ranged from 8 to 38 percent (Moore & Hagedorn 2001). One of the reasons for varying numbers can be due to an inconsistent definition of a gang member. In addition, girls are more likely to drop out of gangs at an earlier age than males, possibly due to them getting pregnant (Moore 1991).

Ethnicity, gender roles and class are closely linked and must be taken into consideration when researching female gang members. Research has shown that a large part of female gang members are predominantly African American and Latina (Lauderback et al. 1992; Moore & Hagedorn 2001). The social inequality in which most members are situated is created through structural violence embodied in racism and gender inequality (Farmer 2004). Venkatesh (2020) argues that gang dynamics are still stuck in and portray systemic gendered relations in society, which goes against Taylor's (1993) idea that female members "have moved beyond the status quo of gender repression" (as cited in Venkatesh 2020, 686). Through an intersectional approach their social status should be seen in the context of their marginalized position in society.

Internal factors

Research shows that there are various reasons as to why girls join gangs. It is however never an easy choice. Joining a gang is often for a long period and girls are involved for many years which leaves a mark on the rest of their lives. Often this results in them being unable to find socially acceptable jobs later in life (Moore & Hagedorn 2001).

Traumas at home are often the basis for the decision to join a gang. Girls with an unstable family situation, such as "an alcoholic, a chronically ill relative, someone who died, someone who was a heroin addict, or someone who had been arrested" (Shelden et al. 1996, 30), are far more likely to make the step towards a gang than men (Moore & Hagedorn 2001, 7). Often these traumas already happen during childhood and involve physical, emotional and/or sexual abuse within family ties (Shelden et al. 1996; Gutierrez-Adams et al. 2020). This reflects the importance of having an emotionally stable home environment. Gutierrez-Adams et al. (2020) interviewed girls who described the feeling of being neglected by their families. This neglect is

mostly blamed on mothers – not male relatives. They failed to see that their mothers are also in the same (often abusive) situation and feel that their mothers are neglectful of changing their position (Shelden et al. 1996). Joining a gang could possibly give them more autonomy.

In both home and school situations, these girls often feel out of place. By being part of a gang girls gain feelings of comfort they lack in their home situation. Joining a gang creates a sense of belonging in these girls, which, in turn, is also a frequent indicator of them joining one (Lauderback, Hansen & Waldorf 1992; Shelden 1996; Dziewanski 2020). In the case study done by Lauderback et al. (1992) on the Potrero Hill Posse in San Francisco a member stated about joining: "It means I am somebody" (as cited in Shelden et al. 1996, 33). They try to create their own 'family' through an exaggerated sense of belonging by romanticizing the image of the close ties of a gang (Lauderback et al 1992). Harris (1988, 172) states that the gang thus creates "a strong substitute for weak family and conventional school ties" (as cited in Shelden et al. 1996, 25).

It is important to consider the gain of power and empowerment most girls get after joining a gang (Venkatesh 1998; Shelden 1996; Dziewanski 2020). It is a way of taking control of their own lives. Almost all members of the Black Sister United – a girl gang federation in Chicago – mentioned joining a gang in order to work on the empowerment of women's right in their neighborhood (Venkatesh 1998). This can be an exertion of agency for these women and make them feel more than just victims and auxiliaries. Although this gang empowerment can be seen as a positive development, Dziewanksi (2020, 440) states that being in a gang "also reproduces many of the same sources of structural oppression". For example, stereotypes, racism and the consequent mistreatment of women from certain classes and races. An example can be found in the Potrero Hill Posse, where girls ganged up to gain more freedom and power through selling drugs. Despite their desire to get out of their situation, their circumstances do not change, and they remain "unmarried, with children, less than a high school education, and few job skills" (Lauderback et al. 1992, 70). In the end joining a gang only reproduces the structural marginalization many have been subject to their entire lives.

Contextual factors

Besides the aforementioned factors for joining a gang, girls are also influenced by contextual factors such as the structural intersectionality (Crenshaw 1991) of their social economic situation, race and class issues. Many women, Campbell (1990, 172) argues, face a bleak future where they are stuck in the expectation of stereotypical gender roles, especially present among Latinas (Moore & Hagedorn 2001). In order to avoid this, girls take measures into their own hands and choose to join a gang to be less, or not at all independent on men (as cited by Shelden 1996, 25). They see it as an "assertion of independence not only from family, but also from cultural and class constraints" (Moore & Hagedorn 2001, 3).

Often the social and economic context in which girls grow up explains why they join a gang. Most girls grow up in a poor, crime ridden neighborhood (Shelden et al. 1996; Gutierrez et al. 2020). Campbell (1993, 135-136) notes that these are often areas where burglaries, robberies and assaults are a frequent occurrences and people are not shy of drugs (as cited by Shelden 1996, 27). Being in exposed to crime from a young age, girls tend to try and find protection from community violence by joining a gang (Gutierrez-Adams et al. 2020). As both Shelden et al. (1996) and Gutierrez-Adams et al. (2020) notes, girls are familiar with gang life since most members they know are family who are involved in gang related activities. Interestingly, family members mostly do not encourage them to join a gang (Gutierrez-Adams et al. 2020). However, girls often find the support and protection they miss in their family situation, in a gang.

Through gang life, girls learn how they can survive the socio-economic position they are stuck in but see no way getting out of. Fishman's (1988, 28-29) research on the Vice Queens – an African American auxiliary female gang in Chicago – makes this very clear. Her research on black girls show that they turn to join (auxiliary) gangs in order to survive the community, as they see little opportunities in their marginalized neighborhoods (as cited in Shelden 1996, 37).

In addition to taking measures in their own hands, joining a gang often provides girls with their own income and independence. Many women were dependent on welfare in the mid-90's, but due to economic shifts this income disappeared, thereby creating a need for

these women to find livelihood elsewhere (Moore & Hagedorn 2001). This form of structural violence (Farmer 2004; Briceño-León & Zubillaga 2002), pushes women who are already in a marginalized position, even further into poverty. It puts them in a situation where they must make choices they might not have considered before. Multiple studies, such as Kitchen's (1990) case study in Fort Wayne portrays the poor economic situation most African American women are in. With a high poverty level, the researched gang members claimed to be pushed into dealing drugs and joining gangs in order to make a living (as cited in Shelden et al. 1996, 28). Besides that, most women had lower levels of education and felt there was no future for them. They stated they made more money selling drugs than the average minimum wage job. After getting used to the higher income through drugs women are even less likely to enter the normal workforce for a much lower income. The extra earnings create a sense of freedom according to Moore & Hagedorn (2001, 3), who stated that Puerto Rican women who joined a gang in New York were "spending money freely and standing up for themselves". Lindegaard & Jacques (2014) explain this way of gaining new 'power' cut them loose from the structural inequality most of the women are in. However, this is often short term, since gang culture can be damaging in the long-term (as cited in Dziewanski 2020).

Conclusion

Gang research almost always focuses on males. Girl gangs are often closely related to male gangs, but due to lack of research are subject to misplaced stereotypes (Moore 1993). Gangs are mostly formed in marginalized communities by girls from ethnic minority backgrounds, such as African Americans and Latinas (Shelden et al. 1996; Gutierrez-Adams et al. 2020; Lauderback et al. 1992).

They are influenced by both internal and contextual factors to join a gang. Internal factors are often caused by traumas at a young age such as emotional, physical, and/or sexual abuse inflicted by direct family members or other relatives (Shelden et al. 1996; Moore & Hagedorn 2001; Gutierrez-Adams et al. 2020). These experiences create in girls feelings of neglect that can be alleviated through joining a gang and gaining a sense of belonging (Lauderback et al. 1992; Shelden et al. 1996; Dziewanski 2020). Additionally, girls often feel empowered with the acceptance and

'freedom' of the gang (Moore & Hagedorn 2001).

Contextual factors to consider why girls join gangs can be related back to the social context in which they grow up, the lack of stability and opportunities they get. An intersectional approach is important to contextually situate these girls. A gang seems like a solution when one grows up in a poor neighborhood without a real stable home situation and no future perspectives (Shelden et al 1996) to prepare and defend themselves for a life mired in poverty, violence and racism (Fishman 1988). Gang life is often also seen as a way out of their bleak future of stereotypical gender roles (Campbell 1996) and gaining economic independence instead of relying on their family or (future) husbands. By joining a gang, a girl tries to find what society has failed to give her (Thrasher 1927).

A girl does not easily make the decision to join a gang. This research has shown several of the motivations of girls to obtain gang membership, but there are many more aspects to be researched. Contextual factors such as inequality and differences in ethnic background deserve more academic exploration. More research could be done on the various forms of violence in and used by female gangs. Furthermore, another aspect of focus of future research can be on the long-term effects of being a girl gang member.

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Buddhist Soil To Grow In

An Anthropological Study on Contemporary Religion and Spirituality in A Buddhist Meditation Centre in Germany

Elviera Beumkes

Contemporary religious and spiritual practices are constantly reinterpreted and embedded in new local contexts, which also applies to the Buddhist meditation center in Germany where I conducted anthropological fieldwork. By giving insight in different interpretations and practices of Buddhism in the West, and showing how these can co-exist within one particular context, I encourage spiritually-interested readers to reflect on the shifting boundaries between contemporary spiritual and religious practices in Western society.

In the middle of an extensive forest stands a static white mansion. There, an international Buddhist community lives, dedicating their present and future lives to the Three Jewels[1]. They share their home with a constantly changing group of visitors, who wander along multiple religions, traditions and lifestyles. The dynamic encounters between the divergent groups resemble the apparent symmetry and structure of the forest and its endless winding paths.

From early February until mid-April 2020, I conducted anthropological fieldwork in the form of a ten-week work-visit at a Buddhist meditation center in Northern Germany.[2] The center is home to a small international Buddhist community which, besides a residency, also offers a spiritual program, ranging from meditation day-

courses and weekend retreats to weekly study programs and (inter)national Buddhist festivals.[3] All Dharma practitioners and people interested in Buddhism are welcome to visit the center and join in on the program. As such, the center hosts an assemblage of religious, spiritual and secular residents and visitors: Buddhist monks, nuns and lay-residents live together with spiritually-interested working-visitors and guests in the center, allowing different engagements with the Tibetan Buddhist tradition practiced by residents to co-exist. Therefore, the Buddhist meditation center in Germany illustrates how contemporary religious and spiritual practices are constantly reinterpreted and embedded in new local contexts, and contributes to a dynamic and eclectic understanding of contemporary religious and spiritual practices within Western society.

Critical voices have been raised concerning the commodification of Buddhist ideas and practices in the West, as meditation and mindfulness become increasingly separated from their originally underlying Buddhist philosophy and ethics (see for example Purser 2019). However, this anthropological research aims to transcend "traditionalist" versus "modernist" classifications of Buddhism (Baumann 2001), and rather approaches Buddhist engagements through the lens of 'lived religion' (McGuire 2007). This approach considers both the activities of the everyday and activities in religious buildings and contexts, highlighting religious and/or spiritual ideas to cohere with daily practice on a more practical level (McGuire in Klassen 2014, 16-17). In this sense, religion is not perceived as *opposed to* secular modernity, but as sustaining complex, shifting, and ambivalent relations *with* secular modernity, moving beyond the sacred-secular dichotomy, "ranging from opposition and accommodation to cross-fertilization and mutual reinforcement" (Vásquez 2016, 473).

The following paragraphs bring forward some of the findings on how residents and visitors of the Buddhist meditation center in Germany mutually influence and define each other's ideas about and practice of Buddhist 'religion' and 'spirituality' in distorting and complex ways.[4] In particular, theories about 'voluntary conversion as cultural passage' (Buckser and Glazier 2003), 'technologies of the self' (Foucault 1988), 'the turn to the self' (Taylor 2007) and the 'sacred-secular continuum' (Vincett and Woodhead 2016; Collins-Kreiner and Wall 2015) are related to these findings.

It can be concluded that 'tourist and host' or 'visitor and resident' share embodied encounters in the meditation center, using the interactions with others - alongside engagement with Buddhist teachings and practices - as a way to establish their subjective understandings of a desired spiritual, religious or secular self. This process is significantly facilitated and influenced by the specific environmental and social context of the center.

The Continuum of Religious and Spiritual Buddhist Practice

Partridge and Woodhead (2016, 30) note that the term 'religion' often gets its meaning by being contrasted with 'secularity' and 'spirituality'. Indeed, both residents and visitors used this distinction in the reasons they gave for engaging in different ways and to different degrees with Buddhist teachings and practices, thereby constructing a difference between religious and spiritual practices.

All residents identify as Buddhist and religious, as they have converted *from* and *to* an embodied Buddhist worldview and identity.[5] This is in line with Buckser and Glazier's theory (2003) about 'voluntary conversion as cultural passage'. They argue that total commitment to a religion or tradition to which people are not native involves more than just adopting a set of ideas. Evi, a 57 years old lady who only recently decided to live at the center, describes it as: "Sincerely going for refuge in Buddha, Dharma and Sangha is a *letting go* of your previous way of life and at the same time starting *a new* way of living. It is two things at the same time."[6] Niklas, an ordained monk in his mid40s who has been practicing Buddhism almost his entire life, adds that Buddhist faith comes with a long time of practice: "growing drop by drop by drop through experience."[7] Voluntary conversion as cultural passage can be a rollercoaster as "an encultivated person arrives at a particular place, continuously being (re-)constituted through social practice and [...] new forms of relatedness" (Buckser and Glazier 2003, 23). All residents emphasize that unshakable faith has been part of their Buddhist journey but in the end to fully embrace the tradition's discourse and ritual practices is necessary to attain 'enlightenment' or 'Buddhahood'[8].

