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Panopticon: Surveillance, Suspicion, Fear

Editor

ABBES MAAZAOUI

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INTRODUCTION

ABBES MAAZAOUI

Since the earliest days of civilization, the practice of surveillance in all its forms (i.e., observing, collecting information, surprising, but also hiding, disguising, deceiving and avoiding danger) has been used by humans as a basic survival strategy to hunt for prey, mainly food and shelter, and avoid becoming a prey to other predators**.** These strategies are still used, even though today's techniques may seem more sophisticated, more pervasive and maybe more shocking too. Here are few random headlines: a jealous boyfriend places a GPS device on his suspected girlfriend's car to trace her where-abouts; a reporter is secretly filmed naked by her stalker in her hotel room[1]; the giant retailer, Target, uses big data to identify and target pregnant teenagers for pregnancy-related advertising[2]; SeaWorld Entertainment sends spies posing as radical activists to infiltrate the People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA), a not-for-profit organization.[3] The news is full of such stories, not to mention of course the biggest stories of all: spying, hacking scandals and WikiLeaks.

While the full impact of this modern, on-steroids surveillance has yet to be understood, it is already clear that this new world order undermines the boundaries of ethics and morality. Besides the universal loss of both privacy[4] and presumption of innocence, it trivializes random acts of suspicion and fear especially against minorities and unwanted individuals or nations. Notwithstanding these ethical issues, the question is whether surveillance can create anything but an illusion of safety.

Surveillance World

"These days, if you feel like somebody's watching you, you might be right" (Benny Evangelista). The practice of surveillance has intensified to such an extent that it no longer sounds paranoid to assert that everyone–individuals, groups, communities, companies, and

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[1] DailyMail.com "Erin Andrews' $75million 'Peeping Tom' lawsuit heads to court": 22 February 2016 http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3458372/Jury-selection-begin-Erin-Andrews-nude-videos-lawsuit.html#ixzz4QqJBGaQs

[2] See "Big Data in Private Sector …" p. 1.

[3] See "SeaWorld admits it sent spies to infiltrate PETA." http://www.marketwatch.com/story/seaworld-admits-it-sent-spies-to-infiltrate-peta-2016-02-25/

[4] "Privacy is mostly an illusion. A useful illusion, no question about it, one that allows us to live without being paralyzed by self-consciousness. The illusion of privacy gives us room to be fully human, sharing intimacies and risking mistakes. But all the while, the line between private and public space is as porous as tissue paper." Von Drehle.

countries–is involved in one way or another, not only as an object of surveillance, but also as an agent of surveillance. To paraphrase an expression coined in the 1980s, we are becoming a 'surveillance world.'[5] It is as if we have reached the golden age of surveillance: anywhere we are and whatever we do, we are subject to being monitored. GPS instruments and cellphones that most of us carry have their own tracking capabilities. Video Cameras are ubiquitous, in high skies, deep seas, and everywhere in between: in stores, gas stations, hotel lobbies, traffic intersections, parks, neighborhoods, and even classrooms. In Britain, it is estimated that a person could be captured on film 300 times a day. Furthermore, most of these video technologies are integrating facial recognition capabilities. Here, in the United States,

> *The Washington Post* … says that there are more than 1,500 components [of the US federal government] that do it [collect surveillance]. There are 17 primary agencies in the intelligence community. But that does not even count the 17,000 state and local police institutions, much less what the commercial sector does in terms of collecting information.[6] ("Can Security…" 32)

Sometimes, we are told about what is going on: "This conversation will be recorded;" "This area is monitored 24/7;" "You have to accept cookies to go to this site." But more often than not, we do not know who is recording, how the recording will be used, or for how long it will be kept. But something is certain: with a simple click of a mouse, our past in form of electronic record can be accessed anytime, anywhere. The old expression about filing a document as part a person's permanent record is no longer an abstract notion or a far-fetched idea. It is a reality.[7]

All this leads us to the concept of Panopticon, the conceptual prison designed by the English philosopher Jeremy Bentham in the late 18th century. It would not be too wild of an idea to think that we live today in a giant digital panopticon. In an article titled "You Are a Suspect," William Safire writes in *The New York Times:*

> Every purchase you make with a credit card, every magazine subscription you buy and medical prescription you fill, every Web site you visit and e-mail you send or receive, every academic grade you receive, every bank deposit you make, every trip you book and every event you attend--all these transactions and communications will go into what the Defense Department describes as 'a virtual, centralized grand database.'

---

[5] Cf. David Lyon on the notion of "Surveillance Society."

[6] No wonder, surveillance is a $100 billion industry.

[7] As Steve Mann writes, "For decades, the notion of a 'surveillance society' where every facet of our private life is monitored and recorded has sounded abstract, paranoid or far-fetched to some people. No more!…" (Mann 1998: 140).

> To this computerized dossier on your private life from commercial sources, add every piece of information that government has about you--passport application, driver's license and toll records, judicial and divorce records, complaints from nosy neighbors to the F.B.I., your lifetime paper trail plus the latest hidden camera surveillance--and you have the supersnoop's dream: a 'Total Information Awareness' about every U.S. citizen.
>
> This is not some far-out Orwellian scenario.

The Vicious Circle of Fear and Surveillance

Obviously, not all forms of surveillance are bad. Surveillance may be used to deter crime, monitor road congestion, or investigate climate change. However, when fear is the main justification for surveillance, it opens up a can of untasteful worms. The logic of fear is predicated on the assumption that the more surveillance one engages in, the safer one becomes. This the-more-the-merrier reasoning proves to be a self-defeating fallacy. First, because it seems always that "there is less danger in fearing too much than too little,"[8] it ensures that no amount of surveillance is big enough to quell an ever-increasing paranoia. Second, surveillance as a method to prevent danger and minimize risk is ineffective, because the only way to increase the probability of success, and thus reduce the probability of risk, is to cast the net as wide as possible: everyone must be treated as a suspect or considered guilty until proven innocent. The need for success and thus certainty makes the task ineffective: too much information is as useless as no information[9]. Furthermore, it overlooks the inevitable boomerang effect: constant surveillance only encourages resistance and improved strategies of secrecy and counter-surveillance.[10]

So, surveillance as a remedy for fear is a slippery slope and a vicious circle. It is as though the effect of surveillance is not more security or safety[11], but just more fear, more suspicion, and thus leading to more surveillance. One of the major differences between earlier humans and today's world is no doubt the advent of digital technology and its power to amplify fear, suspicion, surveillance and counter-surveillance. To respond to social media turbocharged fear, technology allows for turbocharged surveillance and virtual omnipresence. It is this powerful omniscient omnipresence that raises serious questions not only about the boundaries of the law (what is legal and illegal) and policy (what should be legislated and what should not be), but also the boundaries of ethics (what is right and what

[8] Sir Francis Walsingham. Cited in Jayne Elisabeth Archer.

[9] That was the main reason of failure of the mass surveillance by the NSA. It is also true in endless other situations (security screenings at airports, stores, public places, etc.). Crimes of all kinds will persist.

[10] The newly-elected Trump administration is floating the idea of registering all Muslims, a sinister reminiscence of previous dreadful experiments. The problem is what is next if/when this registration fails to calm the populace fear?

[11] Cf. Charles Kenny, "Airport Security Is Making Americans Less Safe."

is wrong) and morality (what is good for society and the people and what is bad)[12]. Some of these questions as well as other issues are discussed in more details in this volume.

The Structure of the Volume

The articles of this collection are grouped into four sections that represent different perspectives on the figure of the Panopticon in the real world and in fiction.

The first group deals with the issue of surveillance and the development of the concept of the Panopticon. **J.K. Van Dover** explores the historical development of the interrelated phenomena of surveillance and detection, from Bentham through the Pinkertons to Poe, Doyle, and Hammett to contemporary developments in crime fiction. The essay discusses the transition from the trope of "virtual omnipresence" in the real world to an alternative fictional model of "limited omniscience," to the figure of an all-capable "team of experts" (such as CSI) with nearly infinite capabilities of seeking the truth, invading privacy and (re)harnessing the power of science. Through the discussion of a story that blends reality and fiction, **Antonia Dapena-Tretter** details an interesting history related to the CIA's use of art for propagandistic purposes. She explores how secrecy, suspicion and covert activities are used to reinforce and export official American values.

The second section discusses the interrelated motifs of surveillance, the media and the technology of fear. **Zach Mann** analyzes the development of the interconnected motifs of preemption and surveillance in science-fiction shows specifically and in pop culture more generally. He observes that "preemption apologia" and television have made people "more comfortable in our encroaching surveillance society." **Neha Khurana** examines the issues of moral judgments, surveillance and sting operations, Heideggerian 'presuppositions' of technology, the cultural production of truth and scandal, and finally, the aesthetic circulation and reception of images. **Bincy Abdul Samad** describes how two diverse and representative international news agencies from the West and the East, CNN and Al Jazeera, reacted to the media's treatment of James Foley Story. Through a comparative analysis, she argues that these two news sources are unknowingly part of the "terror's talk." Similar conclusions are reached by **Ann Luppi von Mehren** in her article, "Publicizing Suspicions of Espionage on the News: The Leak of the Felix S. Bloch Case." The guilt's talk, namely the insinuation of guilt about a potential innocent person, is as pervasive as the terror's talk.

Mick Taussig's concept of "terror's talk always talks back"[13] aptly applies to the articles included in the next section, titled "Surveillance and Resistance or When Extremes Collide." By its nature, surveillance as a survival strategy calls for its opposite: inverse

[12] Cf. Paul Rosenzweig, *The Surveillance State: Big Data, Freedom, and You*.
[13] Cf. Mick Taussig, p.3

surveillance or "sousveillance." [14] Examples from the Soviet Union, India, the United States, the Niger-Delta and France highlight this inevitability. **Anya l. Hamrick** analyzes the poetics of rebellion in Sasha Sokolov's novel *A School for Fools* as well as aspects of Soviet era attempts to control the arts and literature through the use of psychiatry and the ways in which authors sought to resist such tactics. **Pia Deas** uses Steve Mann's concept of "sousveillance" to explain Danez Smith's strategy to challenge and reverse the panoptic focus upon Black communities. **Neha Khurana** mobilizes the "figure of the flaneur as a theoretical tool to explore how the city is experienced and how the flaneur's imagination impacts the city." Since "vision and visibility are at the heart of any model of surveillance," she uses visual artistic representations of models of surveillance as well as virtual spaces of resistance to those models. Resistance to oppressive control has the potential to become violent. Such is the case of the oil-rich Niger Delta as outlined by **Edward Egbo Imo** in his reading of Esiaba Irobi's *Hangmen Also Die,* in which fear and insecurity breed fear and desire for revenge. Such is also the case of jailed French youth of North African descent whose voluntary re-Islamization in prisons is described by **Abeer Aloush** as a strategy to rebel against the government dehumanizing panoptic actions.

The last section deals with literary and televisual representations of surveillance**.** **Swan Kim** deconstructs how Chang-Rae Lee's *Native Speaker* paradoxically attempts to articulate a new genre of ethnic espionage fiction. **Brandi Bradley** shows how BBC's *Orphan Black*'s slow narrative reveals a Foucauldian prison structure of immense power. In an analysis of George Lamming's *In the Castle of My Skin,* **Adrienne Vivian** examines the various representations of the power structures that existed during British Imperial rule in colonial Barbados. She argues that the shifting power between the colonized and the colonizer is played out through the shifting of their colonial gaze.

Pessimism aside, the topic of surveillance for control seems to have become a hot topic on the big stage of the politico-military-industrial complex around the world. It is hoped that this volume contributes to more understanding of its limitations and inherently-contradictory nature, and elicits more investigation across the different disciplines of humanities and social sciences.

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Part One

SURVEILLANCE: PAST AND PRESENT

The Panopticon, the Pinkertons, and the Private Eye

J.K. VAN DOVER
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I. The Panopticon

Jeremy Bentham's Panopticon is usually seen as his model of the ideal prison, one that uses a minimum of resources to achieve a maximum of observation and control of its inmates, and, since Michel Foucault's *Discipline and Punish* (*Surveiller et Punir: Naissance de la Prison* 1975), as a metaphor for a model of the modern state, which, with a minimum of resources attempts to achieve a maximum of observation and control of its citizens, generally with a malignant design to reduce (or even to eliminate) the citizens' freedom to think or act. But when, in 1791, Bentham finally published the plan he had developed in 1786 to submit to the Middlesex commissioners who were proposing to build a new penitentiary, his *Panopticon; Or, The Inspection House* was, on its cover page, identified as a "New Principle of Construction" that might be applied to "PENITENTIARY-HOUSES," but also to "PRISONS, HOUSES OF INDUSTRY, WORK-HOUSES, POOR-HOUSES, MANUFACTORIES, MAD-HOUSES, LAZARETTS, HOSPITALS, AND SCHOOLS." And, in fact, the original design of the Panopticon—a central tower occupied by "Inspectors," with a surrounding ring of 900 cells always (day and night) open to observation from the central tower's shaded windows—was initially produced by Jeremy's brother, Samuel, who had developed it in Russia as a device for Prince Potemkin to secure reliable factory labor from the undisciplined serfs on his estates. Indeed, although a penal application was the initial use to which Bentham, responding to an open advertisement from the Middlesex commissioners for a plan for a "House of Correction," proposed to apply his Panopticon, Bentham would later publish separate treatises urging its appropriateness for efficiently securing labor from paupers (1797-98), for efficiently teaching young students—"one inspecting master could supervise more than 600 pupils" aged seven to seventeen (1816-1817), and finally for efficiently operating the governmental ministries of a nation state: the prime minister would occupy the central tower, and each of his subordinates would be assigned an arc of the ring (1830) (Brunon-Ernst 21).

Control is, of course, in all instances the desideratum: whether the inhabitants of the doughnut are prisoners, workers, students, or government ministers, the Panopticon's singular purpose is to keep them forever aware that a central authority is watching them—or, as Bentham emphasizes, *might* be watching them; he specifies that the windows in the control tower be shaded and smoked, so that the prisoners, workers, students, or

government ministers can never be sure whether there is an alert inspector watching. Bentham goes into extensive detail to describe a system of windows and iron railings and lamps which will insure that the inmates are always visible, and the authorities are always invisible.

It is true that there is something ominous about 600-900 individuals always being watched by a single eye, at least to a secular polity no longer used to always being watched by the singular eye of God. There is, Bentham argues in the initial penitentiary pamphlet, at least this comfort: his Panopticon imposes degree of reciprocity in this the control. The carefully defined sightlines that keep the prisoners always exposed also insure that the warders are always watched. In ordinary prisons, prisoners may subject to abuse from guards. The open sight lines of the Panopticon mean

> that the *under* Keepers or Inspectors, the servants and subordinates of every kind, will be under the same irresistible controul with respect to the *head* Keeper or Inspector, as the Prisoners or other persons to be governed are with respect to *them*. On the common plans, what means, what possibility, has the Prisoner of appealing to the humanity of the principal for redress? …How different would their lot be upon this plan! (29).

But Bentham's principal argument in favor of his Panopticon is its economy: it is, he argues, the cheapest way to deprive prisoners of liberty without depriving them of health or life. And it also facilitates what was emerging as a new principle of incarceration in the late 18th century: the idea that prisons should be replaced by penitentiaries—places where confinement might lead to repentance, not just to isolation and suffering.

To be sure, Bentham was an atheist and "repentance" did not mean for him the realization that criminal misbehavior was a violation of the commandments of a just yet merciful God whose providential eye is watching everything, even the fall of a sparrow. Rather, the eye that now is watching the incarcerated prisoner (or incarcerated worker, incarcerated student, incarcerated minister) is physical eye of a representative of the secular society that claims the authority of judging correct and incorrect behavior. The inmates need to understand that it is to their practical advantage to act always as though "Society" is watching them. They need to internalize this sense of being watched: what once had been enforced by a priest's insistence upon an invisible God's omniscient eye tabulating every sinful impulse was to be transferred to the central building of the Panopticon, where, behind shades and smoked glass, an officer of the state might be watching. Bentham was aware of the replacement of God; he speaks of "the apparent omnipresence of the inspector (if divines will allow me the expression)" (28).

If the individual's private conscience can no longer, in an age of Enlightenment, be seconded by the all-seeing eye of God, perhaps it can be reinforced by the all-seeing eye of a Head Inspector. Bentham is explicit about creating the effect of perpetual observation.

> It is obvious that, in all these instances, the more constantly the persons to be inspected are under the eyes of the persons who should inspect them, the more perfectly will the purpose of the establishment have been attained. Ideal perfection, if that were the object, would require that each person should actually be in that predicament, during every instant of time. This being impossible, the next thing to be wished for is, that, at every instant, seeing reason to believe as much, and not being able to satisfy himself to the contrary, he should *conceive* himself to be so. (3)

This is the real virtue of the Panopticon: the individual *conceives* himself always to be under inspection, and persons who conceive themselves to be under inspection behave themselves. And perhaps, after a term of years *conceiving* themselves to be under inspector's supervision, they will internalize that conception, and when released from the Panopticon's material surveillance will still behave as though they are being watched in their homes and in the streets.

II. The Pinkertons

Or perhaps not. The Panoptican provides for unlimited surveillance within a very specific and limited arena, and beyond its walls the inmates, in society at large—whether they be convicts, or workers, or students, or government ministers—may well feel free of supervision and revert to anti-social behaviors. Indeed, the feeling of liberation might actually stimulate impulses that had to be so carefully suppressed while under the Head Inspector's eye. What is needed is an eye that observes beyond the confines of Bentham's surveillance machine. Alan Pinkerton marketed such an eye when, in 1850, he opened his North-West Detective Agency in Chicago and adopted as his emblem an alert eye and as his motto, "We Never Sleep."

Pinkerton was a Scotsman who had advanced from part-time deputy sheriff to the first "detective" on the staff of the Chicago Police Department. He left the Department to found his agency with a staff of two; within three years he had 8 employees, and by 1856 he had offices in Illinois, Wisconsin, Michigan, and Indiana (Mackay 70). He famously supervised security for Abraham Lincoln's passage through Baltimore on his way to his inauguration as President, and he worked as an intelligence officer for the Union army during the Civil War. After the War, Pinkerton's National Detective Agency became a household name, celebrated for always getting its man. And the men it pursued (though it did not, in fact, always get them) included celebrated outlaws such as Jesse James and Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid, pursuing the latter for years, even after they had fled south to Patagonia. Beginning in 1855, Pinkerton's contracts with the railroads and other industrial concerns meant that the men that the agency pursued also included labor organizers trying to unionize workers and to lead strikes. Bentham proposed to expand the

state's benevolent vision; Pinkerton, while still working with the state's law enforcement interests, also offered his eyes to the interests of capital.

Pinkerton's unblinking eye and "We Never Sleep" were an inducement to potential employers and a caution to potential offenders: Pinkerton's ubiquitous agents were always on the watch—always prepared to investigate and to purse and, of course, always available for hire. And in a series of thick volumes of reminiscences—every cover adorned with the eye and the motto—undertitles such as *The Bankers, Their Vaults and the Burglers* (1873), *The Expressman and the Detective* (1874), *The Detective and the Somnabambulist* (1875), Allan Pinkerton recounted the tireless and, of course, successful investigations undertaken by his agents under his direction. There would eventually be nearly 20 of these volumes published between 1873 and 1900, perhaps four actually written by Pinkerton himself. His agency might not occupy a central tower, and the nation might not be a ring of open and well-lit cells. But wrong-doers were warned: if, after a crime was committed, the victims referred the case to Pinkerton, his agency would cast an infallible light upon the case, discover what had happened, and apprehend the perpetrators.

Just as Bentham had emphasized the innovative technology of his Panopticon—devoting pages to detailing the dimensions, the materials, the plumbing, the heating system, etc.—so Pinkerton emphasized the scientific techniques of his detectives. This was in part to counteract widespread disdain for the new profession. When an undercover Pinkerton operative testified at a trial in 1867, the judge felt obliged to direct the jury to receive his testimony without bias: "the character of the detective—and it is simply another word for spy—has always been, and will always be, an unpopular one. There is an element in human nature—and it is an element that humanity may be proud of and not ashamed—which looks with suspicion necessarily upon that calling in life and that kind of business, because there is necessarily connected with it more or less deception and deceit" (Morn 70). Even when the prying eye of the detective apprehends a criminal, the public may—quite properly says the judge—despise the eye that pries.

Pinkerton's books make the argument that while deception and deceit are indeed tools of his agents—for example, they do often use disguise—the essence of their method lay in a systematic and scientific approach to investigation. They took measurements and photographs; above all, they kept files.

> The ultimate heart of the Pinkertons' continued success was this criminal file. Through contacts as varied as frontier sheriffs, city policemen, and underworld snitches, the Pinkertons collected all known data concerning criminals, including their origins, associates, methods of operation, meeting places, and known and suspected crimes. One constant source of information was the newspaper: As crimes and criminals were reported, field agents clipped and sent in the stories, along with extra notations, all stored diligently in the criminal's file.... The mug shot, a Pinkerton

> innovation, soon spread to the police and other detective agencies. (Jackson 105)

If they could not quite match the capacity of twenty-first century intelligence and investigative agencies to store collected data, the Pinkertons conscientiously did their best. As early as the 1890s, William Pinkerton, Allan's son and successor as head of the agency, actually envisioned the ideal of a universal unsleeping eye: he "dreamed of a worldwide web of data and social control, dreams that later saw expression in the development of the FBI's fingerprint files and IBM's early punch card technology" (Jackson 106).

And they always played up their methodical, scientific—enlightened—approach to investigation. As one historian has observed, Pinkerton emphasized that their system worked by "incorporating science and a nationwide organization that paralleled in scope the industries it served. The Pinkertons succeeded by being everywhere or at least by making others believe they were" (Jackson 104). Like Bentham, Pinkerton believed that the appearance of omnipresence could be as effective as the reality. As effective, but to the public that despised prying eyes, perhaps as unpopular.

III. The Private Eye

The history of the advancement of omnipresent surveillance (and the appearance of omnipresence) has continued, with the state supplying resources of which Pinkerton could not even dream. Organizations as varied in character but as single-minded in purpose as the FBI, the KGB, the Stasi, and the NSA deploy extraordinary technologies of observation to control and protect. Aspiring to know everything everywhere here now, their ideal is an omnipresence that leads to a virtual omniscience. Should their machinery be perfected, there would be no secrets; no action would ever be unobserved, and therefore the foolish or forgetful few who break the law would be infallibly identified and apprehended. Even short of perfection, the prospect is frightening. The brief window of time between the millennia when everyone in the village knew everyone's business and the new age in which everyone with internet access and the right codes knows everyone's—everyone in the world's—business may be closing.

But parallel to this history of the expansion of virtual omnipresence in the real world is an alternative fictional model of limited omniscience, a paradox that uses the same rationalizing authority promoted by Bentham and Pinkerton, but which redeems the prying eye by replacing the systematic seeing of all things at all times with the fine art of systematically seeing only what *needs* to be seen, and seeing it only within the safely confined space of the past. The new model debuted in the early 1840s, midway between the publication of Bentham's *Panopticon* and Pinkerton's *The Bankers, Their Vaults and the Burglars,* and by the end of the century it had become the quintessential category of popular literature (at least in the Anglophone world) and it has held on to that distinction into the

21st century. Its seed was the figure of Poe's C. Auguste Dupin; its apotheosis came in the figure of Conan Doyle's Sherlock Holmes. It was, of course, the detective story.