Contrastingly, most visitors of the center do not intend to seek this aspect of faith and rather 'cherry-pick' those teachings and practices they deem valuable for their own spiritual practice. John, one of the long-

term working-visitors during my stay, explains that instead of committing to one particular religion or tradition, he likes to treat religions like a salad bar: ''I'm like, I can make a salad and take a little bit from Buddhism, [...] a little bit from Christianity, [...] a little bit from Islam. Every religion has something to contribute. So, I think the salad will taste better if you take the best ideas from every religion.''[9] Even though visitors like John, who meditate daily, believe in karma[10] and reincarnation, and seem serious about learning more about Buddhist teachings and applying them to their daily lives, do not identify as Buddhist. Visitors' idea that to practice Buddhism as a religion means adhering to an all-embracing framework and engaging with all teachings and practices, is often associated with an infringement on their personal autonomy, and in contradiction with their goal of spiritual or secular self-development and self-determination.[11] Without exception, the visitors choose to see Buddhism as a philosophy instead of a religion.[12]

In short, visitors' and residents' engagement with Buddhism depends on their individual inclinations, illustrating how within 'the turn to the self' in contemporary religion and spirituality in Western society the emphasis lies on individual spiritual practice and their individual benefits (Taylor 2007).[13] Visitors incorporate Buddhist practices and teachings into their *personal* journeys of (spiritual) self-development, whereas residents' choice to commit to Buddhism and reside at the center characterizes their *personal* preferred way of practice. Furthermore, visitors and residents utilize in their elaborations a distinction between religion and spirituality. Visitors contrast their style of engagement with Buddhist teachings and practices with the authoritative, institutional approach they relate to religion. As a consequence, visitors regard the practice of the residential community as religious and more dogmatic than their own engagement with Buddhism. In this sense, visitors have certain expectations of 'Buddhism as a religion' and the way people in a Buddhist community live their lives. These are however not always congruent with the way the residential community actually practices Buddhism.[14] Moreover, visitors who identify as non-religious or non-Buddhist may still adopt some of the Buddhist teachings and practices of the center. Therefore, the conceptualizations of and engagements with Buddhism by the different actors in the meditation center

should be placed in a continuum whereby forms of spirituality can take over aspects of traditional theistic practice and vice versa, allowing for a broader and more inclusive comprehension of people's engagement with religious and/or spiritual affirmations (Vincett and Woodhead 2016; Collins-Kreiner and Wall 2015).

Internal and External Buddhist Practice – A Sense of Self(lessness)

Residents' and visitors' conceptualizations of 'Buddhist religion' as distinctive from 'Buddhist spirituality' relate to the demarcation made between their external and internal practice. In short, external practices can be interpreted as those Buddhist ritual practices that explicitly mark residents' "overt commitment to the Buddhist tradition" (Schedneck 2015, 167), for example: the prostrations, food offerings and chanted prayers during ritual ceremonies (or: *puja*). These are 'daily acts of devotion' for the residents, exposing their practice with their physical body.[15] On the other hand, internal practices are understood as the meditative or self-reflective processes of the inner mind and body.[16] In other words, these actions happen inside of the body and therefore cannot be perceived by others at first sight – e.g. keeping a peaceful Dharma state of mind throughout the day. Most important to note is that the categories of internal and external practices are not bounded, but mutually influence each other and are differently employed by residents and visitors.

For instance, whereas most visitors regard ritual bowing solely as an external act of devotion, deemed unnecessary for their individual spiritual journey, residents prostrate to both internally and externally practice Buddhism. To elaborate, residents' desire to cultivate a Buddhist sense of selflessness is intrinsically related with the ongoing process of meaning-making and transformation of both body and mind. Externally, the physical bow signifies the practitioner's respect and gratitude to holy beings and marks the religious commitment to the Buddhist tradition. Internally, the practitioner's body functions as a vessel through which the holy beings can work, who vanish the ego and subsequently guide the practitioner along its Buddhist path in present and future lives.[17] On the other hand, most visitors connotate prostration as an authoritarian and institutional religious practice, a symbolic activity they do not identify with. Visitors only selectively engage with external Buddhist practices according to

their personal motivations and goals, but in general are not deemed necessary or even counter-productive in cultivating their aspired selves. For example, visitors' practice of meditation is directed at achieving a peaceful mind in this present life as a goal in itself, instead of regarding it as an important condition for taking a good rebirth after death.[18] As working-visitor Peter bluntly put it: "If karma would exist, I would have already screwed it up for multiple lifetimes anyway."[19]

Thus, these illustrations imply that residents' and visitors' religious or spiritual affirmations of Buddhism relate to their internal and external practice. Whereas for residents both internal and external Buddhist practices are employed in line with the tradition's discourse, visitors often detach external practices from internal practices, as the latter are incorporated into visitors' personal frameworks instead. Nonetheless, both residents' and visitors' Buddhist-derived practice function as Foucault's (1988) 'technologies of the self': bodily experience and sensual awareness are used to produce a desired inner self(lessness). In here, both internal and external practices shape the practitioners' subjective experience and sense of self, but not in a universal way. The Buddhist meditation center is a place where different discursive frameworks co-exist, whereby the same practices may be experienced as 'sacred' and part of their religious commitment by some, while interpreted as 'traditional' and used as 'secular' self-help tools by others.

Embedded and Embodied Buddhism in Daily Life

Different aspects of living at the center can also become 'technologies of the self', whereby some of the interrelated structures of time and space that construct the specific context of the meditation center intrinsically shape visitors' and residents' engagements with Buddhist teachings and practices.

For example, the structure of time can be recognized in the daily spiritual program, the strictly scheduled mealtimes and the communal household-cleaning meetings. They allow the residency to flourish in clarity and order, without being disrupted by the flow of visitors that move in and out of the center every day. At the same time, it enables visitors to be less dependent on residents for knowing when, where and what will happen in the center.[20] Therefore, the precise external creations of time in daily schedules and regulations create a certain amount of repetition and structure in the daily lives of

both the visitors and residents, contribute to visitors' and residents' turning inwards.

The socio-cultural structure of space in the sense of shared living in a community also defines the daily life of visitors and residents and permits them to independently, actively explore and develop in personal desired ways. Firstly, to be part of a community allows residents and visitors to be surrounded and get in close contact with others' spiritual engagements and learn from their experiences and knowledge. The intimate shared connection (both among and in-between residents and visitors) with like-minded others makes it a great experience for mental support and guidance.[21] Secondly, in the community, the individual gains an extra responsibility, as the community cannot maintain without individual participation. For example, visitors are motivated to contribute to the collective by joining community household-tasks (e.g. cleaning and cooking).[22] Here, 'the individual' and 'the collective' are inherently linked and allow Buddhist teachings or spiritual encounters to become part of daily actions. The significant role of the collective in residentials' Buddhist practices is dependent on a certain focus on the individual, whereas the visitors' more individualized practices are embedded in and facilitated by the social.

A final structure of space that influences and encourages residents' and visitors' Buddhist engagement can be found in the center's geographical location. Namely, the center is relatively separated from the 'outside world' and removed from external stimuli because of its location in a forest. Visitors' and residents' dependency on distractions or so-called 'worldly pleasures' such as games and movies, is decreased by the surrounding of nature.[23] It aims residents to stay focused on their Buddhist commitment and spiritually-interested guests to spend time away from their regular homes and enjoy time in nature.

In short, the context of the Buddhist meditation center is built on certain structures that enable visitors and residents to achieve their goals. Their shared relative isolation in time and space become 'technologies of the self' through which residents and visitors can further explore and develop their sense of self in their own desired ways. Furthermore, these constructions of the center cause an interplay between connection and disconnection wherein visitors bridge the gap of disconnection for the residential community while the residential community bridges the

gap of connection for the visitors.[24] The exchange between the two groups is for both groups an essential part of their stay at the center.

Summary

The 'lived religion' approach enables to gain insight into the various ways in which the sacred (read: religious or spiritual) can be embedded into the everyday, or the secular (read: non-religious or non-spiritual) into the extraordinary, going beyond the sacred-secular division (Klassen 2014, 11; Collins-Kreiner and Wall 2015). It allows to look at the lived experience of religion by individuals in their everyday life and sheds light on the endless range of sacred-secular possibilities in visitors' and residents' experiences and practices in both ritual practice and mundane actions, but also in the socio-cultural structures of the center itself. All in all, Buddhism is both implicitly and explicitly informed and embedded in the residential center, marking all forms of enactment and creation for residents in the center. Both residents and visitors shape their subjectivities in interaction with the context of the meditation center, whereby they engage with Buddhist practices and teachings in order to cultivate and embody their aspired self. This aspired self can be in line with the Buddhist ideal according to the tradition practiced at the center or in line with more individualized goals, such as an autonomous, emotional-stable self (establishing self-determination). In this regard, residents and visitors reinforce the construction of spirituality and religion as two separate categories. At the same time, the lived religion approach has allowed to see that, in fact, these categories are constantly shifting and have no boundaries. At last, the Buddhist meditation center is an example of how contemporary religious practices are constantly reinterpreted and embedded in new local contexts, thereby leading to the emergence of what Schedneck (2015, 21) calls "new social spaces" wherein new, hybrid forms of religion and spirituality can emerge. The socio-cultural context of the center provides thereby a fertile soil that allows residents and visitors for further personal growth.

Footnotes

1. Cantwell and Kawanami (2016) explain that Buddhist practice is generally based on taking refuge in the Three Jewels: Buddha, Dharma and Sangha. Buddha Shakyamuni (c. 490 - 10 BCE) is the founder of Buddhism and his teachings are referred to as Dharma, which means 'protection'. Sangha refers to the Buddhist community that consists of both ordained and lay practitioners.
2. During this fieldwork, I was accompanied by another anthropological student. We set up and carried out the research together, however due to private reasons she prefers to stay anonymous.
3. The meditation center and the specific Buddhist tradition remain anonymous in order to maintain the privacy of the residents. The names of visitors and residents used in this article are pseudonyms.
4. It is important to emphasize that this article will not bring forward an in-depth analysis of all the individual and collective Buddhist teachings and practices of visitors and residents, nor the complete lived religion in daily life at the center, as this article only elaborates on how Buddhist residents and spiritually-interested visitors co-exist in the center and define themselves within the sacred-secular continuum in distorting and complex ways. Readers interested in the full research are invited to contact us to get access to our thesis.
5. i.a. semi-structured interview with Chris, 23/03; semi-structured interview with Suzanne, 31/03; Skype-interview with Niklas 06/04
6. Conversation and participant observation with Evi, 27/03
7. Skype-interview with Niklas, 06/04
8. Enlightenment or Buddhahood refers to the final stage of the Buddhist path. At this stage, one becomes an enlightened Buddha, who has attained ultimate wisdom and love to benefit all other sentient beings (Cantwell and Kawanami 2016).
9. Semi-structured interview with John, 29/03
10. Karma stands for the laws of cause and effect. One builds positive karma by doing good actions for all beings, resulting in good fortune in present or future lives.
11. Informal conversation with Hannah 28/02; informal conversation with Peter 06/03

12. i.a. semi-structured interview with John, 29/03
13. However, it should be noted that a specific research subject of ours has been the difference in individual and collective religious experience between visitors and residents. Even though contemporary religious and spiritual practices are increasingly 'individualized', we found that 'collective experience' has not lost its function for both visitors and residents in Buddhist meditation practices and daily life at the residential community.
14. For example, for most visitors, practicing or learning meditation is one of the main reasons for visiting the center. From participating in daily life and conversations with residents over lunch and dinner, visitors soon discover that meditation plays a less central role in the daily life of the residential community than they expected (informal conversation with just arrived working visitor, 03/03).
15. Based on several field notes obtained through participant observation of *pujas*, 06/02; 04/02; 08/02; 14/02/; 21/02; 29/02; 07/03; 22/03; 25/03; 03/04
16. It is important to emphasize that here the mind should not be interpreted as the brain. Rather, the mind does not take up part of the body and has no fast or physical form. It is situated at the heart and many spiritual connections pass through this mind.
17. i.a. semi-structured interview with Suzanne, 31/03; semi-structured interview with a resident, 29/03
18. i.a. semi-structured interview with Gabriël, 27/03; semi-structured interview with Evi, 24/03
19. Informal conversation with Peter, 08/03
20. Data from multiple expanded field notes based on participant observation, i.a. 03/02; 04/02.
21. Semi-structured interview with a resident, 29/03; semi-structured interview with Leonie, 22/03; semi-structured interview with Chris, 23/03; semi-structured interview with Evi, 24/03
22. Informal conversation at tea time with working visitors, 04/03; semi-structured interview with Franz, 18/03; semi-structured interview with John, 29/03; informal conversation with Evi 09/04; semi-structured interview with Leonie, 22/03
23. Semi-structured interview with a resident, 29/03; semi-structured interview with Chris, 23/03; Skype-interview with Niklas, 06/04; semi-structured interview with Evi, 24/03

24. It is important to note that even though the residential community lives relatively isolated at the center, they still have a lot of connection with the 'outside world'. Not only through visitors of the center but also through international events such as festivals and retreats. Residents are allowed to leave the center as they please, to go on family-visits or travel to nearby regions. Furthermore, residents are part of a worldwide network with other practitioners from the same tradition, they keep in contact through social media and the internet.

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Survival and Resistance in the Face of Necropolitical Governance:

Anti-Black Genocide in Urban Brazil

Vicky Keulers

I think this paper offers a good illustration of the concept of necropolitics and what this looks like in a contemporary racist state, while also highlighting its complex consequences that become clear through lived human experiences, specifically of those who face interlocking oppressions. I think this framework clearly highlights how state violence in Brazil has evolved since colonialism; how state violence operates; how it impacts the targeted population; and how it is, in turn, resisted.