Where Bentham and Pinkerton proposed surveillance as a productive source of moral intimidation on the part of the ruling class—exposing bad behavior and promoting good behavior, the detective story posited the hero's all-seeing eye as an idiosyncratic resource for victims of crime and for the falsely accused. His eye—and with important exceptions like Miss Marple, it was until the 1970s almost always *his* eye—saw things that infallibly identified the actual culprit, whom no one suspected; it also, and equally importantly, vindicated the suspected innocents, whose moral status had wrongly been placed under a shadow of doubt. Because the detective story necessarily presents a limited cast of characters, many—even most—of the individuals involved will have had both the motive and the opportunity to have committed the crime. So when the detective conclusively demonstrates the guilt of one, he also conclusively demonstrates the innocence of the rest. The detective story thus relieves two anxieties: concern that a criminal, usually a murderer, will escape punishment and may commit new crimes, and concern that upstanding citizens will be punished or forever tainted with suspicion of having committed a serious crime. It is satisfying to know that Colonel Mustard did it in the conservatory with the lead pipe; he can be tried, arraigned, and sentenced. But for Miss Scarlett, Mrs. Peacock, and Professor Plum there is the additional and great comfort that everyone now knows that they did *not* do it.

This double function is there from the beginning. The first real detective stories—the first time a fictional detective becomes the protagonist of a series of investigations—are the Dupin stories of Edgar Allan Poe. And in the first Dupin story, "The Murders in the Rue Morgue" (1841), Dupin undertakes an investigation of the crime precisely because the suspect arrested by the police—Adolphe Le Bon—had once done Dupin a good turn. Dupin visits the third-floor apartment of Mme. and Mlle. L'Esplanaye and finds a scene of baffling horror. The doors and windows were locked when the police finally broke in to find the room in complete disarray, "the furniture broken and thrown about in all directions" (405). The daughter had been throttled and her body had been thrust upside down in the chimney; the mother's nearly decapitated body was discovered in a back yard. And in the middle of the main room sat two bags full of gold coins. The police, needing to make an arrest and having no other suspects, seize upon Adolphe Le Bon, evidently because he is a low level bank clerk, because he had carried the bags of gold to the L'Esplanaye apartment. Dupin's demonstration that the crime was committed by an escaped Orang-Outang makes sense of what had been a scene of irrational chaos—Orang-Outangs are not, after all, rational—*and* he relieves poor Le Bon of undeserved obloquy.

Poe's model of the fictional detective evolved in some degree over the next four decades. It was the French author, Emile Gaboriau, who made the most significant adjustments in the 1860s and 1870s, but it was in 1887 that the watershed was marked, when *A Study in Scarlet*, the first Sherlock Holmes tale by Arthur Conan Doyle, was published in *Beeton's Christmas Annual*. Bentham's Panopticon and Pinkerton's

Unsleeping Eye now yielded to the lens of Holmes. The two earlier modes of scientific surveillance operated in a universal present; they depended upon technologies of seeing *now*: at any moment, the Head Inspector might be watching; at any moment a Pinkerton agent might be connecting witness testimony with a mug shot or a modus operandi. The eye of the fictional detective always sees *backward*; the detective is always actively working backward from an existing crime scene: from the locked room in bizarre disarray to the wild beast that might climb a water pipe, slash a throat, and stuff a corpse up a chimney. What Conan Doyle added to Poe's invention was the scientific method. Dupin had lectured his narrator about the logic of "analysis" that he used to read crime scenes. Conan Doyle, from the very beginning, had Holmes's method—his "Science of Deduction"—associated with the same sort of scientific technology to which Bentham and Pinkerton had appealed.

The first time Dr. Watson hears of Holmes—Watson is looking for a potential roommate—Holmes is identified as "a fellow who is working at the chemical laboratory up at the hospital"; he is "an enthusiast in some branches of society" (I.16). When Watson does meet him, Holmes in working in that laboratory, and has just discovered a new and certain test to distinguish human blood stains. In the course of the novel, Holmes will visit a crime scene and use his tape measure and "large round magnifying lens" (I.31) to carefully measure footprints, examine cigar ashes, collect little piles of gray dust, and inspect letters scrawled in blood. The police arrest an innocent man with an inadequate alibi; Holmes captures the actual murderer. Throughout a tremendously popular career, recounted in 4 novels and 56 short stories, Holmes applies his scientific method successfully to cases of burglary, blackmail, impersonation, and, of course, murder. He does not, in fact, always apprehend the criminal, and when he does apprehend the criminal, he does not always hand him over to the judicial system; but he does always identify the criminal. An immoral action may go unpunished, but it never goes undetected. Time never entirely erases the signs that point to the sinner. If God no longer watches the fall of every sparrow with the eternal omnipresence of his eternally unsleeping eye—Conan Doyle was born in 1859, the year Darwin published *The Origin of Species*, and *A Study in Scarle*t was published five years after Nietzsche published *The Gay Science*, in which he proclaimed "God is Dead"—if God can no longer be relied upon infallibly to identify true sinners, then that offspring of the Science that killed God, the scientific detective, can. No eye may witness the murder, but a murderer always leaves telltale traces—footprints, cigarette butts, tufts of Orang-Outang hair—that will permit the methodical detective to "see" what happened—who did what, to whom, when, where, and how. If no Head Inspector is watching from a central tower at the moment the crime is committed, a specialist in detection can shuffle through the detritus, interrogating objects and persons, and come to an infallible conclusion regarding whodunit.

And the detective's eye is activated only after a crime has been committed, when his clear vision can divide the sheep from the goats. He is not, like Bentham's Head Inspector or Pinkerton's agency (or Orwell's Big Brother), *always* watching. Because he is not bound by time, he does not need omnipresent surveillance; he needs only to investigate

when there is a specific need, only when a corpse provides him with a specific charge to observe specific details and draw specific inferences. He poses no threat of intrusive surveillance into the everyday lives of citizens. When there is no occasion for the exercise of his powers, he sits in 221B Baker Street, playing his violin and injecting his 7% solution of cocaine. His science brings guilt and innocence to light only when events have left them dangerously obscure, when things make no sense—bodies are thrust upside down in chimneys—or when decent people—Adolphe Le Bon—are falsely accused. He only pries into private lives—cupboards and bedrooms, diaries and checkbooks, marriages and liaisons—when villains have already violated the law and the innocent suffer suspicion. Only then does he collect the tufts of hair and the plaster footprints that speak to his analytic mind; only then does he poke into the nooks and crannies of private thoughts and private relationships.

A common trope in detective fiction emphasizes both the extraordinary power and the extraordinary safety of the detective's ability to see. More than once, Hercule Poirot is called upon to solve a crime committed years—even decades—in the past. Agatha Christie's "last" Miss Marple novel (written in the 1940s, but published after her death in 1976) is entitled *Sleeping Murder*. In it, Miss Marple encounters a murder which was undetected when it was committed 18 years earlier, but which, in the present, is disturbing a young woman with frightening memories of what she overheard when she was three. In order to save the young woman, Miss Marple must solve the 18-year-old crime. And, of course, she does so. Eighteen years are no obstacle to the eye of the detective.

And neither in her person nor in her actions is Miss Marple an intimidating figure. She is a little old lady who lives in an English village and uses her familiarity with foibles of her neighbors to read the characters of persons connected with a crime. Sherlock Holmes is a violin-playing bohemian; Hercule Poirot is an egg-headed retired Belgian policeman; Philo Vance is an effete snob. They are not threatening agents of the state (like Bentham's Head Inspector's) or of private industry (like Pinkerton's men). They are a threat not to evil-doers generally, but to those who have done a specific evil deed, and they are the saviors of those who did *not* do that specific evil deed, even when the evil deed was performed years ago.

Or even centuries ago. In a classic novel of detective fiction—Josephine Tey's *The Daughter of Time* (1951)—Scotland Yard Inspector Alan Grant, while he is laid up in hospital, solves the mystery of the murder of the two princes in the Tower of London, a crime that occurred nearly three centuries earlier. And his investigation concludes by exonerating the man—Richard III—whom historians since Sir Thomas More had usually convicted. Colin Dexter, in *The Wench Is Dead* (1989), has Inspector Morse, also laid up in hospital, solve the 1859 murder of Christina Collins, exonerating the two men convicted and executed for the crime 130 years earlier. If no eye is *always* watching—as Bentham and Pinkerton proposed their eyes might be—no moral action is *ever* entirely erased from view, and an ingenious detective can always, looking backward, see whodunit.

I will close with two final observations about the development of the detective story in the mid and late 20th century. The first relates to the emergence of the hard-boiled model of detective in the 1920s, most clearly in the novels of Dashiell Hammett and Raymond Chandler. The detective still focuses upon a specific misdeed and still infallibly identifies who did and who didn't do it. But instead of relying upon his extraordinary intelligence and his magnifying lens, he relies upon his street smarts and his gun. He discovers what happens not by observation and ratiocination, but by colliding verbally and physically with a succession of suspects and witnesses. In Hammett's first novel, his detective, the Continental Op, explains, "Plans are all right sometimes, … And sometimes just stirring things up is all right—if you're tough enough to survive, and keep your eyes open so you'll see what you want when it comes to the top" (75). In *The Maltese Falcon*, Sam Spade will make a similar statement of method: "My way of learning is to heave a wild and unpredictable monkey-wrench into the machinery. It's all right with me, if you're sure none of the flying pieces will hurt you" (465). These are not ratiocinative or scientific methods; they do not compare to ambitious machinery of surveillance imagined by Bentham, nor to the systemizing eye of the Pinkertons. Hammett was himself an employee of the Pinkerton Agency between 1915 and 1921. He knew how actual detectives conducted surveillance and apprehended criminals, and he wanted to bring a sense of realism to what, by 1920, had become a very artificial genre, with untraceable poisons, doubly locked rooms, and vanishing corpses. But Hammett also reacted against what he took to be the near-fascist implications of the business of the actual Pinkertons. One of the decisive moments in his career came when he was sent by the agency to Butte, Montana to assist the Anaconda Copper Mining Company in breaking a strike by the miners' union. Hammett claimed to have been offered $5,000 to kill a union organizer, Frank Little. He turned the offered down, but Little would be murdered shortly after (Nolan 14).

So when Hammett inaugurated the hard-boiled style of fictional detective, he chose to present a realistic detective practicing what he knew to be an unreal sort of detection. His brand of detectives would not exercise the Science of Deduction that Sherlock Holmes had practiced; neither would they rely upon the resources of a national agency. Indeed, they usually find themselves opposed to any large investigative organizations, not just to private agencies like the Pinkertons, but also, indeed especially, to the state organizations of investigation and surveillance—the police, the District Attorneys, the FBI. These agencies, like Pinkertons on steroids, possess a huge capacity to acquire and hold information, but always, in detective fiction, they misread that information (the police procedural is the exception proving the rule). The agents of the state know the data, but they do not know the human beings. And therefore they inevitably misjudge innocence and guilt. Hamilton Burger always builds a courtroom case against the wrong person; Perry Mason, with the assistance of Paul Drake and Della Street, always deconstructs the District Attorney's case and points to the true criminal

Hard-boiled detectives know human beings. They are themselves human, subject to the same impulses and passions of the people they investigate. And they operate by

continuously colliding with other human beings—with wisecracks, fists, and guns; what they learn from each the collision is what propels them to the next step in understanding what must have happened in the past. They operate as individuals who penetrate to the truth of a specific crime by "stirring things up," being "tough enough to survive," and never giving up. As the hard-boiled genre evolved, this essential toughness would take on gendered colors—it might be the almost sadistic and misogynistic brutality of Mickey Spillane's Mike Hammer (a color that faded in the 1960s), or it might, on the other hand, be the female eye that does the detecting in novels such as Sue Grafton's bestselling alphabet novels or Patricia Cornwell's Kay Scarpetta novels (a color that debuted in the 1970s and is today perhaps predominant).

Kay Scarpetta is a forensic scientist, and this leads to the second development in the character of fictional detection: the team of experts and the return of science. The persistence of a tough individual is one contemporary myth of reconstructing the moral past. But while the lone private investigator relying upon his or her toughness and integrity may be an admirable—and a quintessentially American—hero, the 21st century has also recovered an updated version the methodical, scientific detective—or, rather, team of detectives. These teams began to appear in the police procedurals such as Ed McBain's 87th precinct series, which debuted in 1956, and they now undertake their investigations for organizations such as N.C.I.S (Naval Criminal Investigation Service), C.S.I (Crime Scene Investigation), or the F.B.I (*Bones*), and they use all of the high-tech tools of modern forensic investigation. They are the Pinkertons on steroids, and, as agents of the state rationalizing the surveillance of individuals for the benefit of the citizens, they represent a return to the Enlightenment vision of Jeremy Bentham and the prospect of a theoretically unlimited observing eye. The individual detective—whether he be Sherlock Holmes, Sam Spade, or Kinsey Milhone—is inherently limited in what he or she investigates. The detective *chooses* to focus his or her eye upon singular past crimes; that is his or her virtue, but it is also his or her necessity; an individual *must* focus: an individual—however brilliant or tough, whether wielding a magnifying lens or a gun—can only pursue the threads of a single skein of causes and effects. In episode after episode, Jethro Gibbs and his team do choose to deploy their technical apparatus to identify specific criminals, but they *could*, all too easily, use that apparatus—their specialists and their machines—to monitor *any*one's private behavior—anyone's phone calls, anyone's location, anyone's hard drive. It is only their restraint—their collective restraint—that protects the mass of uninvolved citizens from their penetrating eye. And in this respect, readers and viewers may again be troubled by the thought that their own privacy is protected only by the detective's personal morality. Only his or her restraint keeps the team from prying into private lives.

Jeremy Bentham proposed a technology by which a small central authority—a benevolent central authority—could control, condition, and perhaps fundamentally alter the behavior of a mass of people confined within walls (prisoners, students, administrators). Allan Pinkerton and his sons developed a technology by which a small central authority could —again, benevolently—systematize the collection of vital data that would classify

everyone and so facilitate the identification of the perpetrators of crimes. There were, theoretically, no walls; all citizens could be watched by the Pinkerton eye; all citizens could be sorted. However benevolent the design, the prospect of being watched into goodness was, to many thoughtful people, a totalitarian nightmare. This frightening prospect was countered in the popular imagination by the fictional detective, who used his (and later, her) penetrating eye—assisted by a lens or a gun—only to discover the guilt of one and to demonstrate the innocence of a few. Because he or she was an individual, not a system, his or her eye was necessarily limited in the scope of its authority. The fictional detective infallibly detects only a limited evil, and only a limited good, and so the fictional detective is safely good, and therefore really good.

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Paintings as Propaganda: Blending Patriotism with Art

ANTONIA DAPENA-TRETTER
The Walt Disney Family Museum, California

> *How fresh in memory even now is the belief that American art is the sole trustee of the avant-garde 'spirit,' a belief so reminiscent of the U.S. government's notions of itself as the lone guarantor of capitalist liberty*—
> Max Kozloff

The twenty-eight paintings that make up the Vincent Melzac Collection on view at the Central Intelligence Agency headquarters in Langley, Virginia were painted almost exclusively in the late 1950s and 1960s. Purposefully contemporary with the 1961 completion of the original headquarters building, the collection "represent[s] an elemental approach to art, a swashbuckling donor, and a connection to the architecture of the OHB," according to a short description on the Agency's homepage. The rest of the paragraph describing the collection teases web visitors, claiming that the artworks do more than "break up the acres of wall space" but failing to explain who donor Vincent Melzac was, how his art came to be owned by the CIA, and the all-important question—why?

Portland-based artist Johanna Barron (figure 1) has spent the last seven years attempting to uncover the true motivation behind the Agency's colorful acquisitions. First discovering the collection through artist Taryn Simon's project, *An Index of the Hidden and Unfamiliar*, Barron hoped to gain even the most basic information on the collection and repeatedly filed official requests through what she believed to be the proper channels, submitting Freedom of Information Act applications to the Agency. However, with a characteristic lack of transparency, the CIA has denied each FOIA request. Suspicious of the entire process, Barron elaborated:

> If I had received a prompt, transparent response to my requests for information, I may feel differently than I do now. But their resistance to share unclassified information made it seem like there was something to hide. I am still waiting on a FOIA request that is over a year old that could start to answer some basic questions. […] I am not wholly sure what I am poking at in terms of what political touchstones lie beneath the surface of the Melzac donation, I am worried about possible repercussions. The government, and technological advances in general, now have highly sophisticated means to monitor our private lives, our

> conversations... and we have the FOIA, where a simple request can be tied up in bureaucracy for years (email to author).

Barron's comparison between the information available to an average American and the unlimited access granted to the CIA and other government agencies highlights an unfortunate inequity, a gross imbalance of power. Offering his perspective on the inaccessible exhibition, the last living artist in the collection, Robert W. Newmann, stated with candor: “I would never have sold or approved a painting being given to the CIA” (email to author). With this validation, Barron aims to set all twenty-eight canvases free, exposing them to the greater public through scaled recreations of the original artworks as a part of her aptly-named *Acres of Walls* installation.

Because her project connected thematically with two other artists to be shown at the Contemporary Jewish Museum in San Francisco, Chief Curator Renny Pritikin selected *Acres of Walls* for inclusion in his *Chasing Justice* exhibition from November 2015 to February 2016 (figure 2). Since then, Barron's message has become of international interest, resulting in numerous articles in high-profile sources such as *Smithsonian* magazine and *CNN Style*. Journalists, as puzzled as Barron, have asked “Why Won't the CIA Reveal What's in Its Art Collection?" (Ponsford). The information the Agency *is* willing to share—eighty-one heavily redacted pages of unfortunately outdated information—sheds little light on the CIA's guarded museum practice. If a simple list of paintings with thumbnails and/or corresponding specifications exists, why can Barron not have access?

Perhaps the answer lies deep within the CIA's complicated history of furthering particular kinds of art for larger propagandistic intentions. To quote Eva Cockcroft: “The artist creates freely. But his work is promoted and used by others for their own purposes” (91). This passage comes from Cockcroft's 1974 *Art Forum* article, identifying the many ways that the Agency utilized Abstract Expressionist art as a cultural weapon during the Cold War. The loose gestures of this nonfigurative painting technique served as a perfect aesthetic foil to Socialist Realism and, at the same time, represented the supposed freedom of a Western lifestyle. Pairing Barron's materials with art historical analysis has unearthed numerous connections between the covert promotion of Abstract Expressionism and a potentially similar, less discussed role played by the smaller Washington-based group of artists represented in the Vincent Melzac Collection. Exploring the differences between the Abstract Expressionist movement and the subsequent Post-Painterly Abstract tradition, of which the Washington Color School belonged, reveals that the tight-edged fields of color common to the canvases of Kenneth Noland or Thomas Downing were a more appropriate tool for promoting Americanism at home and abroad.

When Vincent Melzac passed away in October of 1989, his *Washington Post* obituary painted a picture of a truly versatile individual: “An educator by training, a businessman by profession and an art patron by avocation, Mr. Melzac also became a noted breeder of Arabian horses.” Various clippings on file in the home of his widow, Sheila Melzac, confirm the profile of a near-mythical man. After emigrating with his family from

Poland to the United States, Melzac spent most of his childhood in Cleveland, Ohio. He received his masters and doctorate degrees in education from Case Western Reserve and Harvard University, respectively, but before putting this education to use, he was drafted to support the war efforts. At the conclusion of World War II, Melzac's professional goals shifted away from education toward business. One clipping from the *Edmonton Journal* notes a particularly impressive climb from blue collar truck driver to president of a coffee company. However, it appears to have been a combination of his venture into television in the 1940s and his founding of the Cinderella Career and Finishing Schools that yielded the necessary capital to build his now famous art collection.

While the majority of art purchases were made between 1950 and 1960 (Summerford 3), Melzac's interest in art stemmed back to the early 1930s when he was first introduced to the work of American Impressionist William Sommer. Then a high school student, he was invited to sketch on the artist's Brandywine farm property. Inspired by Sommer's draftsmanship, the young man purchased his first drawing for a dollar and enrolled in a series of weekend classes with the painter. While Melzac's art-making studies may have been short-lived, his passion for the visual arts remained steady. In 1949, freshly relocated to Washington, DC, he connected with the head of the American University art department, William Calfee, who introduced Melzac to Willem de Kooning. It was the artist's extensive network that brought the collector in contact with the critic Harold Rosenberg and the artists Philip Guston, Jackson Pollock, and Robert Motherwell (Landau 11). Every trip to Manhattan resulted in the purchase of more canvases, evidence of Melzac's budding enthusiasm for the post-war New York art movement. In less than a decade, he had amassed a collection large enough for a substantial show at American University's Watkins Gallery in November of 1957. His motivations for collecting contemporary art are explained in his own words within the exhibition catalogue:

> [M]y choice, as this exhibition clearly shows, is to buy and urge others to buy work created by artists who live during our times. At first, this policy was dictated simply by economic necessity... Later it became founded on the growing awareness of the historical fact that some excellent art is produced in every generation... (qtd. in Landau 13).

As a counterpoint to Melzac's choice to support artists of his generation, art collecting in America, up until the 1930s, was predominately made up of investments in nineteenth-century French Impressionist paintings or works by undisputed masters. By the 1950s, a handful of forward thinkers saw potential in the New York school of painters and therefore began to support living local artists over European imported alternatives, many of whom had long since passed. Whether advising museums to purchase contemporary American art or selling artworks directly to collections—as was the case with the Phillips Collection's first Abstract Expressionist purchase of De Kooning's *Asheville*—Melzac was instrumental in engaging museums of the greater Washington, DC area in this new art market, albeit

Manhattan-centered (Summerford 5). Most of Melzac's purchases throughout the 1950s were made at the André Emmerich Gallery in New York City, and it would not be until he eliminated the need for a dealer and began commissioning artworks directly from those artists whose works he championed, that his tastes would begin to reflect the art world's new support for artists and art movements centralized beyond the borders of New York City.

Critic Clement Greenberg spoke out against what he called "the tenth street touch"—a reference to art being sold at a particular gallery on 10th Street in Manhattan. Aiming to foster a new kind of art-making, Greenberg convinced two Washington-based artists—Kenneth Noland and Morris Louis—to visit the New York studio of Helen Frankenthaler. Her *Mountains and Sea* of 1952 is now credited with inspiring the pouring and staining techniques that launched the Washington Color School movement. There was no manifesto or formal list of participants, but because Noland and Louis belonged to the Washington Workshop Center for the Arts, founded by Ida and Leon Berkowitz, their newfound painting methods spread. The school and its chief painters were not defined until a 1965 exhibition, *Washington Color Painters,* at the no-longer-existent Washington Gallery of Modern Art. Works by Gene Davis, Morris Louis, Kenneth Noland, Howard Mehring, Thomas Downing, and Paul Reed were showcased as proof of a new aesthetic.