"They are killing each other. Everybody sees that, but nothing is done."
Nete, an outraged mother. Rocha, 2014

Introduction

Brazil has been marked by excessive lethal police violence in a manner that is incomparable to any other country in the Americas (Calderia, 2002). Black Brazilians are disproportionately targeted: although racial classifications are often omitted from official police reports, the Brazilian Forum of Public Safety showed that 75.4% of the victims killed by the police are black (Loureiro, 2020, p. 55), even though only about half of the Brazilian population is *preto* or *pardo* [Black or mixed] (Smith, 2017, p. 44). Effectively, various scholars have long argued that anti-Black racism and genocide is not arbitrary nor situational, but

intrinsically related to the African Diaspora (Rocha, 2014). This argument may appear antithetical to the common conception of Brazil as a racial democracy, but once juxtaposed, it becomes clear that these paradoxical discourses are not mutually exclusive, but in fact constitutive of one another (French, 2013).

The direct victims of state violence are often young Black men. However, Brazilian Black queer feminist activists have consistently reminded us that this normative conception of state violence fails to take into account female victimization (Smith, 2016; Smith, 2013). To exclude women from definitions of state violence is to disregard "the heterosexism and patriarchy of hegemonic epistemology of white supremacy" (Smith, 2013, p. 193). Therefore, I will focus on women's experiences of state violence in Brazil. Specifically, my research question is: What is the role of resistance in the face of gendered anti-Black necropolitical governance in Brazil?

Firstly, I will offer an extensive contextualization of Brazil as a necropolitical state in which anti-Blackness is embedded. I will provide essential historical context by summarizing the genealogy of anti-Black genocide in Brazil, which will expose the coloniality of power at play. Subsequently, I will explain the processes of racialization in Brazil that are relevant to this case. After, I wish to demonstrate not only the physical violence, but also the symbolic violence that *favelados* experience. I will then shift my focus to gendered necropolitics and resistance, and specifically pertaining to Black (queer) feminist activists and mothers. Throughout, I will mainly draw upon political anthropology, particularly focusing on resistance studies (associated with i.a. Scott, 1985; Comaroff, 1985); anthropology of structural violence (especially Mbembe, 2003); and critical Brazilian black feminist scholarship.

Necropolitics and anti-Black genocide

Following Churchill (1997), genocide is commonly defined as "a denial of the right of existence of entire human groups, as homicide is the denial of the right to live of individual human beings" (cited in Rocha, 2011, p. 2). Abdias do Nascimento, a Black Brazilian activist, first used the term in his book *O genocídio do negro brasileiro* (1978) to refer to the cultural conditions of anti-Blackness in Brazil (Smith, 2017). Today, social movements have extended this definition of genocide to include "the state's explicit and

systematic practice of killing Black Brazilians through police raids, shootings, extrajudicial executions, and the slow death of incarceration" (Smith, 2017, p. 45). Physical, biological and cultural dimensions of genocide function in a three-way symbioses as a continuum of violence against the Black population (Loureiro, 2020).

Achille Mbembe's (2003) concept of necropolitics extends Foucault's notion of biopolitics to the politics of death, and is defined as "the generalised instrumentalisation of human existence and the material destruction of human bodies and populations" (p. 14). In other words, necropower is "the power and the capacity to dictate who may live and who must die" (Mbembe, 2003, p. 14). In Brazil, a certain level of Black disposability (Alves, 2014) has been suggested. Violence is exercised against a population which is deemed void of value, as the population resides outside the neoliberal capitalist system of value (Loureiro, 2020, p. 54). As Black bodies become 'no-bodies' due to their perceived lack of value, Black people are dehumanized, and thus fall outside of the protection of the law (Alves, 2014).

However, in this constellation of necropower, Black bodies become not only disposable, but also active internal enemies of the Brazilian nation state (Smith, 2013). Black and Indigenous people, activists, abolitionists, communists, queers (Perry, 2020; Silva Júnior et al., 2020) all pose a threat to the ideal Brazilian nation state – one that is more like their Western counterparts – and their elimination is thus inherently embedded in the state by way of structural violence. In terms of subjectification, it is argued that the "white 'imagined community' depends on black subjection to death" (Alves, 2014, p. 329), and that the Black subject "is always and already the non-reference: they provide the fixed point against which all other positionalities attain social freight, yet their presence is negated, erased" (Alves & Vargas, 2020, p. 652). Thus, the Black subject's "unique physical presence is a threat yet their symbolic absence unimaginable" (Alves & Vargas, 2020, p. 652).

This then means that Black Brazilians are not accidental victims of state violence: their deaths are "a central dimension of the racial state" (Alves, 2014, p. 324). As Smith, 2013 puts it: "racial profiling is not a deviation from the rule of law, but an integral part of state security: maintaining the status quo" (p. 181). In effect, "necropolitics is the nomos of

Black existence" (Smith, 2016). As will become clear in the following sections, this epistemological production of the black body as the internal enemy (Smith, 2013) is formed by Brazil's colonial history and is sustained by an array of contemporary public discourses.

Coloniality of power

Although the codes, modes and technologies of domination have changed over time, the cargo ship, the plantation, the *favela* and the prison all constitute a historical continuity in Brazilian anti-Blackness (Alves, 2014; Aves & Vargas, 2020). This historical power matrix is characterized by what Aníbal Quijano (2000) has termed the *coloniality of power*, which asserts that the global, hegemonic model of power of the present has its roots in the power matrix that underpinned colonial rule. Thus, Brazil's racial divisions and hierarchies that are observed today have a colonial origin that has developed over time (Loureiro, 2020).

After the abolishment of slavery in 1888, white supremacy continued to persist in Brazil, in the form of state-supported social projects relating to whitening and eugenics (Loureiro, 2020; Smith, 2013). R.S. Rose has argued that there is a direct cultural-historical connection to be found between the torture and terror of the black body during Portuguese slavery and contemporary forms of state violence against Brazil's Black working class (Smith, 2013).

At the beginning of Brazil's Republic period, urban renewal programs followed the European model in order to build Brazilian cities to be "white, modern, civilized centers" (Alves, 2014, p. 329). Consequently, the Black urban population was displaced, in a racial project that essentially replaced slavery: "the urban black population was an obstacle to the nation's modernizing project and therefore a problem to be swept away from public spaces" (Alves, 2014, p. 329). A 'Brazilian apartheid' was conceived, one that is still evident today, in which a racial spatiality limits and governs the movement of Black Brazilians (Loureiro, 2020; Alves, 2014). In effect, Afro-Brazilians were and still are confined to the periphery, the favelas and the prisons, far away from the wealthy whites (Loureiro, 2020).

Many aspects of the police violence observed today have their roots in the military dictatorship (1964-1985) (Smith, 2013). In fact, the military was "the first institution to effectively repress and control *favelas* through intimidation, torture and the

assassination of outspoken leaders" (Loureiro, 2020, p. 55). 'Urban guerrillas' in the favelas were combatted through the creation of special operation forces that continued to exist after democratization in the fragments of the police (Smith, 2013). With democratization (1988), targets 'changed' from urban guerrillas to the internal enemies: "the masses, '*povão*'" (Smith, 2013, p. 190). Black activists have long argued that "in the *favela*, dictatorship never ended" (Alves & Vargas, 2020, p. 652).

Under democracy, attempts by federal and state governments to control police violence and corruption have been resisted by police forces and their lobbies (Caldeira, 2002). And although significant strides to ameliorate conditions for marginalised groups were made by the Workers' Party (PT) (Perry, 2020), their progressive policies were reversed under Michel Temer (2016-2018), who "dismantled the country's ministries of Racial Equality, Women, Indigenous People, and Culture in his first days as president, has suspended new registration for Brazil's landmark public welfare program [...] and appointed an all-white, all-male cabinet" (Smith, 2017, p. 47). Temer also signed a decree that gave the military power over Rio de Janeiro's security forces, which has been said to signal nostalgia of Brazil's authoritarian past and military government (Loureiro, 2020).

The longing for a "return to the romantic ideal of a white, heteropatriarchal Brazilian society in which women, Black, and Indigenous people 'know their place'" (Perry, 2020, p. 160) seems to have intensified with the rise of the far-right and the election of Jair Bolsonaro in 2019. However, Perry (2020) rightfully argues that Bolsonaro's blatant racism and sexism must not be exceptionalized, and that it is indeed part of a longer genealogy of anti-Blackness. Interestingly, as PT became associated with pro-Black policies (and therefore with Afro-Brazilians) an anti-PT and pro-Bolsonaro rage surged, despite the fact that the PT administration benefitted the white middle and working class the most (Alves & Vargas, 2020). Here, we see the embeddedness of anti-Blackness in Brazilian society manifested in a symbolic rage: "Bolsonaro's call for violence upon Black, trans, gay, female, and poor people, may be, after all, a revealing statement on the always-in-place racial project of deblackening and unqueering Brazil" (Alves & Vargas, 2020, p. 653).

Racial hegemony and racialization

Brazil is often conceived to be a 'racial democracy', which is "an ideological myth according to which all Brazilians are equals and live without racially motivated conflict" (Loureiro, 2020, p. 54). This myth goes hand in hand with the idea of Brazil being a colourblind melting pot (Rocha, 2014). In reality, however, Brazil operates according to a hegemonic racial logic that is imbued with white supremacy (Smith, 2013). This paradox allows for racial inequalities to be strengthened and naturalized, as the importance of race in social relations is made invisible (Smith, 2013). Moreover, this logic allows for the denial, and thus persistence, of anti-Black genocide (Loureiro, 2020).

This racial hegemony is particularly evident when one, seeking to debunk anti-Black racism in Brazil, brings up the fact that the majority of police officers are black. By recalling Gramsci, Smith (2013) argues that Afro-Brazilians, despite being oppressed by white supremacist logics, may adopt this 'common sense' and perpetuate the racial hegemony themselves. Following Fanon's *Black Skin, White Masks* (1968), French (2013) asserts that self-alienation and internalization of racist structures of domination occur when Black police men put on their police uniforms. Anti-Black attitudes among Black police are made possible in part due to their 'white masks': "*polícia não tem cor, tem farda* [a police officer does not have a color, he has a uniform]" (French, 2013, p. 169).

Then, what does it mean to be Black? How do we deconstruct (anti-)Blackness in a society convinced of its racial indifference? In public discourse, there is a continuous conflation of various intersections, in which *favelado*, Blackness, poverty, crime, violence, and death are essentially equated (Alves, 2014; Rocha, 2012). To be a *favelado* is to embody all of these ascribed identity markers. It is through this conflation that a process of racialization occurs:

> [...] it becomes absolutely irrelevant if Dona Maria or Betinho [favelados] self-identify as blacks or whites, because their bodies are already inscribed in a racial register that entitles the racial state to interpellate them as blacks (Alves, 2014, p. 328).

In effect, being poor renders one a criminal (Rocha, 2012), Brazilian whites living in the *favela* are 'blackened' (French, 2013), and Black bodies are marked for death (Smith, 2013; Loureiro, 2020).

Necropolitical governance: a continuum of violence

Although the more obvious forms of state violence that Afro-Brazilians endure are ample, there exists a continuum of violence in Brazil from which discursive and symbolic violence cannot be omitted (Rocha, 2014). Following the racialization processes, *favelados* are rendered responsible for urban violence and criminality, engendering discourses of fear among the white and wealthy (Rocha, 2014). These fears are in turn consolidated by discourses about public safety on behalf of authorities, which translate into a politics of demonization and extermination (Loureiro, 2020).

In effect, extremely violent and repressive interventions against racialized and criminalized *favelados* are justified, sometimes even praised and encouraged by politicians and the white (upper) middle class (Rocha, 2014). With the support of the public, police operate on an unspoken "kill first and ask questions later" basis (Smith, 2013, p. 181). Police tend to 'mistake' workers for criminals, resulting in many killings of innocent civilians, as like in the public imagination, "for the police, [...] the boundary between the image of the poor worker and that of the criminal is very thin indeed" (Caldeira, 2002, p. 248). However, this supposedly accidental nature of police killings not only provides proof for the anti-Black *favelado* racialization thesis, but it is simultaneously challenged by the fact that policemen will also kill off-duty. Caldeira (2002) mentions that the privatization of security in Brazil has led to many (ex-)policemen being hired as (illegal) private guards, targeting the poor and those 'mistaken' for criminals. Moreover, police-linked death squads are also often hired to clear neighborhoods of any potential 'threats', resulting in an astonishing number of deaths (Smith, 2018; Alves, 2014). These death squads deploy sophisticated police practices, such as dismembering and scattering bodies throughout the favela in order to cover up evidence and to terrorize the families and communities of the victims (Alves, 2012).

Smith (2013) argues that the 'spectacle' of extremely violent death squad murders in the media naturalizes black suffering and the rule of law of police violence. As Smith explains:

> [...] the excess of the spectacle of death squad murders makes the image of black suffering so pervasive, so repeated, and so mundane, that its

> normalization effectually mutes the transcripts that narrate it (2013, p. 186).

This hidden transcript of white supremacy is not only naturalized by the media, but is also transcribed by police violence itself. The dismemberment by death squads is not only physically, but also symbolically violent. As the body is fractured and separated from the community, it becomes reinscribed with racialized social meaning (Smith, 2013, p. 194). The racialized *favelado* identity is produced "in and through" these violent acts (Alves, 2014, p. 328). As Alves was told by interlocutors in the black movement: "If you want to know who is black and who is not in Brazil, just ask the police" (2014, p. 328).

Gendered necropolitics and resistance

With the naturalization of black suffering, *favelados* experience an "embodiment of hate" (Perry, 2020, p. 158). The everyday violence that is experienced becomes normal in society, with *favelados* living in a permanent 'state of exception' (Rocha, 2014). It is this invisibility and lack of recognition that leads to frustration and outrage (Rocha, 2014). The agency that is born out of this takes on the form of survival strategies, as well as resistance. Black resistance praxis date back to the era of slavery, in the forms of for example *quilombos* (escaped African encampents), uprisings (e.g. *Revolta dos Malês* in 1935), and everyday cultural resistance (e.g. *capoeira*, a martial art disguised as dance) (Smith, 2017).

In present day, *favelados* challenge the "pathologizing narratives of the favela as a place of disorganized and apolitical individuals" (Alves, 2014, p. 331). Through outlawed behaviours (e.g. drug dealing on street corners and burgling elite's houses), cultural expression (e.g. graffiti, hiphop, and *funk*), and organized protests, Afro-Brazilians redefine what it means to be Black (Alves, 2014). In essence, "black survival depends (ed) on spatial strategies of resistance that challenge not only the racial spatial order but also the very equation blackness = placelessness" (Alves, 2014, p. 329). Today, various local, regional and national organizations constitute Brazil's 'Black Lives Matter' movement, including *Movimento Negro Unificado* and *Reaja ou Será Mortx!* (Smith, 2017).

Black (queer) women and mothers particularly have been at the forefront of this fight. Black feminist activists have advocated for an expansion of the notion of 'state violence', one that brings attention to Black

women's experiences. Black women, too, experience direct state violence, in the form of deadly police encounters in their everyday lives or due to their activism (Smith, 2018). The latter was true for Black feminist activists Marielle Franco and Aurina Rodrigues Santana, who were both assassinated after public denunciations of police violence (Smith, 2018).

Brazilian Black feminist activists will deploy their intersectional positionality, their *lugar de fala* [standpoint; 'place to speak'], to speak out against their multiple interlocking structural forms of oppression. Consequently, Black feminist activists "use their social postion and political location of *favelada* as an advantageous point of view" (Loureiro, 2020, p. 51). Marielle de Franco, for example, made use of black feminist praxis within spaces traditionally occupied by white and powerful men (e.g. academia and politics), and in the process created a new, counterhegemonic way of 'doing politics' (Loureiro, 2020). One form of such transformative politics is a 'politics of caring', one "that enlarges the horizon of politics beyond white-normative accounts of justice, and beyond male centric strategies of resistance historically embraced by the black movement in Brazil" (Alves, 2014, p. 334). Luciane O. Rocha (2014) takes a similar transformative approach in academia, in which she advocates for an 'Outraged Anthropology', one in which emotion is incorporated in methodology, analysis, and writing (p. 30).

In light of intersectionality, it is crucial to highlight that Black women are also affected by more indirect forms of state violence, such as "the lack of abortion rights, the rise in maternal mortality stemming from inadequate public health care, and the lack of basic infrastructure, such as sewers and clean running water in neighborhoods" (Perry, 2020, p. 161). Moreover, Black women "are concentrated in low-paid jobs as domestic servants, have the highest unemployment rate of any social group, and are disproportionately likely to suffer from diseases and violent death" (Alves, 2014, p. 334). Relatedly, the state fails to protect women in the *favela* from gang and domestic violence (Wilding, 2020).

However, one of the most invisible ways in which women are subject to necropolitical governance is through '*sequelae*'. In this context, *sequelae* is used to describe the effects of police violence on the communities of the dead (Smith, 2017). These wounds left in the community are rendered

invisible in society, as the direct victims of police violence are dehumanized and thus detached from anything that makes them human, including their family and community. *Sequelae* can affect anyone close to the direct victim (friends, family members, neighbours), but Black mothers particularly. Senselessness and powerlessness in the face of losing a loved one, such as a child or the death of other children in the community due to police violence is often followed by depression, heartache, and disease that "eats away at the body and the soul" (Smith, 2018, p. 379), resulting in slow, 'invisible' deaths over time (Rocha, 2011). These effects can also lead to intergenerational trauma (Smith, 2017).

Important to note is that this does not imply that Black female victimization is secondary, nor arbitrary (Smith, 2018; Alves, 2014). Instead, "the *sequelae* of anti-Black violence are evidence of the ideological relationship between state apparatuses (structure) and gendered anti-Blackness" (Smith, 2016, p. 32). Black women are affected in this way because they themselves form internal enemies. Historically, Black women have been subject to control due to their reproductive ability to generate Blackness, both literally through birth, as well as culturally through mothering and transmitting cultural practices and behaviors (Rocha, 2014, p. 90).

This eugenic logic is also evident today in public discourse, in which mothers are blamed for the violence that their family members commit. '*Mãe de bandido*' (mother of a criminal) is a popular denigrating term that reveals a patriarchal gaze that accuses Black women of failing to properly raise and educate their children (Rocha, 2014, p. 129). Moreover, discourse about overpopulation and birth control, at times referring to the *favela* as a "marginal production factory", suggests that "their infants already [were] born delinquents" (Rocha, 2011, p. 3).

Black women are rendered internal enemies because they challenge state repression and police violence (Smith, 2016). Black mothering functions as an act of resistance, as "creating and nurturing Black life can be seen as a revolutionary opposition to the violent killing of the Black population" (Loureiro, 2020, p. 55). Preserving Blackness by teaching their children, community and society about the reality of racism (Rocha, 2014) can be seen as a counter hegemonic, micropolitical form of agency.

In addition, mothers will also protect Blackness and counter necropower by '*de-*

killing' both their sons and themselves. *De-killing* refers to "the acts of courage performed by mothers whose son is already condemned to death by the traded society as a way to ensure that their mothering continues" (Rocha, 2014). As a Black youth becomes involved in criminality or comes in contact with the police, their lives become disposable in the eyes of the public. However, mothers can counter this discursive process when they narrate their stories in the media. By problematizing the category *bandido* [criminal] and giving their '*bandido*' children a voice, mothers resist the dehumanization and disposability of Black life (Rocha, 2014, p. 131). Examples of *de-killing* acts include repeating their children's name, quoting them in their narrative, and reciting their cooperation with the police (Rocha, 2014). Moreover, mothers will emphasize the ways in which they tried to curb their children's criminal behavior, in an attempt to *de-kill* themselves and to avoid being placed in the *mãe de bandido* category: "I did not raise my son to do that. I asked him to surrender [...]" (Rocha, 2014, p. 130).

There is an intrinsic link between Black mothers' *sequelae* and their *lugar de fala*, which is precisely what makes their narratives of violence so powerful. Their narratives "show a structure of feelings that address our ontological experience in the sense that their bodies are deeply related to violence in its different ways--Black, poor, female, (single) mother, childless mother" (Rocha, 2014, p. 153). Their embodiment of emotions forces the public to theoretically situate them in a body that is not individualized, but socially determined, shaped by necropolitical ecologies and political economies that are generally made invisible (Rocha, 2014).

Although many mothers fall into a state of shame, blame and numbness after losing a loved one due to police violence, there are also many mothers who refuse to mourn until they achieve some form of justice for their loss (Rocha, 2014). The *mãe ultrajada* [outraged mother] is outraged by the injustice of her interrupted mothering, outraged by society's indifference towards these injustices, and outraged by the maintenance of the necropolitical logic that underpin these injustices (Rocha, 2014). As mothers realize they have 'nothing left to lose', they decide to take action. Mothers will pursue their individual *luta* [fight, struggle] by seeking justice for their sons, which is collectivist in its very nature as it challenges

the idea of black disposability. Their feelings of sorrow are channelled into resistance:

> [...] the possibility to mourn and reconstruct their lives is directly proportional to what they can achieve in their *luta*, where the state is the main aggressor. It shows a sadistic dependency on the state that causes frustration, regret, and hate, but is realistic. It is in the field of possibility, on the front line, in the flesh, *na carne*. (Rocha, 2014, p. 264)

Mothers will collectivize their own *luta* by joining social movements, such as São Paolo's *Mães de Maio* [Mothers of May]. *Mães de Maio* denounce state violence, reclaim the humanity of the victims (*de-killing*), and expose the historical and systemic necropolitics that affect Afro-Brazilians (Alves, 2014). They do so by "making visible what is not allowed to be seen" (Taylor, 1997, quoted in Alves, 2014, p. 334). It is in these collective efforts that new political identities can be formed, identities that transform the apolitical, passive *favelado* identity. In this particular case, "*Mães de Maio* became a political identity, strategically forged under conditions in which they were interpellated as 'mothers of criminals' and had no other choice but to organize themselves from that ascribed position" (Alves, 2014, p. 332). Their oppression became their strength, their *lugar de falar*. A 'dialectic of black motherhood' is produced, in which the pathologizing narratives of black mothering in the patriarchal state are not left unchallenged -- instead, these narratives prompt black women to develop "efforts to retain power over motherhood so that it serves the legitimate needs of their communities" (Alves, 2014, p. 332).

Conclusion

As Mullings (2015) proposes, "we need to interrogate the new hidden forms of structural racism and deconstruct, in the best sense of the word, the ways in which racism expresses itself in the age of 'post-racial color blindness'" (p. 313). Indeed, it has become clear that Brazil's 'racial democracy' obfuscates an 'uncivil democracy' in which structural violence is perpetrated against the racialized poor (French, 2013). In Brazil's necropolitical governance, "the Black body is the central element in the reproduction of inequalities" (Loureiro, 2020, p. 54). The need to reformulate the calculus of Black death and suffering in a way that takes into account *sequelae* is evident, reminding us of the

"urgency of intersectionality" (Kimberlé Crenshaw, quoted in Perry, 2020, p. 161). Future research should also explore Black queer victimization in Brazil further.

Although a coloniality of power can be discerned, this historical continuity does not imply that the Black identity has remained static -- the *favelado* identity of today is intersectional and dynamic, continually transforming through conscientisation and strategization (Loureiro, 2020). As I have argued, the racialized *favelado* identity is not only produced in the media and public discourse, but also through death itself. In this narrative, to be Black is to be poor, to be poor is to be a criminal, and to be a criminal is to die. But this logic fails to realize that identity-making is a dialectical process (Alves, 2014), sculpted by reclaimed agency and resistance. In the face of genocide, strategies of survival are forms of resistance in and of themselves. Black *faveladas* and mothers have turned their rage and sorrow into action time and again, turning their interlocking and invisible oppressions into the ultimate weapon against the necropolitical state. As Rocha (2014) put it: "We may be 'not meant to survive' (Lorde, 1984), but Black mothers create the strategies for survival" (p. 192).

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Modern Eugenics and Biocolonialism or a Scientifical Celebration of Genetic Diversity?

A Postcolonial critique on the Human Genome Diversity Project

Yadira de Jong

Beneath you find the paper I wrote for postcolonial theory on genetic harvesting, performed on Indigenous communities. This is something that is happening under our noses without us knowing much about it. There are already databases with genetic information of almost every group of people in the world… Aside from the ethical concerns in harvesting human material, I think it is valuable to ask ourselves what this practice can do to our perception of race, ethnicity and identity? I thus invite you (the reader) to reflect on this when reading.

Introduction

In 2003 scientists finished the twenty-yearlong Human Genome Project (HGP). A project designed to map the genetic makeup of the human race, thus, making it possible to trace historical human migrations and human ancestry with sampled blood (NIH, n.d.). The research, of an estimated cost of twenty billion dollars, was funded by the U.S. National Institute of Health (NIH). A sidetrack of this immense enterprise, and the subject of this essay, is the "The Human Genome Diversity Project", which I will hereafter refer to as The Diversity Project. This project was meant to be an enlargement of the HGP, however, the object of study was not the human population at large but targeted indigenous peoples insensitively referred to as

"isolates of historic interest" (Guerrero 2003). The Diversity Project is sponsored by international and transnational corporations with the aim of "providing a database for research on human biological migratory history as well as causes of, potential treatments for, and ways to prevent human diseases" (Amani and Coombre 2005, 155). Or, as Guerrero translates this, it is about the commodification of DNA of Native peoples "to gain a lead and an eventual monopoly in biomedical "discoveries" for biotechnology and genetic engineering" (Guerrero 2003, 181). According to Amani and Coombre (2003), the scientific reasoning behind the targeting of Indigenous peoples is that their relative historic isolation and social marginalization resulted in a distinct genetic makeup that could account for a particular genetically based disease or, very importantly, immunity from it. Furthermore, because of this perceived 'isolation'[1], some scientists believe their genomes[2] could hold the clues to the evolution of the species, thereby insinuating these groups to be the living embodiments of a primitive human past. Lastly, the targeted groups are described as being on the verge of extinction due to inevitable assimilation or being in danger of dying out. Instead of showing any intentions to alter this development, The Diversity Project portrays this tragedy as a "vanishing scientific opportunity" which consequentially functions as a warrant for the commercial exploitation of these soon-to-be-extinct groups. Needless to say, this mechanism of large corporations traveling to the most "isolated" communities of the world to gather something they can profit from echoes a colonial liaison. Thus, critical questions should be asked about who is profiting from this enterprise and what the consequences are for its participants.

Therefore, in this essay I will provide a postcolonial reading of The Diversity Project by in the first paragraph looking at the colonial heritage apparent in terms of a "racialized narrative" and in the second paragraph in terms of a "colonial power structure", to thereafter in the third paragraph apply an intersectional analysis to portray how these communities can 'fall between the cracks' and be rendered 'voiceless'. In the first paragraph I will start by looking at The Diversity Project's study design and its inherent racist discourse. Thereafter, by means of a case study, I

portray how such a discourse can play out in the lived reality. This will lead me to argue that not only is such a study design built on racist implications, it also imposes the scientific ideals of the Western world onto other belief systems, which can be seen as a colonial dynamic. In the second paragraph I examine the colonial structure in terms of power dynamics by asking the question, who benefits on whose behalf? This enables me to portray the mechanism of colonial exploitation at hand. After having established this colonial narrative and colonial exploitation, I move on to the third paragraph in which I apply an intersectional analysis to look at how these communities can become prone to such colonial dynamics. In this paragraph I subsequently find that Indigenous communities are at the intersect of different discourses that renders them vulnerable, in which DNA-certification plays an important role. Lastly, after having portrayed the various ways in which our colonial heritage is still apparent, I want to connect The Diversity Project and the notion of privatization of human genetical material to the notion of decolonization at large. In accordance with Achille Mbembe (2020) I argue that in order to alter the colonial liaison in this day and Gene age, a radical change in worldview is necessary.