It was through Paul Reed that Melzac came personally to know the various Washington color painters (Sheila Melzac, conversation). In 1963, he moved to Northern Virginia, directly across the street from Paul Reed's studio and began to augment his collection with numerous paintings by Reed, Downing, and Mehring (Landau 16). Soon his collection represented as many Washington artists as it did paintings from the New York school, and the subtitle of his December 1970 exhibition at the Corcoran Gallery of Art underscored the duel nature of his artistic holdings: "Modernist American Art Featuring New York Abstract Expressionism and Washington Color Painting." The show and corresponding literature were meant to bring before the public, as stated in the introduction to the exhibition catalogue:

> a body of exceedingly important American painting produced within the past three decades... both [the show and catalogue] celebrate the efforts and achievements of Vincent Melzac, whose endeavors as a collector have not been without legend, even mystery. (Landau 7)

Curators Ellen Landau and Barbara Rose acknowledged the importance of the collection but also simultaneously stressed an undefined enigmatic quality inherent in the story of the Corcoran's featured collector. In 1968, the year that Melzac began exhibition negotiations with the Corcoran, he also agreed to loan several paintings to the CIA to hang in their headquarters. In 1969, artist Robert W. Newmann, who had been taking classes from Washington Color School painter Thomas Downing, was hired to replace his teacher as Assistant Professor of Painting at the Corcoran School of Art. A first-hand witness to the

Corcoran culture, Newmann remembered Melzac's relationship with board member Carleton B. Swift, Jr.: "As far as Melzac's contact to the CIA, it was Swift, a life-long member of the CIA...They were friends and colleagues that often supported each other in the running of the institution" (Newmann, email to author). In addition to being a trustee of the Washington Gallery of Modern Art and the Corcoran Gallery of Art, Swift maintained a lifelong career at the CIA, working in clandestine services from 1947 to 1974 (Shapiro *Washington Post*). As further evidence that Swift was the initial connection between Melzac and the CIA, the Agency's website confirms that the first eight paintings loaned by Melzac—works by Norman Bluhm, Gene Davis, Thomas Downing, and Jack Bush—were "selected by officials of the Corcoran Gallery to fit the large open spaces of [the] OHB" (cia.gov).

Surprisingly, Swift's position, with equal ties to the art world and Agency, was not unusual and represented the generally liberal orientation of most CIA operatives. Other agents actively sought to build a network of connections to museums and art collectors. CIA operative and president of CBS broadcasting, William Paley sat on the Museum of Modern Art's International Program Board—a useful position for promoting American art abroad. It was hoped that by exposing Europeans to American art, they would see that "America was not all Coca-Cola and bubble gum but in fact had a culture worthy of respect" (Varnedoe 49). One example often cited was the State Department's *Advancing American Art* exhibition of 1947 designed to sway European leadership and intellectual opinion during the Cold War from the Soviet to the American way of life. The show promoted abstraction—*verboten* under Hitler and Stalin alike—in opposition to artistic realism favored by a totalitarian regime. Equally disturbed by Communism's stronghold, members of the newly founded CIA established the Propaganda Assets Inventory, which at its height maintained influence over more than eight hundred publicity outlets. In conjunction, the CIA's International Organization Division, under Thomas W. Braden's guidance, sponsored *Encounter* magazine—a Left-aligned literary journal—and secretly paid for the Boston Symphony Orchestra's European tour. Braden asserted:

> The money was well spent... the Boston Symphony Orchestra won more acclaim for the United States in Paris than John Foster Dulles or Dwight D. Eisenhower could have brought with a hundred speeches. (qtd. in Cockcroft 85)

The undercover nature of the Agency's cultural programming was achieved through what former case officer Donald Jameson called a "long-leash policy":

> Matters of this sort could only have been done at two or three removes so that there wouldn't be any question of having to clear Jackson Pollock... most of [these artists] were people who had very little respect for the government, in particular, and certainly none for the CIA. (qtd. in

Saunders)

Perhaps it was because these artists were allowed to create art freely, rather than making state-sponsored propaganda, that Abstract Expressionism was effective as an emblem of Americanism throughout the 1950s (Kozloff 7).

As time passed and art schools and universities uniformly pushed action painting techniques, the movement suffered. No longer avant-garde, much second generation Abstract Expressionist artwork was merely derivative of Pollock's gestural paintings, having lost their predecessor's authentic purpose and psychological intent. Even Rosenberg, who coined the term “action painting” in his 1952 *Art in America* article, “The American Action Painters,” recognized the possibility that “one false step, one divergence from the 'real act,' and you produced merely 'apocalyptic wallpaper'” (Rosenberg qtd. in Kozloff 6). Surprisingly mainstream by 1951, Pollock's *Autumn Rhythm* had been trivialized, transformed into a mere backdrop for Cecil Beaton's *Vogue* photoshoot, “The New Soft Look” (Varnedoe 53).

Geographically removed from New York City, artists in Washington D.C. were less burdened by strong cultural influences toward action painting. The hard-edged lines of the color school were much more restrained than the painterly techniques of artists following in the New York tradition. Curating a 1964 show called "Post-Painterly Abstraction," Greenberg announced the next wave of Modernism. In the exhibition catalogue, he traced a general oscillation throughout the history of art between painterly—or *malerisch*—techniques and tighter, more restrained styles. Colorfield or post-painterly traditions therefore followed naturally from the all-over techniques of the Abstract Expressionists but embraced the elimination of texture, seeing it as a distraction from the essence of pure color. Melzac, who ultimately lent several canvases from his own collection to the show, was consulted by Greenberg when Davis, Mehring, and Downing (figure 3) were considered for inclusion. Sponsored by the government to travel, Greenberg filled the role of Cold Warrior and spread the “good news of color-field's ascendance” throughout Europe (Kozloff 13).

Hard-edged geometric painting made a splash internationally when MoMA toured its *Art of the Real: USA 1948-1968* exhibition. The introductory didactic panel announced: “A new kind of art has been developing in the U.S.A. over the last two decades. It has characteristics that are typically American” (Goossen 5). Included artists—Frank Stella, Kenneth Noland, Morris Louis, and Ellsworth Kelly—demonstrated an alternative to a weakened Abstract Expressionism. Bold, sharp, and with no hidden agenda, it “was a new *echt* American art: brash, hard-nosed, and *empirical*. It was all about the immediacy of sensory apprehension, about things that were real, that were hard, that you could test out by kicking them” (Varnedoe 57). If there is any latent symbolism beyond the surface of Colorfield paintings, it is only to be found in the flawlessly applied paint—a nearly inhuman perfection correlating to a new age of technology. American art historian Max Kozloff understood the precise application of paint as representing “an acrylic metaphor of

unsettling power" (12). Both allies and enemies would receive a message of American strength, if only on a subconscious level. As Abstract Expressionism fell out of favor, CIA officials seem to have taken particular interest in the Washington Color painters. In addition to producing art in line with the supposedly American aesthetics of *The Real Art* 1968 exhibition, this small group of painters confirmed the nation's capital as capable of fostering creativity and artistic expression on par with New York City.

Loans from Vincent Melzac continued throughout the 1970s and were supposedly used to hone agents' analytical skills. In a manner similar to Amy Herman's *The Art of Perception*—popular with the FBI, the Department of Justice, and the US Secret Service—artwork was used to test agents' visual acuity, memory, and perception of color and line. Displaying artworks in the CIA headquarters suddenly had added practical value, and in the early 1980s, conversations between Melzac and Bruce T. Johnson, Chairman of the Agency's Fine Arts Commission, reflected a growing interest in making these temporary loans permanent gifts. A 1981 memorandum from Johnson to William Casey, Director of the CIA, specified a recent bill that authorized the DCI to accept personal gifts whenever it was in the best interest of the Agency to do so (Johnson FOIA 49). Johnson broached the topic with Melzac over lunch, and with a decline in the collector's health, the discussion of his artistic assets had become increasingly urgent. Johnson recounted the details of the conversation to his superior in yet another memo:

> At this meeting the health problem was not apparent, although he referred at least once to his age (71) and he did take several pills both before and after lunch. He also avoided the use of salt during the meal, commenting on a heart condition. I came away from the meeting feeling that we had achieved a remarkable degree of rapport and had built a basis for future discussions which would be of benefit to the work of the Fine Arts Commission. (Johnson, FOIA 30-31)

By March of 1982, Melzac announced his intention to gift most of his collection to public institutions. As though it were his civic duty to do so, he told the *Edmonton Journal*, "I could have sold the body of the collection for $5 million at one of the major auction houses. But after reflecting on it I decided we owed it to the government to give it to public institutions" (unpaginated clipping). During his lifetime, his paintings were donated to museums such as the Corcoran Gallery of Art, the Washington Gallery of Modern Art, the Philadelphia Museum of Art, the Wadsworth Atheneum, and the Walker Art Center. Likely the reason that Melzac received the Agency Seal Medallion in the summer of 1982, the CIA joined the long list of recipient organizations, partially in response to Johnson's persuasive urgings.

This award was first established in 1965 in recognition of particularly noteworthy civilian contributions to the Agency. In making an argument for Melzac's candidacy, Johnson articulated that "[t]he Agency Seal Medallion may be awarded to U.S. Government

employees of other agencies, to private citizens, and to foreign nationals [redacted text] who have made a significant contribution to the Agency's intelligence effort" (FOIA 35). Given the government's covert history of incorporating contemporary art into its political agenda, Melzac's gifts to the Agency, described by Johnson as "artistically profitable" (May 12, 1982), would certainly have been viewed as a contribution to the CIA's larger intelligence efforts. Inscribed on the back of his medallion and pre-approved by a CIA Protocol Officer, a short text honored the collector: "To Vincent Melzac whose support for CIA blends patriotism with art" (FOIA 33). Whatever words were obscured from Johnson's list may have offered additional insight into the recipient's patriotic motives, but since Melzac's passing, his namesake collection remains shrouded in mystery, unfortunately inaccessible to the general public.

Johanna Barron's ongoing effort to translate snapshots of the collection into painted reproductions offers the public limited visual access (figure 4). By additionally documenting the Agency's repeated denials to share information related to the collection, *Acres of Walls* exposes a post-Cold War legacy of art-related secrecy. Barron's final communications with the CIA Acting Information and Privacy Coordinator report in no uncertain terms that:

> Since your request for photographs of paintings does not constitute a request for CIA *agency records* subject to FOIA, as defined in 32 CFR 1900.02(n)(2), we must decline to process it... Please be advised that we will not respond to like requests from you in the future. (Giuffrida 2)

Without painting specifications, Barron is left approximating canvas dimensions as they relate to floor tiles or recreating artworks in a paint-by-numbers method, as was the case with Norman Bluhm's *Inside Orange* (figure 5) (Ponsford).

Combining outside research with Barron's findings reveals a nuanced history of CIA cultural diplomacy efforts with strong links to collector Vincent Melzac. Because Melzac could not have received the Agency Seal Medallion had he been a CIA agent, Barron's FOIA materials suggest that Melzac's usefulness was likely restricted to his role of art donor—surprisingly straight-forward. Potential undercover operations cannot be completely dismissed, however, given the strategically obscured memo listing additional categories of potential Agency Seal Medallion recipients. Artist Robert W. Newmann's account, invaluable for exposing Melzac's connection to Operative Swift, simultaneously raises doubt as to Melzac's supposed patriotism. The aforementioned 1981 bill allowing the Director of Central Intelligence to accept gifts also made tax deductions possible for the benefactor, but the CIA bought eleven of the twenty-eight paintings outright for $280,000. Money is a powerful motive, but the man Newmann remembers would have craved the collective accolades and publicity available from a public institution touting his name. Why did Melzac sell a sizable portion of his collection to a highly restricted organization rather than a public institution, and how did the CIA rationalize the expense? For Newmann, who

sees his 1969 painting as trapped, these questions are personal (figure 6).

While Melzac's motives remain unknown, the Agency's decision to purchase the collection demonstrates a noteworthy instance of artistic appropriation—one important piece of the larger puzzle. Decorating the halls of the OHB for over forty years, these inaccessible paintings stand as proof of government-favored art movements beyond post-war Abstract Expressionism. Showcasing a dynamic American culture of growth and change, the government's artistic preferences morphed with dominant art-making practices to include the Vincent Melzac Collection and its newly defined pro-American aesthetic.