Racist narrative and colonial thought

> "To ignore the social meanings conveyed onto the body is to forsake the cultural beliefs that integrate a society. Imposing Euro-American beliefs such as commodification is yet another form of cultural imperialism, supplanting and eliminating the beliefs of indigenous peoples in favor of a colonial ideal of individualism and profit – namesakes of colonial capitalism" (Khan 1999, 110).

As I mentioned, The Diversity Project is a gene sampling project that aims at creating a gene database for various scientific objectives and specifically targets "vanishing" Indigenous communities because these groups are perceived to form distinct genetic and cultural entities and represent a primitive human past. According to Guerrero (2003) this racialized mindset, whereby Indigenous peoples are perceived as different and primitive can be traced back to the early eugenics movement, in which different racial groups were scientifically constructed by looking at the measurements of their skulls. Ekberg (2007) takes this even further and

argues that although on the surface the old eugenics exemplify *racial* eugenics and the new genetics *medical* eugenics, beneath the surface it is all the same. "Many of the old eugenic policies exploited medical metaphors to justify xenophobic attitudes and to legitimate racist policies and many of the research projects that utilize the new genetics exploit ethnic biodiversity in their attempt to understand the origins of human disease mutations and to discover novel mutations that confer an increased susceptibility or resistance to disease" (Ekberg 2007, 582). Because of this similarity it is not surprising that Indigenous groups are fearing The Diversity Project will have exactly the same discriminatory effect and render xenophobic attitudes, policies of segregation and exclusion, and genocide (Harry 1994, Eslkin 1999). Needless to say, race and ethnicity have little biological relevance and, additionally, according to some scientists genetic variation among human beings is greater than the variation among 'racial groups' (Resnik 1999). Thus, "the very attempt to sample genes from different racial groups reveals a racist study design" (Resnik 1999, 17). Within The Diversity Project the ambiguity of such racial categories as objects of study, like "isolates of historic interests" and "vanishing Indigenous groups", becomes apparent in the construction of the list of peoples that belong to these categories. According to Guerrero (2003) it is unclear what the exact criteria for this list were and that, when asked about this, researchers remain vague. I think this shows that the targeted "Indigenous peoples" are not an objective, value free, mere scientific category.

Nevertheless, Resnik (1999) makes the interesting argument that the study design in itself is not racist or discriminatory, since it merely tries to gather enough genes so that the database that exists becomes representative for the entire human population. He states that although these groups do not form distinct genetic categories they can serve as signposts for such valuable data collection, and not as categories of discrimination (Resnik 1999). This point can be contested, taking into mind that Resnik fails to acknowledge the historical embeddedness of such a selection and study design. Science is never value free and I argue that this particular study design, targeting Indigenous peoples for genome studies, is very embedded in a postcolonial world with implicit racist narratives. I think this argument shows when one looks more closely at the lived reality and local outcomes

of such projects. Therefore, I will hereafter elaborate more on how genome studies are perceived by Indigenous peoples and what the outcomes are when those genome studies are carried out.

For many indigenous people blood is sacred. For the Maori, a gene embodies the spirit of a people that is passed on through ancestors (Amani and Coombre 2005). These are not considered to be private property and cannot be individually alienated because they are part of the clan heritage. Genetics thus belongs to 'the sacred domain', involving the understanding of cultural identity and identity within the world at large (Amani and Coombre 2005). Nevertheless researchers, with their eye on economic gain, often fail to take these cultural values into account and fail to get true informed consent (Harry 2001). According to Harry (2001) their excuses can go as far as to claiming the research subject would not be able to understand genetics, or they simply offer medical attention, cash or token benefits in exchange for coercion. Furthermore, some biological samples are harvested under false circumstances (Harry 2001) and some are taken from the dead (Amani and Coombre 2005). "For most Native peoples this represents serious violation of the sanctity of deceased ancestors" (Harry and Dukepoo 1998,8).

According to Harry and Kahene (2006) an exemplary case of the disrespect of cultural values is the case of the Havasupai tribe, from North Arizona. In 1990 scientists took Havasupai blood samples for diabetes research, which they thereafter used for unauthorized genetic research. The tribe regards this as an enormous violation and claims their lives were forever changed when the researchers used their "sacred blood" for unconsented research on schizophrenia, inbreeding, and ancient human-migration. Because this unconsented research went against spiritual beliefs and caused emotional distress and mistrust, they filed two separate cases in 2004. The lead defendant Dr, Therese Markow called this a "hysterical" response, and in the well-known science magazine *Nature* it was described as "hypersensitive" (Harry and Kahene 2006, 1-2). Finally, in 2010 the tribe got the blood of their relatives back and received recuperation funds, after the university had spent 1.7 million dollars fighting their lawsuits (Harmon 2010).

This disrespect of Native values and the legal hazard Indigenous peoples have to go through in order to be not characterized

as "hypersensitive" when they argue for rights as 'informed consent', I view as remnants of colonial thought that devaluates their beliefs and imposes a Western scientifical narrative. As Khan (1999) points out, ignoring these counternarratives is yet another representative of colonial hegemonic power. Additionally, the fact that scientists can use excuses like 'they won't understand' to evade getting informed consent, bluntly shows the internalized colonial narrative of them being too 'primitive' to understand, which in turn resonates with their scientific construction of these peoples as representing a primitive past. In other words, whether or not the study design in itself is racist, it is embedded in, and a product of, racist discourse and colonial thought.

Now that I have examined the colonial narrative as basis for this project, I want to elaborate further on the aspect of exploitation within colonial structures. This will be the subject of the second part of this essay.

A colonial structure: who benefits on whose behalf?

> "For hundreds of years, Western civilization has prospered, but often at the expense of many indigenous peoples throughout the world [...]. The end of formal colonialism came soon after the conclusion of World War II. Yet, exploitation has continued in much the same manner as it existed prior to decolonization" (Khan 1999, 89).

Indigenous peoples know a history of racist violence and commercial exploitation. Harvesting genetic material is only a sequence in the biopiracy, the plunder of Indigenous knowledge and natural resources on Indigenous territory (Takeshita 2001) and biocolonial (appropriating those resources without compensation) exploitation that has been happening ever since they've met 'the West'. Together with colonial expansion came colonial research and a curiosity towards all that was Indigenous. As a consequence, "indigenous peoples are probably the most studied people in the world" (Harry 2001, 1). Nonetheless, a persistent inequality emerges in this dynamic of researched vs. researcher that holds true for The Diversity Project as well and it

portrays itself simply by asking: "who benefits?".

According to Amani and Coombre (2005) acquiring human genetic material is a very costly enterprise. They state the plan was to collect and analyze 10-15,000 samples at a cost of 23-35 million dollars, with each single sample costing 2,300 dollars. As mentioned earlier, the fact that these peoples are at risk of losing their historical livelihoods was not seen as cause for concern but as an opportunity. Imagine what only a fraction of that amount could have meant if it was used to rebuild some of these communities, instead of draining them while there is still a chance. For this very reason, The Project has, among Indigenous peoples, earned itself the nickname 'The Vampire Project' (Guerrero 2003, Amani and Coombre 2005), by which they refer to sucking the last lifeblood of the dying to enrich the living (Cunningham 1998). Furthermore, the important genetic discoveries for the medical sciences we are supposed to benefit from, as outcomes of The Diversity Project, most arguably will not reach these communities (Guererro 2003; Khan 1999). As Amani and Coombre (2005) emphasize, these communities are often already living on the margins with access only to the poorest health services, and die from diseases society is already well equipped to cure. It is therefore highly unlikely that such expensive genetic treatments will ever reach their homes. Lastly, by the time the fruits of their DNA samples can be picked, whether it may be treatment or diagnostics, these peoples are expected to have already "vanished". Thus, whilst the companies try to cover it up in shiny words of "celebrating human diversity" (Guererro 2003), the mechanism of colonial exploitation and the immanent devaluation of Indigenous lives within this project, is appalling. This consistent inequity, for obvious reasons has to do with the social, economic, and political marginalization of Indigenous peoples. This, and in particular, how these different axes of marginalization could render a community vulnerable, will be the subject of the next section.

Indigenous communities: life at the intersect

"Indigenous peoples have often run into brick walls in their efforts to repatriate their own DNA. For example, it took the Nuu-chah-nulth twenty years to finally regain control of the blood samples that they consented to for arthritis research at the University of British Columbia,

but which ended up at Oxford University in England" (Harry and Kahene 2006, 6).

In this section I will apply an intersectional lens in order to demonstrate how Indigenous peoples are often rendered voiceless by giving exemplary evidence. As mentioned before, Indigenous blood is regarded as 'sacred' and many Indigenous peoples are afraid projects like the Diversity Project will render racism and discrimination. Part of this fear is due to the fact that with such a DNA database DNA certification, which determines one's "heritage", can be administered. The state of Vermont has already passed legislation advocating this requirement, which has implications for who can be identified as an "American Indian" and who as a "Native American" (Guerrero 2003, 174). This is important because for Native peoples in the U.S., Federal recognition grants them Indigenous rights. Due to these circumstances, many Indigenous peoples fear the new DNA certification might be manipulated to show they are insufficiently "different" in order to assert their sovereignty rights and undermine their political claims (Amani and Coombre 2005). In other words, they are afraid they will fall through the cracks, afraid that they will have to live with the racialized disadvantages of being nonwestern, without the political recognition that could do something about this. To demonstrate this dynamic and the ambiguousness of these social categories I highlight the case of the Yuchi people.

According to Guererro (2003, 179), the Yuchi community is a tribe living in Oklahoma who have been struggling for "federal recognition", without success. Nonetheless, they were one of the selected "isolates of historic interest" on the Diversity Projects list. They thus started a petition stating that they would only cooperate if they were granted the corresponding Indigenous rights. With their petition denied, this story illustrates the hypocrisy of such a project. "One spokesman is quoted as saying, "Our DNA is regarded as a vital, irreplaceable part of the global heritage of humankind, yet we are denied federal acknowledgement which would give us a political standing, more clout, in the fight to keep our language, our culture" (Guererro 2003, 179-180).

Aside from the fact that this case study shows that these categories are mere social constructs and are very ambiguous, I argue that herein one can see how two discourses of inequality intersect in a way that renders the Yuchi community vulnerable. On

the one hand they are part of a biocolonial discourse and discriminatory power axe that categorizes them as 'natives of historic interest', yet, on the other, they are victims of a political discourse that names them 'not native enough'. Without that federal recognition, filing cases against universities that can spend as much as 1.7 million dollars (as with the Havasupai), will not have the necessary political strength and authority. The Yuchi community is, in Crenshaw's (1994) words, experiencing a double marginalization because these two different discourses and corresponding axes of inequality intersect in such a way that makes them fall outside of the law. In Spivak's (1987, 72) words, one could argue they are thus only represented in a manner of "*darstellung*", by which she points to visual representation. That is, they are "known", they are recognized as Natives, and they are put on an 'isolates of historic interest' list. Yet they are not represented in the manner of "*vertretung*", by which she points to representation within the structures of the law (Spivak 1987, 71). This renders them unheard, misrepresented, or spoken for, which is at the center of her argument on why the subaltern cannot speak.

Furthermore, even with federal recognition, as Harry and Kahene (2006) point out, Indigenous peoples often run into brick walls when they are advocating their rights, it is thus debatable if the group at large is that much better represented, "*vertreten*".

Implications on decolonization and concluding remarks

Colonization is about the idea that one can appropriate the other. It is about claiming and privatizing land which lends itself for discovery and economic gain. In the current tradition, the researchers, the self-proclaimed "discoverers" or bioprospectors, become the new owners of medicinal plants, genetic resources, and traditional knowledge from Indigenous communities, that is taken to become "private property" and as such is alienable and can be sold as a commodity, a practice also referred to as biocolonialism (Harry 2001, 2). Accordingly, in a webinar on decolonization Achille Mbembe (2020) argued that it should be about questioning the way in which we appropriate the earth and its inhabitants. Should it be possible to appropriate and patent genes? Are they then your genes? And should it be possible to patent living organisms? The U.S. Supreme

Court in Diamond in 1980 "rejected the argument that living things could not be considered patentable [...] on the grounds that "anything under the sun made by man" was a proper subject for a patent (Amani and Coombre 2005, 169). This rhetoric finds its roots in the same worldview with which we used to embark on colonial voyages, namely, a colonialist 'enlightenment' wherein humans are the center of the world. Thus, according to Mbembe (2020), decolonialization is about more than moving past colonialism, it is about engaging with the world in a radically different manner that does not pedestal human beings. This critical line of thought is important in regard to projects like 'The Diversity Project' that is founded on an "all is possible (and patentable) in the name of science and the welfare of the Western world" rhetoric. Thus, if we want to make a difference in the world power dynamic and its dying natural, Indigenous resources and peoples, this is the debate that should be held.

Footnotes

1. I want to emphasize that no group has ever been completely isolated.
2. DNA is the molecule that is the hereditary material in a cell. A gene is a sequence of DNA, it consists of enough DNA to code for one protein. A genome is the total sum of an organisms DNA (GNN n,d).

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How Symbolic Violence upholds Physical Violence on American College Campuses:

A Bourdieusian analysis of Rape Culture and Victim Blaming

Inès Stamatiadis

I wrote this essay because I believe that symbolic violence is a crucial concept to engage with when studying sexual violence. Although this specific case study is about American colleges, it is also important to wrestle with this topic in the Dutch context and at UU. I hope that this analysis can be a starting point to think and engage with this issue.

Trigger warning: This paper discusses rape, domestic violence and processes of victim-blaming. Please read with caution if these are topics that might trigger you.

Author's note: Rape culture affects all genders and sexual violence exists in all combinations between men, women and non-binary individuals. This paper discusses specifically men-to-women violence for multiple reasons, including the availability of literature. This is in no way meant to argue that rape only occurs in heterosexual instances, or that men cannot be raped. It is also not meant to discredit the experiences of non-binary victims of sexual violence.

Introduction

Symbolic violence, a term coined by Pierre Bourdieu, is the "gentle, hidden form which violence takes when overt violence is impossible" (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 196). In an article titled "I'd rather you'd lay me on the floor and start kicking me", Morgan and Thapar-Björkert (2006) explore the concept of symbolic violence in the case of domestic violence, and argue that "we need to be aware that several forms of violence can co-exist and support one another, for example in the way symbolic violence may accompany or precede physical violence" (p. 441) thus expanding Bourdieu's definition of symbolic by arguing that it does not replace overt violence, but works in conjunction with it. In this essay, I support Morgan and Thapar-Björkert's nuance to Bourdieu's definition, by exploring how symbolic violence against women allows rape culture to operate on American university and college campuses. In doing so, I will show that symbolic violence does operate hand in hand with physical violence, by preceding and succeeding occurrences of rape. I will first explore the concept of symbolic violence, by outlining Bourdieu's concepts of consent and complicity, misrecognition, and condescension, as discussed by Morgan and Thapar-Björkert (2006) and Thapar-Björkert et al. (2016). I will also link Bourdieu's symbolic violence to Michel Foucault's concept of disciplinary power, which, like symbolic violence, is a more economical form of power. After giving a theoretical overview of these concepts, I will analyze the case of victim-blaming, which I argue is a form of symbolic violence. I will analyze victim-blaming in two parts: first, victim-blaming preceding rape, and second victim-blaming succeeding rape. I will link the blaming of rape victims on college campuses to symbolic violence in order to show how symbolic violence allows and perpetuates rape culture and physical violence.

Symbolic violence: a theoretical overview

Consent and Complicity, Misrecognition, and Condescension

Bourdieu's symbolic violence refers to the mechanism of domination and oppression that does not arise through physical violence. He argues that this form of violence takes place when overt violence is not possible, and that it is a more economical form of violence for the perpetrator. Morgan and Thapar-Björkert (2006) explore the idea of symbolic violence, through the case of domestic violence. They analyze this term

through the micropolitics of everyday life, and the macropolitics of institutionalized silencing, referring to Bourdieu's concepts of consent, complicity and misrecognition, which are mechanisms through which symbolic violence operates. Thapar-Björkert et al. (2016) explore these processes again, but also include the process of condescension. These three categories – consent and complicity, misrecognition, and condescension – play a role in upholding symbolic violence on a personal and an institutionalized level, as Morgan and Thapar-Björkert (2006) explain.

By the category "consent and complicity", Bourdieu means that domination cannot be sustained without the compliance of both parties (Morgan & Thapar-Björkert, 2006, p. 447). This does not mean that the oppressed wants to receive the violence, or asks for it, but that the consent is inscribed in the body in the form of predispositions, like respect or admiration for the dominator. So, the acts of consent become a part of the dominated's habitus. On an institutionalized level, they consider "safety advice" as a form of symbolic violence towards women. Official safety advice, issued by schools or governments, put the responsibility of avoiding dangerous situation on women, creating durable dispositions and training the body to fear certain situations, and act in a vigilant way. As a result, "[i]ndividuals see themselves not only as potential victims but as potentially responsible for preventing their own victimization" (Gardner, 1990 as cited in Morgan & Thapar-Björkert, 2006, p. 449). This is a clear example of how symbolic violence operates with consent and compliance, because women instinctively follow the safety advice. On a personal, or "micropolitics" level, Morgan and Thapar-Björkert describe the coercion that women in abusive relationships receive. As explained above, consent can be inscribed in women through love or admiration for their partner. In their study, women expressed how gentle and loving their partners were when they were not violent (Morgan & Thapar-Björkert, 2006, p. 446). This means that women comply to the symbolic violence, because of these predispositions.

The second category, "misrecognition", refers to the fact that symbolic violence lacks recognition as a legitimate form of violence. Bourdieu (as cited in Morgan & Thapar-Björkert, 2006) argues that "symbolic violence can only be exercised by the person who exercises it, and endured by the person who endures it, in a

form which results in its misrecognition as such" (p. 447). This means that symbolic violence operates in hidden ways, so it's only experienced by the perpetrator and the victim. As such, it cannot be detected by outsiders, and can only operate as long as the participants do not recognize it as violence. Bourdieu explores this concept in the case of the Kabyle society, and argues that domination is created through personal bonds. He stresses the importance of gifts and material offerings as a form of domination, rendering this oppression legitimate in the eye of the victim (Bourdieu, 1977; Morgan & Thapar-Björkert, 2006). Morgan and Thapar-Björkert give the example of financial dependence in abusive relationships. Women would be forced to accept money from their partners, because they depend on them financially, making it seem like the oppressor is being helpful and making the victim indebted to them.

Finally, Bourdieu's third category is "strategies of condescension" (Thapar-Björkert et al., 2016). This refers to "social practices in which a person or group of people (e.g., majority), with greater power, distort or minimise power disparities between themselves and people who occupy relatively subordinate positions within a given social space, or through the manipulation of relational proximity when it is to their advantage" (Thapar-Björkert et al., 2016, p. 153). In short, this means that the dominant group can assert their dominance through language and by adopting the position of the subordinate. By temporarily adopting a subordinate position, they are able to avert suspicions of oppression, and appear sympathetic. This is a process of symbolic violence, because it serves to further silence victims.

Foucault's Biopower

Morgan and Thapar-Björkert make a brief link to Foucault's concept of disciplinary power, which I would like to explore further in this essay. In "Panopticism" from *Discipline & Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, Foucault explains the idea of disciplinary power, as opposed to sovereign power, with the examples of the plague town as well as Bentham's panopticon prison (Foucault, [1975] 2008). In his analysis of the plague town, Foucault writes:

> [T]he individuals are inserted in a fixed place, in which the slightest movements are supervised, in which all events are recorded, in which an uninterrupted work of writing links the center

> and periphery, in which power is exercised without division, according to a continuous hierarchical figure, in which each individual is constantly located, examined and distributed among the living beings, the sick and the dead—all this constitutes a compact model of the disciplinary mechanism (Foucault, 2008, p. 3).

Foucault's disciplinary model of power thus cuts loose from sovereign power, in which one person, like a king, holds all the power: "The body of the king, with its strange material and physical presence, with the force that he himself deploys or transmits to some few others, is at the opposite extreme of this new physics of power represented by panopticism" (Foucault, 2008, p. 11). Instead, this model holds that power is present in all relationships, all interaction. While the plague town is a model of an exceptional situation, where disciplinary power is mobilized to fight the plague, the panopticon is a way to understand everyday power over a century later. Disciplinary techniques of power are part of Foucault's concept of biopower.

Biopower refers to a modern form of social control, in which we witness a "decrease in coercive mechanisms of control such as military force, and an increase in social control through individual self-discipline" (Pylypa, 1998, p. 21). Biopower is interested in regulating the social body, through institutions such as school and family, creating bodies that are "habituated to eternal regulations" (Pylypa, 1998, p. 22). Foucault argues that power is achieved through creating a binary between the "normal" and the "deviant", creating a desire to conform with the norm, leading to mechanisms of self-discipline (Pylypa, 1998, p. 24). Symbolic violence can thus be understood in the context of Foucault's disciplinary power, as Morgan and Thapar-Björkert suggest. Indeed, Foucault argues that exercising power violently can provoke revolts, while disciplinary power comes at no cost (Morgan & Thapar-Björkert, 2006, p. 447). In the same way that Bourdieu argues that symbolic violence is more economical, or effective, than overt violence for the perpetrator, Foucault argues that disciplinary power is more economical and effective than sovereign power, as "its success is proportional to its ability to hide its own mechanisms" (Foucault 1980, p. 86 as cited in Pylypa, 1998, p. 25). Disciplinary power also supports Bourdieu's argument that domination cannot be sustained without the

complicity of everyone involved (Morgan & Thapar-Björkert, 2006, p. 447).

Victim-blaming on American college campuses

In this essay, this framework will be applied to the case of victim blaming of rape victims on American college campuses. Indeed, college campuses in the US, and college parties specifically, are environments with a heightened danger of rape; female college students are four times more likely to be victim of rape than any other group (Burnett et al., 2009, p. 465). Environments such as these foster rape culture, which is defined as "environments that support beliefs conductive to rape and increase risk factors related to sexual violence" (Burnett et al., 2009, p. 466). I argue that victim blaming, the process through which victims are blamed for their own rape, is a form of symbolic violence which uses the processes of compliance, misrecognition and condescension outlined above, and thrives under a disciplinary model of power. I argue that victim blaming as a form of symbolic violence leads to the silencing of women, allowing for rape culture to operate. This means that symbolic violence, a hidden, nonphysical violence, perpetuates overt physical violence.

Victim Blaming Before Rape

Victim blaming is intensely violent, because it starts even before an occurrence of rape. Morgan and Thapar-Björkert (2006) use safety advice to illustrate this point (p. 448). The safety advice they are referring to are guides on how to avoid sexual violence, by taking the necessary precautions beforehand. Such precautions include carrying an alarm, staying away from dark alleys and parks, always walk facing traffic and crossing the road when one suspects being followed (Morgan & Thapar-Björkert, 2006, p. 449). Burnett et al. (2009) discuss such prevention techniques in the case of college campuses. They call the process of minimizing the possibility of rape happening "shadowboxing", as a reference to the way boxers train against imaginary partners (Burnett et al., 2009, p. 475). The respondents of their study revealed that one strategy of shadowboxing is going to parties with groups of friends, to keep an eye out for each other. For example, one girl said that her protection was "a group of friends you trust and [who] look out for one another." (p. 475). Another strategy was making their own

drinks, rather than accepting drinks offered by others, so that their drinks could not be spiked (p. 476).

Shadowboxing and safety advice operate within a model of disciplinary power, as described by Foucault. Indeed, social control and self-discipline are important aspects of shadowboxing. As explained above, power operates by creating a "normal" and a "deviant", as an incentive for people to self-discipline. In this case, women self-discipline to avoid being raped, which would then put them in the "deviant" category of society. Burnett et al. (2009) write that "even for nonvictims, the very awareness of an actual date rape case violates the "normal" picture of trust-based relationships" (p. 479). So women ensure discipline by watching themselves and looking out for their friends, like by making sure they don't drink too much (Burnett et al., 2009, p. 476). In accordance with Morgan and Thapar-Björkert (2006), Burnett et al. write that "[h]owever successful such shadowboxing strategies as preparation against date rape, they may further mute actual and potential date rape victims by highlighting an individual responsibility for self-protection. Taking the precautions to prevent date rape means the individual will also need to take on the responsibility if something were to happen. In other words, if an individual takes responsibility for the preparation to avoid date rape, then, by default, that individual must take the blame if rape occurs" (p. 476).

This confirms Morgan and Thapar-Björkert's argument that, by giving out this type of advice, the responsibility of rape is put on the woman rather than on the man. By putting that responsibility on her, she will automatically be to blame if her strategies fail (Morgan & Thapar-Björkert, 2006, p. 449). By complying with this advice, or developing prevention strategies, female college students have developed behaviors and predispositions as part of their habitus, and are consenting to the symbolic violence they are receiving through victim blaming, and play an active role in it. It is also not recognized as an act of violence, as it is hidden, and even disguised as protection. Shadowboxing thus operates as a form of symbolic violence through the Bourdieusian concepts of consent and compliance, and misrecognition. It also serves as a tool to facilitate the blame of women after being raped despite taking precautions.

Victim Blaming After Rape

Victim-blaming, of course, continues after a rape has happened. At this point, victim-blaming can take multiple forms. I will discuss two of these forms in this essay, namely "self-blame" and "male condescension".

According to a study by Sapana D. Donde titled "College Women's Attributions of Blame for Experiences of Sexual Assault", 62% of women reported engaging in self-blame. Women were found to engage in more self-blame when they were younger, did not have a history of childhood abuse, had a lower clarity when refusing sex and when the perpetrator and/or the victim were intoxicated (p. 3528). Once again, this is an example of Bourdieu's concept of consent and compliance. In the case of self-blame, victims don't only consent to the symbolic violence of victim blaming, they participate in it as well. Furthermore, being under the influence of drug or alcohol seemed to be an important variable, as Donde (2017) writes that "variables measuring [...] survivors' behaviors (e.g., perceived level of substance use intoxication and clarity of refusing sex) were significantly associated with self-blame" and that "[r]ape survivors who perceived that they had been more intoxicated and had not been as clear in refusing sex blamed themselves more" (p. 3529). This can be linked to the earlier point about shadowboxing. Indeed, one preventive technique was to keep an eye on their own drink, so they wouldn't get spiked, as well as to make sure they and their friends would not get too drunk. Being raped while intoxicated can thus be considered a failure of these preventive strategies. As described above, if women comply with safety advice, and participate in shadowboxing, as college women do, the responsibility of rape is automatically put on them, which means they will be blamed for it. This is congruent with the findings that intoxication is highly associated with self-blame.