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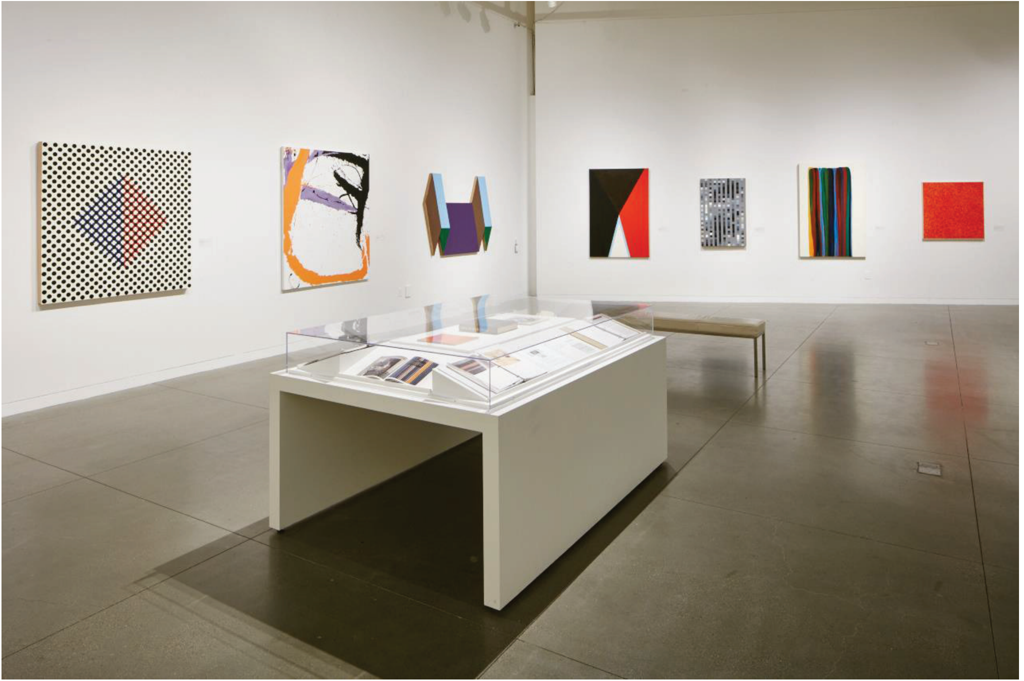
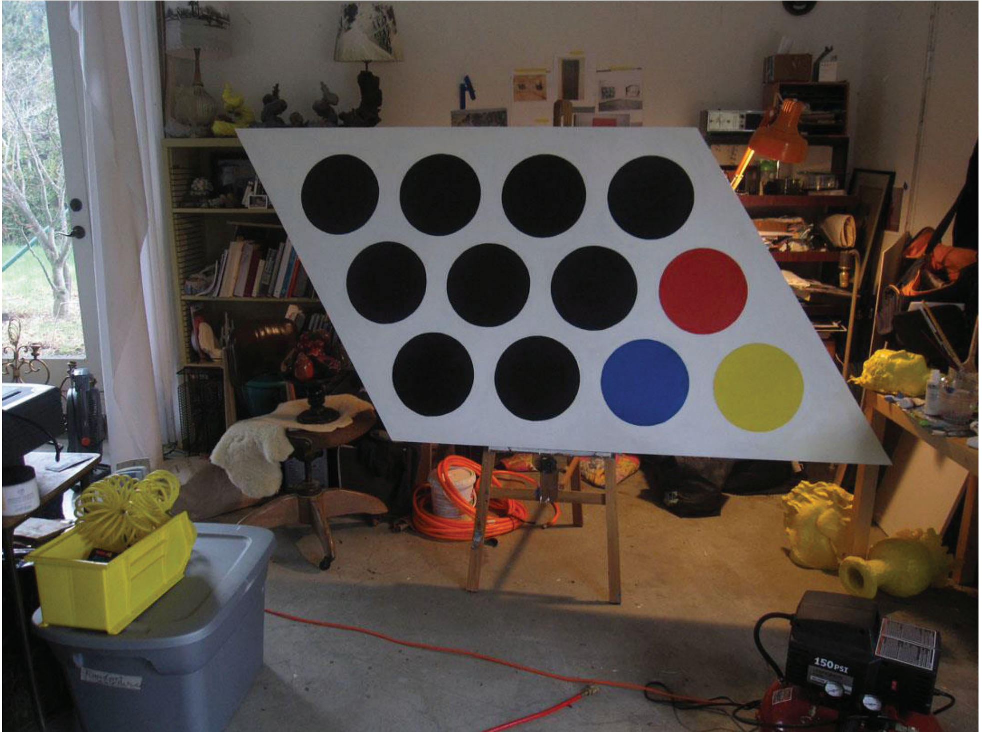
Figures with Captions and Copyright Information

1. Artist Johanna Barron at home. Photo by James Rexroad / courtesy of Johanna Barron.

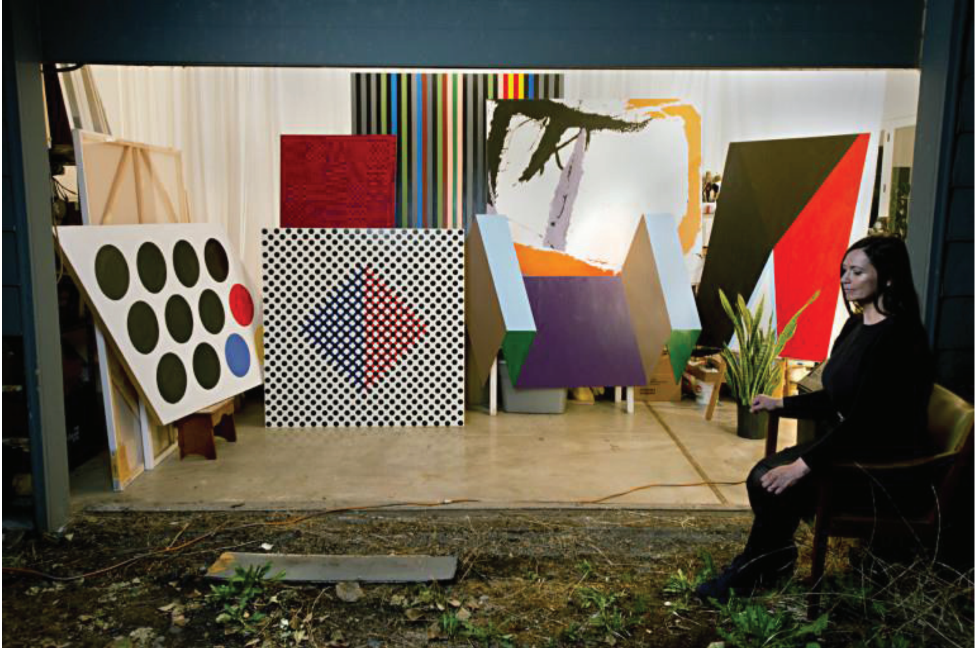
2. Installation image of ***Chasing Justice***, on view November 19, 2015–February 21, 2016. The Contemporary Jewish Museum, San Francisco. Photo by Johnna Arnold / courtesy of the Contemporary Jewish Museum.



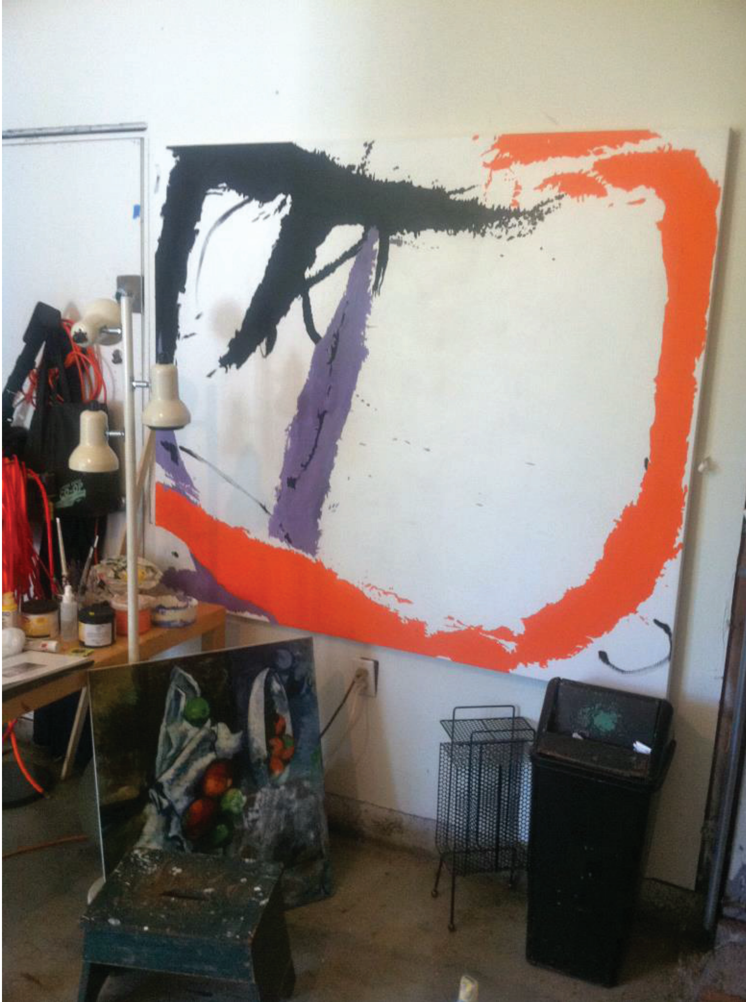
3. Johanna Barron, *Thomas Downing, Rudder*, 2015, acrylic on board. Photo in studio by James Rexroad. © Johanna Barron



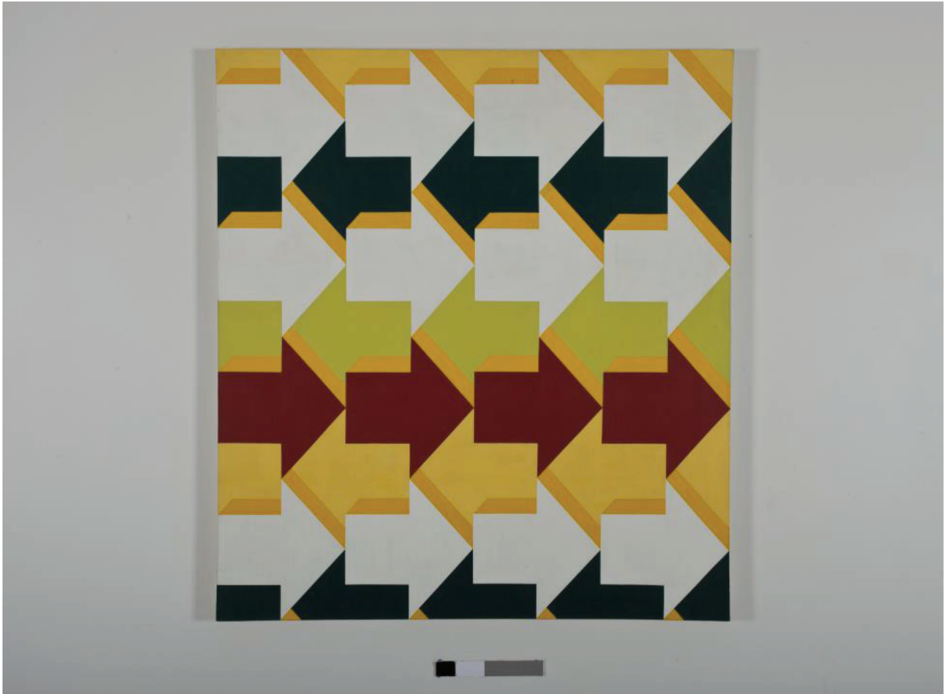
4. Johanna Barron with select paintings from her larger recreation of the Melzac Collection, 2015. Photo by James Rexroad. © Johanna Barron.