Finally, as explained by Thapar-Björkert et al., one process of symbolic violence is condescension, or the process through which the dominant group temporarily positions themselves in the shoes of the dominated (Thapar-Björkert et al., 2016). In the case of rape culture on college campuses, male students represent the dominant group while female students represent the oppressed. Burnett et al. highlight that rape cases on college campuses are rarely reported. Male respondents maintained that rape should be reported, while women tended to support

silence more. For example, a male student asserted that "[i]f something like that were to happen to me . . . I know I wouldn't keep my mouth shut. And that's what I'd like to think that everybody [would do]" (Burnett et al., 2009, p. 478). The authors argue that this reflects on the fact that the dominant group has more trust in dominant structures, and that they believe that dominant channels for reporting should be followed. Men also reported that a woman could only be considered to have been in fact raped if the perpetrator is found guilty in court (Burnett et al., 2009, pp. 478–479). This fits into Thapar-Björkert et al. (2016)'s definition of condescension. Indeed, men are taking the subordinate position by saying things like "if that were to happen to me", and expressing what they would do in the situation. By advocating taking rape cases to court, it seems like they are supporting women and lobbying for justice. However, they are only taking a temporary position as the oppressed group, and are therefore still benefiting from their dominance. As Bourdieu puts it, "[t]hey symbolically deny the social distance between them and the others, 'a distance which does not thereby cease to exist, thus reaping the profits of recognition granted to a purely symbolic denegation of distance'" (Bourdieu, 1989, p.16, quoted in Thapar-Björkert et al. p.153). One respondent said that if a case of rape "didn't go to court, people would say, '[y]ou know it's obviously not that big of a deal. It's not even going to go to court, you know. Maybe she's just trying to stir up a little bit of trouble'" (Burnett et al., 2009, p. 479). By doing this, they are asserting dominance by setting the expectation that everyone should trust dominant institution that favor dominant groups. In contrast, women seem to have less trust in such dominant structure, and reported that a victim needs to feel comfortable to report a rape. But the authors argue that this "comfort [is] difficult to achieve with the expectations for victim-blaming" (Burnett et al., 2009, p. 479). Men's condescension is therefore harmful, because they advocate for reporting while not fully understanding the position of the oppressed group. By using language such as "stirring up a little bit of trouble" and "I wouldn't keep my mouth shut", they are putting blame on the rape victim for not speaking up, suggesting that if she doesn't report it, it can't be that bad.

By highlighting these three forms of victim-blaming, that occur both before and after rape, it has become clear that victim-

blaming is a form of symbolic violence. As stated above, Morgan and Thapar-Björkert (2006) argued that it is important to be aware that symbolic violence does not replace physical violence, but co-exists with it, by accompanying or even preceding physical violence (p. 441). The case of rape victim-blaming clearly support this argument. Symbolic violence not only co-exists with physical violence, it fosters a rape culture environment in which physical violence is free to operate. Victim-blaming does this by encouraging silence, and muting rape victims. Indeed, if a victim is afraid of being blamed, they are less likely to speak out. This is even more so the case when the victim blames themselves, like in the case of self-blame and failed shadowboxing. Finally, this is true even in the case of condescension, in which men encourage taking cases to court. This is because dominant structures are inefficient to articulate female experiences, and foster skepticism of dominant discourses in the oppressed group (Burnett et al., 2009, p. 479). Therefore, victim blaming, as a form of symbolic violence, mutes rape victims, thus perpetuating rape culture and physical violence on college campuses.

Conclusion

This essay has aimed to show how victim blaming, as a form of symbolic violence, serves to uphold rape culture on American college campuses. In order to do this, it started with an overview of theoretical concepts needed to understand the phenomenon. First, Bourdieu's concept of symbolic violence was defined as a hidden, non-physical form of violence, which operates through three processes of consent and compliance, misrecognition, and condescension. Consent and compliance mean that in order for symbolic violence to take place, the victim needs to give involuntary consent to receive such violence. Misrecognition means that, because symbolic violence is hidden, in order to operate it must not be easily recognizable as a form of violence. Finally, condescension is a process through which the dominant group attempts to minimize power disparities by adopting the position of the oppressed group to their advantage. A link was then drawn to Foucault's concept of biopower, arguing that mechanisms of disciplinary power play an important role in the functioning of symbolic violence. These processes were then discussed in the case of rape culture on American college campuses.

Through this case study, two points were achieved: first, victim blaming was asserted as a form of symbolic violence, by showing that it operates through all three of the Bourdieusian concepts outlined in the first part. Second, the case study showed how victim blaming results in politics of silencing, through which rape culture is able to thrive. The case study was approached in two main parts: victim blaming before and after an occurrence of rape. It was argued that safety advice on how to prevent rape, and shadowboxing – the strategies of prevention developed by female college students – are acts of victim blaming that start before rape even happens, and that can only be achieved with the compliance of the victim. If a victim is raped despite having taken precautions, she is automatically to blame. Victim blaming after rape was discussed in two parts: self-blame and male condescension. Self-blame was discussed as an important part of victim blaming, which results from Foucault's idea of self-discipline, as well as from shadowboxing. Then, male condescension was discussed through cases in which male college students were showed to have more trust in dominating legal institutions, thus blaming women for choosing silence over reporting cases of rape, or suggestively accusing them of lying. Finally, I showed how the victim blaming that women are constantly confronted with result in strategies of silencing, a silence through which rape culture can function. So symbolic violence serves as a tool to allow and perpetuate physical overt violence against women on American college campuses, thus nuancing Bourdieu's initial definition that symbolic violence operates when overt violence is impossible.

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Nation Building and its effect on the Duality of Identity in Post-Brexit Scotland

Merel Driessen

With both Brexit and COVID19 having taken over public life in the UK, Scotland as a nation is increasingly doubting whether the Union is the correct political place for them to be. This thesis explores Scotland's unique position within the UK's unitary state and explains the motives behind the change in Scottish perception of the UK.

Introduction

Within the last forty years Scotland as a sub-state has been in a process of reasserting their national distinctiveness within the United Kingdom (UK) (Tierney, 2005). This distinctiveness is created through processes of nation building, both by the UK state and by the Scottish nation, which in turn can have an effect on the national identity of young Scots. This chapter will explore in what way nation building processes affect national identity in Scotland and Brexit's effect on the duality of British and Scottish identity.

This chapter will be made up of two parts. Firstly, I will explore the way in which national flags have been given

political meaning in a post-Brexit Scotland and how these national building processes could influence the national identity of young Scots. Scotland is a country with a strong symbolic identity (Clayton, 2002) and according to Bechhofer (2009) national symbols are intertwined with Scottish politics. By looking at the connotations and meanings young Scots ascribe to the Union Jack, the Scottish Saltire and the European flag, this chapter will attempt to answer the following question: *What is the influence of nation building in the current political processes (Brexit and the discussions of Scottish independence) on the national identity of Scottish students?* This will be done through the lens of nation building, following Herrera (2002). The utilizing of national flags by political and national societies will be considered as a nation building process.

Secondly, this chapter will explore whether Brexit has influenced the way young Scots identify themselves with the state and nation through answering the following question: *Has Brexit challenged the concept of a dual British and Scottish identity and forced young Scots to choose between the two? If so, why do they make this choice?* National identity will be considered fluid and context dependent, following Demmers (2016), Leerssen (2007) and Wodak (2009). The data in this chapter is gathered through a combination of participant observation, social media research and interviews.

National symbols in a plurinational Scotland

National identity construction is done through expressions and internalization of social and political surroundings (Wodak, 2009). States and nations shape this internalization through nation building (Kolst, 2006). Within a plurinational state such as the UK, there are multiple political and national communities that engage in nation building (Herrera, 2002). This plurinationality means that there are also multiple national symbols being utilized.

Audio-visual aids, such as flags and other national symbols, play an important role within nation building. Symbols help to connect the institutional to the everyday (Bechhofer, 2013), making them an integral part of state ideology. They can become tied to national values and political functions (Sahm, 1999), which can in turn construct identity. Within the Scottish political context,

the use of national symbols can therefore give insight into the construction of national identity.

When one walks through the streets of Edinburgh one can immediately notice how present flags are in Scottish society. An example of the utilizing of these flags was the tea time protest at Holyrood on Brexit day, where the responses to European flags, Scottish flags and the Union Jack reveal their political function:

My partner Konings and I walk through the narrow alleyways of Edinburgh's oldtown. We're on our way to the Scottish parliament, where Scots have gathered to wave the EU goodbye. The entire square seems filled with flags, both Scottish and European. All proudly being waved through the air. The parliament's flag post is still waving the European flag. A speaker comes onto the stage and explains that this flag will stay there, even stating that "the only flag that doesn't belong there is the Union Jack." I look around in surprise to see that most of the crowd seems to agree with this statement, all cheering in support. An old man next to me, dressed in traditional kilt, starts to cheer: "What do we want? Independence." The crowd quickly picks up on it and the slightly sad atmosphere from before turns into a hopeful one. This positive atmosphere melts away again when a small group of people come onto the square carrying a Union Jack. They start shouting out that independence is not what Scotland needs. Both their words and their self-profiling as British shows how these identities have become linked. The entire square seems to become outraged and spiteful offences are yelled from both sides. People attempt to take the Union Jack out of the group's hands, but police stops them before they can. As I stare at this clash before me, a man next to me tells me that anyone proud of a Union Jack is scum and can't possibly be a true Scot. I have to take a step back as I realize that flags seem to play a bigger role within this Scottish divide than I could have imagined.

The demonstration supports the assumption that within the Scottish political context, flags have become intertwined with certain political viewpoints and identities. A participant confirms this: *"Ever since the independence referendum, if you want to declare your allegiance you put a saltire or a British union flag in your window. Simple as that."* – Angus, 16-03-2020. The connection of political viewpoints to national symbols can influence the construction of identity.

National flags become the nation by association which means they capture and clarify people's national identification (Bechhofer, 2013). If this identification then becomes linked to a political standpoint as well, this can affect the way an individual connects to the nation. The three flags most present in Scottish society, the Union Jack, the Saltire and the European flag will all be discussed below.

The Union Jack

The Union Jack is the British flag, which incorporates details of the flags of England, Scotland and Northern-Ireland.[1] The Union Jack can be viewed as an obvious attempt of British nation building, considering the flag was made to symbolize the union[2] and was deliberately designed so inhabitants from all nations would be able to identify with it. According to Hobsbawm (1990) "states use the increasingly building identification with political communities to spread the image and the heritage of the 'nation' and to attach all to country and flag, often 'inventing traditions' or even nations for this purpose". One might argue that the UK is indeed an 'invented' nation and that the Union Jack is an 'invented' symbol with the purpose of allowing people to identify with this new nation. This is an example of how plurinational states apply nation building for the nationality they favour (Herrera, 2002). The question remains whether this British nation building worked in Scotland.

On my walk through Edinburgh's oldtown, I noticed that whilst many buildings wave the Scottish flag, only the parliament, the Hilton hotel and a few other buildings display the Union Jack. Even in tourist shops, the Union Jack is largely outnumbered by the Scottish saltire. This leads to the assumption that Scots do no longer identify with or at least identify less with the Union Jack than they do with the Scottish saltire. Why is this? What connotations do Scots have with the Union Jack?

In the current Scottish context, the Union Jack is often used in banners of unionist organizations and at pro-union protests. Therefore, one can presume that the Union Jack has become linked to pro-union sentiments and Britishness. Historically, this makes sense because the flag is designed to unite the nations and to form a British identity. Therefore the utilization of the Union

Jack in pro-union campaigns is to be expected. But because of this political association Scots that do not consider themselves a unionist can no longer identify with the flag.

The most common associations our participants had with the Union Jack were British unity and the British empire. Most noticeably was that participants that identified as British embraced the flag whilst participants that identified as solely Scottish rejected it.

For British identifying participants the Union Jack is a symbol of unity, going against sentiments of independence: *"I'm for the union Jack. I feel that the individual national flags are mostly used to mobilize people and are for separation. The Union Jack stands for unity, it's symbolic. Scottish flags are more present in the Scottish landscape than Union Jack's, which makes me sad."* – Linda, 13-04-2020.

For Scottish identifying participants the Union Jack also reminded them of the union, but more of the British empire: *"It [the Union Jack] annoys me. Especially when I see it somewhere instead of the Scottish flag. That flag has overseen some horrible things. Not something I identify with."* - Greg, 13-03-2020.

National identification is linked to loyalty and feelings of recognition towards the state (Herrera, 2002). Herrera's theory - that inhabitants that do not recognize themselves in the state tend to withdraw their attachment - is reflected in this research: despite nation building efforts from the UK, 87,5% of young Scots do not identify with the Union Jack. This is because the use of national symbols by a state people do not identify with becomes counterproductive (Herrera, 2002). Participants that have expressed dissatisfaction with the UK state are therefore less inclined to relate to the Union Jack as a symbol. Within this non-identification, there is also an active rejection of the Union Jack as a symbol: "*The union Jack stands for conservatism and the empire to me, it's become alienating. And I feel like on the left, where I am, there is a conscious effort to reject those symbols."*– Ross, 22-04-2020.

To summarize, we are able to conclude that the majority of young Scots (87,5%) do not identify with the Union Jack and therefore with Britishness. The British empire association, the political unionist

association and the preference for the Scottish flag seem to be key factors in this lack of identification. For some, these associations have made them actively reject the symbol. But for British identifying participants, the Union Jack is still a beloved symbol of unity.

Scottish saltire

The saltire is the official emblem of Scotland and can be considered the symbol tied to Scottish nationality. Within a plurinational state, there is of course national identification on the level of the different nations as well as the state. The British nation building and identification has not fully succeeded within Scotland – as explored above with the Union Jack. The presence and utilization of the saltire can therefore be seen as active counter nation building by Scotland as a sub-state, reflecting Tierney (2005)'s theory about Scotland utilizing its national symbols for sub-state nationalism. But how do we see this nation building in Scotland and how does it influence young Scots?

The Scottish parliament promotes the saltire in central position on its flag posts, symbolically emphasising that Scottishness comes first. As mentioned in 4.2 the Scottish saltire takes a central role in the Scottish landscape, but where I have mostly observed the presence of the saltire is at pro-independence rallies. Here we see the national image attached to a political standpoint, which again reflects Tierney (2005)'s sub-state nationalism theory: the Scottish sub-state challenges the UK state's unitary nation building through linking the Scottish identity to its nationalism. Young Scots have expressed that they also feel the Scottish saltire has been linked to pro-independence sentiments: *"I don't know if it's a general attitude but when I certainly see someone displaying the Scottish flag I think they probably want independence. I don't know if it's an official thing but it is definitely an indicator for me. With the union Jack they are anti-independence."* - Linda, 13-04-2020.

However, when a national symbol gets attached to a political movement this can influence the identification with the nation as *"a symbol of Scotland is turned into a symbol of Scottish nationalism."* - Ray, 29-02-2020.

But how does the linking of political sentiments to the saltire influence national

identification? 93% of participants still expressed positive connotations with the Scottish flag. Especially for pro-independence participants (86,7%) the Scottish saltire has made them connect even more to their Scottishness considering it fits their political beliefs. However participants that are not in favour of independence (13,3%) say the connection has actually made them feel unsure of their place in Scottish society: "*The Scottish flag reminds me of bad things, independence rallies and protests. It has anti- English sentiments to me. Am I even welcome here?*" – Linda, 13-04-2020

Whilst these 13,3% of participants feel they are Scottish, they can no longer connect to the flag and therefore struggle more to connect to the nation. For the pro-independence participants (87,7%) the connection between the saltire and Scottish nationalism has actually strengthened their identification with Scotland. Therefore, it can be concluded that the nationalistic ties the saltire has gotten in the recently changed Scottish context affect the ability of young Scots to connect to their Scottishness.

European Flag

Ever since Brexit the European flag has become a strikingly present symbol in Scottish society. Despite no longer being a part of the EU, the Scottish parliament still has the European flag displayed and the European flag is also visible at pro-independence gatherings as well as present in online Facebook communities. This leads to the assumption that despite Brexit, Scots still identify with European symbols. The European flag can be considered nation building, in which the Scottish identity is being linked to being European. As the European flag is often displayed alongside a Scottish flag or even combined into one design the two symbols can be said to be intertwining. On Facebook, many Scottish people have also placed the European stars filter over their profile pictures.

The intertwining of the symbols can be explained through the way in which the independence movement has been utilizing Brexit. Considering 62% of Scottish people voted against Brexit, the independence movement has taken the concept of Scotland re-joining the EU as a central point in their campaign. Independence is being framed as

the quickest way for Scotland to come back in the EU. Political researcher Anthony Salamone confirmed this in an interview: *"Within the independence movement, there has always been a debate on whether or not we should join the EU. That's kind of been decided by Brexit now, which is interesting."* - Anthony Salamone, 03-02-2020.

Europe being central in Scottish nationalism once again reflects Tierney (2005)'s theory that sub-state Scotland uses nation building processes to challenge the UK state. The combining of the European and Scottish symbols alludes to a connection between Scottishness and Europeanism. But can we truly say a European identity has become present in Scotland because of Brexit? 60% of the participants of this thesis would call themselves European, however many explained this as a reaction to Brexit: *"I think country comes first for most people. European is just being highlighted now because of Brexit. The general public did start profiling themselves as more European after Brexit. People that were interested in the EU had said that before, but now it's more of an 'give us the ability to make our own decisions."* – Hamish, 13-03-2020.

Within this study we found there to be two motives behind the rise of a European identity. There were participants that saw their European identity as a political statement: "*Since Brexit I feel like I need to promote my European identity more than ever now. Almost as a defensive act."* – Angus, 16-03-2020. For others, it was something that had always been a part of them but only became explicit after Brexit: *"Before Brexit it would never be European and Scottish. It would just be Scottish, the European was integrated in there."* – Ray, 29-02-2020. In both those motives Brexit is the key factor for now feeling European. Alastair Mackie, ethnographic researcher into European identity, explains this: *"You never think about feeling European when you're in the EU. As soon as that is taken away from you, you want it back. That's what we see happening here."* - Alastair Mackie, 06-03-2020.

This is reflected in the increased presence of European symbols in Scottish society after Brexit, which function as a new national narrative tying Scottishness and Europeanism together. This can be considered a form of Scottish nation building against the state. Scottish nation building

then consists of three elements: the lack of utilisation of the Union Jack, the utilisation of the saltire and the linking of European symbols to Scottishness. This can in turn affect the national identity of young Scots as they will only identify themselves with the symbols they recognize themselves in (Herrera, 2002). In this case, the conclusion can be made that these three processes of nation building have made young Scots identify less with Britishness and more with Scottishness and Europeanism after Brexit.

The duality of Britishness and Scottishness

The duality of Britishness and Scottishness has always been of debate within Scotland, changing along with the political context of devolution, independence (Bond & Rosie, 2002) and the focus of this research: Brexit. According to Ashcroft and Bevir (2016) the Brexit vote was partly caused by and demonstrated pluralism in national identity.

The construction of national identity in Scotland is complex. There's the duality of British and Scottish, sometimes with a rejection of either one, and through the course of this research it became clear that because of Brexit Europeanism now also plays a role within this process. As explored in 4.4, young Scots have been identifying themselves as European after Brexit. Within post-Brexit Scotland it is now possible for an individual to solely feel Scottish, as well as feel various degrees of British and/or European, as illustrated in the Venn-diagram below.

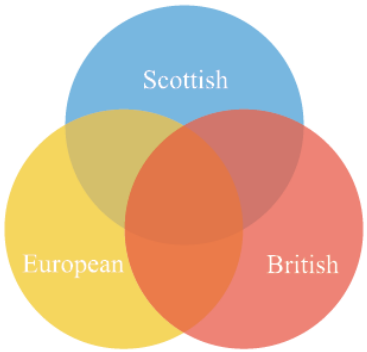

Figure 1: Venn diagram of national identities in Scotland.

Whilst this diagram shows the range of identification possibilities, the duality of the Scottish and British identity remains a different story because of the plurinational nature of the UK. Research done before times of independence and Brexit claim that whilst very few Scots express their primary identity as British, many identify as 'Scottish British', with emotional weight on the former but legal alliance still lying on the latter (Crick,

2009). This is in line with Bechhofer (2013)'s division of the dual identity.

Whilst this might have been true before times of Brexit, this research would argue that after Brexit Scottish and British now both carry political connotations and that the process of national identity is closely related to political viewpoints. According to participants Brexit has " *forced people to think about what the hierarchy of their identities are. Because you need to know, what your values are and what value you place on your Scottishness, Britishness and Europeanness before you can know what to vote.*" - Angus, 14-02-2020.

The following figure illustrates how our research population identifies:

Identify as:	Percentage of participants:
Solely British	8%
Both Scottish and British	16%
Solely Scottish	76%

Figure 2: National identification of participants.

Before exploring Brexit's influence on these identities, it is relevant to note that many participants that do not identify as British never have: "*British a bizarre term to me. Even before I was pro-independence I would never call myself British. The island I live on is British and my passport says British, but it is absolutely not my nationality. I'm from Scotland, I have always been Scottish.*" - Greg, 13-03-2020.

However whilst the identification might not be influenced for these participants, Brexit still has an influence on their views and experiences of national identity. Within Scotland, Brexit seems to have sharpened the divide between Britishness and Scottishness as Brexit has changed the way young Scots view Britishness. It has done this through the creation of two new national narratives, which will be explored below.

New national (Brexit) narratives.

The first narrative we were able to observe is Brexit being framed as a British decision and inherently not a Scottish one. Considering Scotland largely voted remain in the Brexit referendum but have now still left the EU many Scots feel that Brexit happened against their will. The opinions amongst our participants confirm this and include calling

Brexit *"Britain's evil instincts"* - Greg, 13-03-2020 and *"an awful kind of ideology that is pushed on us by the British political system."* - Angus, 14-02-2020.

What these sentiments lead to is the linking of Britishness and being in favour of Brexit. Participants confirm this connection: *"British has now become a dirty word, because of Brexit"* – Ray, 29-02-2020. The connection between Britishness and Brexit can lead to rejection of the British identity by inhabitants who were against Brexit.

A second national narrative is Brexit being viewed as being a symptom of Scotland having no say within the union and of the UK's inadequate response to its devolution. Scottish people have often felt as if their voices don't count within the UK (Cram, 2017), which is because of the UK's unitary state tradition. The linking of the UK power balance and Brexit was one participant made easily: *"Brexit is us Scots being ignored."* - Colin, 17-05-2020.

This narrative frames Brexit as a confirmation of Scotland having little political power within the union. Here Tierney (2005)'s claim of plurinational states often having issues with governance is reflected in the dissatisfaction over Brexit, so this narrative can be viewed as a form of Scottish sub-state nationalism against the state. Brexit being viewed as a symptom of the uneven political power balance in the UK leads to less identification with Britishness, which participants confirm: *"I would say Brexit has made people feel less British. People that were pro-union in 2014 are now pro-independence because Brexit has made them feel less British you know? It was a realization of how the UK is now. Brexit is a symptom."* – Greg, 13-03-2020.

According to Bond and Rosie (2002) there has been a rise in feelings of identification with Scottishness and a seemingly related decline in identification with Britishness since the early 1990's. However Bond and Rosie also point out that this decline of Britishness as a popular identity should not be seen as "declining in absolute terms", as a very large portion of Scottish people still hold at least somewhat of a dual sense within their identity (Bond & Rosie, 2002). However, through the new national narratives Brexit has brought with it, I am able to conclude that young Scots are distancing themselves from Britishness: *"I*

would say I was always Scottish and British. But after Brexit British has become kind of embarrassing in my opinion. The ideal of Britishness has kind of turned political and changed, so it's still a part of my identity but I feel more Scottish now." – Charlotte, 01-05-2020

This is not to say that all young Scots feel solely Scottish and reject their Britishness, but throughout the participants of this study there was a general consensus that Brexit had challenged their dual identity. Even participants that never identified as British found themselves rejecting it more and participants who do feel British find themselves leaning more towards their Scottishness: *"I strongly identify as British. My cultural identity would be Scottish, but politically it's more neutral. But the polls [Brexit and independence] are pitting being British against being Scottish. And when you do this, Scottish will win.."* - Ray, 29-02- 2020

Therefore the conclusion can be made that through the creation of new national narratives, Brexit has influenced the way young Scots view and experience Britishness. Which has caused young Scots distancing themselves from their Britishness and strengthening their identification with Scotland. It has also strengthened their identification with Europe, as explored in 4.4, as the narrative of Brexit not being a Scottish decision also means that the ties between Scotland and Europe have grown stronger. Therefore I suggest the diagram illustrated in Figure 3 to be an accurate representation of how young Scots identify after Brexit:

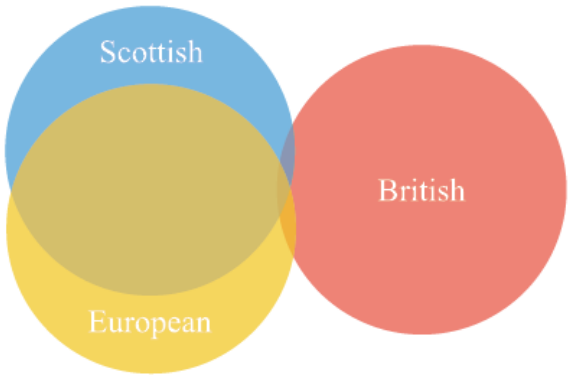

Figure 3: Vendiagram of how young Scots view their national identification post-Brexit.

Throughout processes of nation building within the plurinational UK and new national narratives arising through Brexit, we are able to conclude that young Scots are distancing themselves from Britishness, as well as emphasising their Scottish and European identities.

Footnotes

1. https://www.thoughtco.com/union-jack-flag-1435028
2. https://www.thoughtco.com/union-jack-flag-1435028

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Further information

Article:	Written for the course:
Enunciating an Epoch A Discussion of the Anthropocene, Indigenous Politics and Ontology	**Anthropology of Power** UCU
Madness Politicized Medicalization, Politicization, and the Subject in Radical Mental Health Movements	**Anthropology of Power** UCU
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Buddhist Soil to Grow In An Anthropological Study on Contemporary Religion and Spirituality in A Buddhist Meditation Centre in Germany	**Bachelor thesis** UU
Survival and Resistance in the Face of Necropolitical Governance Anti-Black Genocide in Urban Brazil	**Anthropology of Power** UCU

Modern Eugenics and Biolcolonialism or a Scientifical Celebration of Genetic Diversity? A Postcolonial critique on the Human Genome Diversity Project	Postcolonial Theory UU
How Symbolic Violence upholds Physical Violence on American College Campuses A Bourdieusian analysis of Rape Culture and Victim Blaming	Anthropology of Power UCU
Nation Building and its effect on the Duality of Identity in Post-Brexit Scotland	Bachelor thesis UU

Notes on the selection process

The papers in this edition of SCAJ have been selected by our selection committee from a broader range of submissions. This committee consists of 15 students of Cultural Anthropology from different years of study, as well as four members of our core team. During the process of selection, the committee was divided into four subgroups all including one member of our core team. Every group used the same set of reading questions as a guideline for the selection process. These reading questions focused on readability, creativity, originality, structure, grammar, and references. However, every reviewer was given the freedom to deviate from these reading questions. We believe that the ability to discuss freely allows for dynamic analyses, providing more valuable insights than rigidly conforming to any guideline. Every group read a number of fully anonymized papers, of which they made a selection fit for publication. Afterwards, the four members of the core team discussed the results and considerations of their respective selection groups to make this final selection.

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