5. Johanna Barron, *Norman Bluhm, Inside Orange*, 2015, acrylic on board. Photo in studio by James Rexroad. © Johanna Barron.



6. Robert W. Newmann, *Untitled (Arrows)*, 1967, acrylic on canvas, In the Central Intelligence Agency Vincent Melzac Collection. Image courtesy of the Central Intelligence Agency. © Robert W. Newmann.



Part Two

SURVEILLANCE, THE MEDIA AND THE TECHNOLOGY OF FEAR

The Big Guy with the Remote Control: *Person of Interest* and Television Preemption Fantasies

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"What if you knew, beyond a doubt, what was going to happen tomorrow?" asks the opening narrator in the pilot episode of *Early Edition*, a CBS one-hour drama created by Ian Abrams in 1996. The question articulates the conceit of the television show. In this and most episodes of the series, the protagonist Gary Hobson, played by Kyle Chandler, receives tomorrow's edition of the *Chicago Sun-Times* today. He and those he trusts with his secret spend the ensuing 40 minutes preventing the "reported" bad news from happening.

It's not difficult to see the appeal of this premise. Many television viewers live in urban settings like Chicago, where the threat of disaster, while maybe not at the frequency implied by procedural television, is always a non-zero percentage chance away. Our desire for security makes room for fantasies. Most of the time, we delude ourselves into thinking we have nothing to worry about, or we overly depend on that which makes us feel safer: alarm systems, closed-circuit cameras, cars with good safety ratings, guard dogs. But deterrence and containment strategies have their limits. We also indulge in the possibility of *preemption*: the ability to *know* and therefore be able to *prevent* the future. "What if, by some magic, you found the power to really change things?" asks the same narrator in *Early Edition*'s opening. And indeed, that what-if, like many what-ifs, is responsible for a slew of fantasy- and science-fictions.

How this what-if is represented in such fictions, however, would have greater consequences than alleviating anxieties about safety. As this essay will argue, pre-9/11 television programs such as *Early Edition* set the tone for preemption fantasies that followed, fostering our faith in that which makes preemption possible: surveillance capabilities. Even as technologies emerge in the real world that make such capability less science-fiction and more plausible—indeed, applicable—lighthearted, fantastical representations of preemption persist in recent television dramas such as *Minority Report* and *Person of Interest*. And despite growing concern for our new surveillance state, preemptive power on the small screen often remains the propriety of infallible, mystified entities, safe in the trustworthy hands of those who would never abuse its power.

Today the word "preemption" might recall George W. Bush's 2002 speech at West Point, in which he said, "If we wait for threats to fully materialize we will have waited too

long."[1] Or Edward Snowden's exposure of PRISM and other programs in 2013, actual politicized intentions to collect public (and private) data and analyze it for threats against the United States. But before surveillance and its algorithms reached their current level of saturation, the idea that we could predict the future was typically treated in popular television fictions with playful imagination. Beyond *Early Edition* (1996-2000), preemption fantasy was found in niche TV programming like the science-fiction series *Quantum Leap* (1989-1993) or the gothic-fantasy spinoff *Angel* (1999-2004).[2] These series make no claims to realism and often indulge in campy tones; indeed, time travel special effects and demon prosthetics seem more escapist than alarmist. But these programs also, perhaps innocently, engage in optimistic representations of surveillance that set a standard for preemption TV in the future.

In *Quantum Leap*, Sam Beckett, played by Scott Bakula, is transported through time, into other people's lives. To "leap" out of each person's life, he must correct a mistake in history: "putting things right that once went wrong," as the opening narrator explains. In the future, a supercomputer named Ziggy determines the mistake that needs to be corrected, communicated to Sam by the holographic Al, as played by Dean Stockwell. Surveillance in the case of *Quantum Leap*, as in *Early Edition*, is nothing more than historical record, but the function is the same: data is collected, analyzed, and delivered to Sam in the form of percentage chances, influencing his actions. In both of these shows, the actual collection of the data occurs in the background, by presumably professional historians and reporters "after the fact." In the case of *Angel*, one of the show's characters receives visions—seizure-inducing glimpses into possible future problems which Angel, a vampire detective played by David Boreanaz, must solve in time to prevent. Those visions, of course, do not necessarily respect anyone's rights to privacy, engaging in a level of surveillance commensurate to CCTV cameras and wiretaps. But no one is complaining; these shows are lighthearted, and any outrage is played for comic effect.

People's lives are in the hands of these ragtag time travelers, regular folks, and fantastical creatures, but that isn't a concern. We *trust* Sam and Al; they don't seem the sort to abuse this awesome power, and that's the point. Likewise, *Early Edition*'s Gary Hobson has super-human decency—he won't even play the lotto with tomorrow's winning numbers—and the titular protagonist of *Angel* is supernaturally compelled to do good, as he atones for the acts of his past. In each case, the characters who have access to future knowledge (the product of analyzed surveillance) are portrayed in such a way that we trust them to make the right decisions. By the design of their respective shows, they answer not to personal ambitions, nor to a government, but to a higher moral code.

It's important also to note that, in all three series, future-telling is portrayed as a sort of divine magic. Nobody knows who delivers tomorrow's *Chicago Sun-Times* or why Gary is chosen to receive this responsibility. It is suggested, and often assumed by

[1] George W. Bush, commencement address at the United States Military Academy at West Point, 2002.
[2] Other television series, which debut later but follow a similar trend, include *Tru Calling* (2003-2005) and *That's So Raven* (2003-2007).

omission, that the Christian god is behind it. The same is true in *Quantum Leap*, where Sam is described in the opening sequence as "driven by an unknown force to change history for the better," and references to that force include "the big guy upstairs" or "the big guy with the remote control." Similarly, the visions which come to Doyle and Cordelia in *Angel* are understood to be delivered by an unseen intelligence; the show's term for the source is "T.P.T.B.": The Powers That Be, a collective entity which at one point is represented as a bright white light behind a doorway. These are much less anxiety-inducing than the dark, expressionless, and unblinking eye of a CCTV camera lens we encounter in our actual public sphere. In real life, the eyes behind those surveillance tools belong to flawed, potentially perverse or amoral humans. But access to knowledge of our personal lives—not to mention our futures—in the case of the discussed televisions shows, is rendered as the domain of only the inconceivable, infallible, and presumed benevolent.

By giving access to future knowledge only to well-meaning heroes, these series engage in a fantasy where power is granted only to those we can trust. By mystifying that which does the surveilling, even portraying it as divine, the imaginative potential uses of such power are limited, kept out of the hands of regular, corruptible folk (and, if that source is driving characters to "change history for the better," well, we should be thankful that the universe has our best interests at heart). The conceit of these shows, then, is that the power of preemption is always beyond scrutiny, even something for which we or the characters should be thankful. And yes, perhaps some measure of innocence is due these shows for their era. But the question becomes, how have television shows treated surveillance and preemption differently now that we know better?

In the CBS drama *Person of Interest*, episode "Death Benefit" (2014), two powerbrokers discuss the birth of a new era. The show's nemesis, a computer program called Samaritan, is about to go online. Samaritan, the polar opposite of good old Gary and his magical benefactor (in *Early Edition*), is an open surveillance system run by a private company based in Shanghai that is permitted to act on its own collected data without moral safeguards—the dystopian answer to modern-day advancements in surveillance technology. This conversation takes place, without much subtlety, in front of *The Garden of Earthly Delights*, a triptych by Hieronymus Bosch about human temptation and its consequences. The themes of end times and comeuppance, already made clear by the episode's arc, are reinforced by this choice of backdrop. Specifically, in the episode and the painting, the focus is on the weakness of humans, and fears for a world in which preemptive power is wielded by mankind.

The painting additionally invokes the larger concept of a Judeo-Christian ethic, and another of Bosch's works, *The Seven Deadly Sins*, which portrays each sin in panels, watched by a central eye with the words, *cave, cave, deus videt* ("beware, beware, God is watching!"). Long before the invention of CCTV by German scientists in 1942 to monitor rocket launches from a safe distance, Western society has considered itself watched from above. This societal organizing model would be passed onto the secular world, as described memorably by Bentham's and then Foucault's term, "the panopticon," and the suggestion

that even without a god's eye upon us, the mere threat of being observed by those in power keeps us in line; in effect, we enact surveillance upon ourselves as though we were watched by a god, even if we don't believe in one. It is not surprising, then, that surveillance in fiction, from The Powers That Be to the supercomputer, is often rendered as god-like.[3]

The difference now, perhaps, is that this "god" is made up of microchips. Much changed in Western culture during the switch from analog to digital in the 1990s, and with digital came endless advancements in ways to collect and analyze data. More cameras, smaller cameras, and better cameras (for example, the development of a 100-megapixel, fisheye camera in 2010 by the Department of Homeland Security) have entered our public spaces.[4] Better computers meant listening in on more phone calls and reading more emails while employing less manpower; indeed, the human element is being replaced by automated simulation. Social media, corporate drug testing, pulse-reading personal gadgets, and various other recording platforms have turned us from human-information cyborgs to generators of "data doubles"—that is, collections of enough information about an individual to form a virtual counterpart: abstracted, disassembled, and reassembled as data for an algorithm.[5] We've been informationized. We've reached a point where "data"-veillance is a given condition of our lives, even as we continue to think in pre-digital terms. As Clement and Ferenbok write, the recent evolutions in surveillance "call into question the assumptions based on the 'classic' CCTV model—about who or what is watching, for what purposes and with what consequences."[6] And these are the questions which surveillance fictions must address today.

Jonathan Nolan, co-showrunner of *Person of Interest* with Greg Plageman, described our new, existential condition to *The New Yorker*: "The moment we're in is one in which data goes from being passive—something we avail ourselves of—to being active. It's a moment in which the data starts to direct us."[7] In other words, we've arrived at the tipping point where preemption is a real possibility. That what-if in 1990s television is no longer something of fantasy and science-fiction. Today Nate Silver and similar number-crunchers turn polls into predictive models. Supermarkets, after recording your purchases on their value cards for a year, know what foods to stock. Amazon.com ships products to regional warehouses before they are even purchased, based on algorithmic guesses. In 2014 a private security company called Persistence Surveillance Systems secretly filmed the city of Compton, California from above for 48 hours in order to present to the LAPD a predictive model of future crime.[8] These are all based on the concept of *diachronic*

[3] David Lyon, "Surveillance and the Eye of God," in *Studies in Christian Ethics*, 2014.
[4] Andrew Clement and Joseph Ferenbok, "Hidden Changes: From CCTV to 'Smart' Video Surveillance," in *Eyes Everywhere: The Global Growth of Camera Surveillance*, 2012.
[5] Richard V. Ericson and Kevin D. Haggerty, "The Surveillant Assemblage," in *British Journal of Sociology*, 2000.
[6] Clement and Ferenbok, "Hidden Changes."
[7] Jonathan Rothman, "Person of Interest: The TV Show That Predicted Edward Snowden," in *The New Yorker*, 2014.
[8] Conor Friedersdorf, "Eyes Over Compton: How Police Spied on a Whole City," in *The Atlantic*, 2014.

omniscience: when we have enough data archived to trace patterns from past to present and then project those patterns into the future. Is it the same as receiving tomorrow's newspaper today? No. Can we predict the future? Yes, within a margin of error.

There is nothing benevolent about this mathematical model of preemption. Algorithms are unlikely to bounce Sam Beckett through time to right wrongs, and the entities wielding that information (private security firms, mega-corporations) are a far cry from Kyle Chandler's trustworthy smile. It makes sense that *Person of Interest* dreams up Samaritan. In the last two decades, the questions haven't changed—"Who owns the power?" and "Who has access?"—but gods and heroes, at least the simplified versions in *Early Edition*, *Quantum Leap*, and *Early Edition*, might seem too apologetic for today's real power-brokers. The cult of Steve Jobs aside, such a degree of trust is rarely exchanged between consumers and CEOs. And at least in films, we're beginning to see tech-savvy bad guys pulling the strings between machines in the manner of PRISM et al. Consider recent blockbusters like the 2015 Bond film, *Spectre*, or 2016's *Jason Bourne*; in both cases, a government spy agency steps into the data-veillance business. Spoiler: heroes Bond and Bourne, trained in preemption tactics, do not approve of this modern turn.

And yet, television is a conservative medium. It tends to smooth out anxieties. Take, for example, the recent TV adaptation of Philip K. Dick's (and Steven Spielberg's) *Minority Report*. Instead of following a fugitive's storyline, Fox's *Minority Report* takes as its hero a cop, Lara Vega (Meagan Good), who chases down criminals before they do anything wrong. Where the movie, adapting the novel's paranoia to post-9/11 America, ends with the shutting down of "PreCrime" due to ethics, Lara mourns the loss of preemptive power. "I'm tired of picking up the pieces," she says in the pilot. "Just once I want to stop [a murder] before it happens." Her justification of ethical workarounds in order to stop tragedies can be read as a science-fiction articulation of the Patriot Act. The novel and the film are subversive; the TV show is not.

Fox's *Minority Report* follows a similar setup as *Angel*. Lara Vega is friends with Dash (Stark Sands), one of the "precogs," who receives a vision of every murder that occurs in Washington, D.C., before it happens. Each vision is then uploaded as a video file, analyzed, and used to solve (and therefore stop) the murder. Similar to *Angel*, the source of Dash's visions is mystified. He is the result of a genetic accident, a medical miracle that is not fully understood, but which serves a societal benefit. Dash himself, and Lara Vega, are perhaps not as unrealistically decent as Sam Beckett and Gary Hobson, but they are close, both repeatedly making personal sacrifices to save others' lives. Already, this is a utopian model of preemption logic: the viewer roots for these heroes and considers Dash's ability to report the future as vital for the heroes' desires.

On the one hand, by giving its heroes official jurisdiction, *Minority Report* forces a conversation between ethics, surveillance, and police power. On the other hand, many post-9/11 crime dramas tend to provide a "perverse reassurance that the forces of the state can be

relied on," as Yvonne Tasker explains.[9] The reassurance is perverse, Tasker writes, because law enforcement officers are often portrayed as unrealistically good at their jobs, using too-efficient technologies, and even independent from the hierarchy of their official institutions, thus providing an idealized version of state authority. And this is true of the police heroes in *Minority Report*, who use databases as shortcuts in detective work and workaround the "stupid" restrictions levied on them by their bosses. Considering also that *Minority Report* features a rehabilitation system so humane that they even let the prisoners out on day trips, a clear departure from the film's dystopian prison system, the show comes close to being a pure apologia (by association) of state surveillance practices.

There are, however, some complications in *Minority Report*'s utopian future—namely, its introduction of a computer program called "Hawkeye" that is not found in the novel or film. A state-proposed replacement to PreCrime, Hawkeye is described as using "ambient surveillance, algorithmic sweeps, predictive policing relying on hard data, not the psychic instinct of some genetic freaks." The science-fiction future of *Minority Report* is one where surveillance is a visible, public norm, where scanners identify everyone who walks into a building. Using this surveillance, Hawkeye flags suspicious patterns of behavior based on algorithms, not unlike real preemption technologies developing around the world in 2016. Like *Person of Interest*'s Samaritan, Hawkeye represents a possible dystopian alternative against which the show's heroes must resist, and indeed, Lara doubts Hawkeye's capabilities and prefers Dash's visions. In the eighth episode, she accuses it of profiling, something most real-world surveillance algorithms are often accused of doing. In the first (and as it turns out, only) season, Hawkeye doesn't reveal itself as much of a villain, but the threat is there, in the background—a sort of confession, and one absent from the 1990s shows, that preemption isn't always the answer.

Profiling is analog preemption: the idea is the same, but the data is lacking. In this connection, we might consider one of the biggest shows on television currently, CBS's *Criminal Minds*, as yet another show about preemption. The characters prevent further crimes by predicting killers' patterns of behavior using psychological and traditional investigative means.[10] This, Tasker argues, is a fantasy, too, albeit a more realistic one. Crime dramas stage the processes of trauma—when solving already committed crimes—or fulfill our need to see bad guys fail, by making the investigative work done by regular people adequate enough to prevent future tragedy.[11] Of course, profiling also describes a discriminatory use of surveillance data—and all logarithms, even those by science-fiction supercomputers like Samaritan and Hawkeye, are working with imperfect data, taking shortcuts, and eschewing fairness.

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[9] Yvonne Tasker, "Television Crime Drama and Homeland Security: From *Law & Order* to 'Terror TV'," in *Cinema Journal*, 2012.

[10] Combining classic profiling and concepts of "big data" is the television series *Numb3rs* (2005-2010). Today many procedural crime dramas include a "hacker" or tech-savvy sidekick that gestures to this "calculating" side of crime solving.

[11] Tasker, "Television Crime Drama and Homeland Security," 2012.

Minority Report provides two options. The first is a surprising adherence to the types of preemption fictions prominent two decades ago, the conventions found in *Quantum Leap*, *Early Edition*, and *Angel*, which play safely into the fantasy that preemption logics only exist in loopy, science-fiction unrealities and/or are found only *in the right hands* (those plucky enforcers of order and safety).[12] The second surrenders to the realism of current technologies, wherein the threat of faceless computer programs, using information traded on free markets, spoils the fantasy. While this second threat might appear alarmist, when placed in a narrative where the viewer roots for the power of surveillance not just to be kept out of the wrong hands, but also to be kept *active* and in the right hands, ethics become blurred. A good example is found in the film, *The Dark Knight*, where Bruce Wayne has developed a system that turns every cell phone into a sonar imaging device. Lucius Fox is ethically against this kind of mass surveillance, but Wayne is utilitarian. He reasons, in ways justified over the course of the film, that such power is morally permitted as long as it is used only to stop the terrorist Joker. It's okay as long as it's in the right hands.

Person of Interest, which shares a co-writer with *The Dark Knight*, is very much about this conflict, of the right hands versus the wrong hands, in a dialogical dramatization of those previously mentioned anxieties, "Who owns the power?" and "Who has access?" *Person of Interest*'s Plageman and Nolan are well-informed about surveillance technologies, often expressing in interviews a concern about the direction in which our surveillance society is headed.[13] In many ways the outlook in *Person of Interest* is dim, especially in the later seasons, with the introduction of Samaritan. But keeping to its form as a television procedural, the show never quite denounces this "beautiful, unethical, dangerous" technology (as Lucius Fox describes it). As Nolan says in an interview for the Smithsonian, "*Person of Interest* takes for granted the existence of this device and, potentially controversially, the idea that in the right hands, such a device could be a good thing."[14]

Perhaps ironically, CBS embraced the threat of surveillance as an advertising tactic. In the months leading up to *Person of Interest*'s pilot episode, CBS's "eye" logo at the bottom of the screen would morph into a camera eye, with the notification: "You have been identified as a Person of Interest." More dramatically, an interactive billboard was installed in high-foot-traffic areas of New York and Los Angeles. These billboards would openly record passersby and announce, "Person of interest identified… taking photo," after which a photo would be taken on a count of three.[15] This playful scare tactic is reflected in

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[12] These conventions continue today, in shows such as *The Flash* (2014-present) and *Frequency* (2016-present).

[13] See Works Cited for full list of interviews consulted. Selected examples: *Person of Interest* debuted before the Snowden leaks; the show is based largely on the research of Shane Harris; and Nolan's and Plageman's office at CBS includes a poster of Francis Ford Coppola's classic surveillance film, *The Conversation*.

[14] Vicky Gan, "How TV's *Person of Interest* Helps Us Understand the Surveillance Society: The Creative Minds Behind the Show and *The Dark Knight* Talk About Americans' Perception of Privacy," on *Smithsonian.com*, 2013.

[15] Barbara Chai, "*Person of Interest* Takes to Streets To Give People a Taste of the Show," in *The Wall Street Journal*, 2011.

the pilot episode, which begins, like every episode, with the line, "You are being watched." The opening sequence and transitional scenes then include collages of video surveillance meant to suggest a computer database collecting information about the people of New York, and many point-of-views within the show include "footage" from CCTVs, scenes witnessed through telephoto lenses and binoculars, and even digital read-outs of tracking devices. The pilot ends with a crowd of pedestrians at Rockefeller Center going about their lives as the screen proliferates data on everyone in the form of lines around people's faces and numerical readouts by their heads—a doomsday scenario, perhaps, but one set to the show's snappy, action-movie theme music.

That we aren't scared away by such scare tactics (indeed, by our existential condition) is revealing. Reasons include: the nature of surveillance technology as "silent," often unnoticed by the monitored subject[16]; our interpassive complicity, the idea that someone else is being surveilled, not us[17]; as multiple characters repeat throughout the series, "The people want to be protected. They just don't want to know how"; or maybe just that we're used to it. Television has made the act of *watching* routine: "television in its early decades cultivated its audiences into the 'normalcy' of people watching other people closely—yet anonymously and from afar."[18] Whatever the reasons, we don't seem to care. Few people stay off social media or delete their cookies. We continue to trust Facebook and Google even after Snowden revealed that these companies give our information to the government. "We love our Gmail," Plageman admits in a *Buzzfeed* interview. "All my shit's in the cloud!" Nolan adds.[19] Indeed, those interactive *Person of Interest* billboards didn't create an outrage; people happily had their picture taken and texted a phone number to receive a file from an invisible, corporate source.

The alarming part of *Person of Interest* is not its transitional graphics or the repeated premise that computers are "everywhere, watching us with 10,000 eyes, listening with a million ears," even when, in the episode "No Good Deed" (2012), "I'm afraid of Americans" by David Bowie plays in the background of an action sequence. If the show can be called "subversive," as *Buzzfeed* and other online outlets have suggested, it's in its insistence that the moment is passed. That is, it's not a warning of a future, but a wake-up call. There's no future without mass surveillance, and that future swirls around us already. But that's where the show's "subversive" edge ends. Sure, the show asks us, "Now what?" But along the way, it helps us adjust to its dystopian starting point. The subject is discomfiting, but the delivery cannot help but comfort us.

The setup of *Person of Interest* will sound familiar. Two trustworthy heroes, Harold Finch and John Reese, receive messages from The Machine, a computer program

[16] Clement and Ferenbok, "Hidden Changes," 2012.
[17] Sun-ha Hong, "Subjunctive and Interpassive 'Knowing' in the Surveillance Society," in *Media and Communication*, 2015.
[18] Joshua Meyrowitz, "We Liked to Watch: Television as Progenitor of the Surveillance Society," in *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 2009.
[19] Kate Arthur, "Why *Person of Interest* Is The Most Subversive Show on Television: What Began as a Simple-Seeming CBS Procedural has Become a Prescient, Paranoid Thriller," in *Buzzfeed*, 2014.

which analyzes surveillance patterns and spits out a social security number which either represents a perpetrator or a victim. Finch, an awkward but idealistic computer nerd, is the brains. Reese, an ex-hit man atoning for his violent career, is the brawn. Together, each episode, along with more characters added in later seasons, try to prevent The Machine's predicted tragedy from happening. Like other television shows discussed already, *Person of Interest* is driven by our fantasy for the possibility of preemption; in this case, however, the fears are more societal than personal. Terrorism is mentioned regularly as justification. In the pilot, Finch asks Reese the same question that *Early Edition* asks us: "What if you could... find out what's going to happen and stop it from happening?" Like other procedurals, the preponderance of terrorism and murder (one a week!) makes such a fantasy more attractive. And in the hands of Finch and Reese, even if Reese is more cold-blooded than softies like Sam Beckett, such a power doesn't seem misplaced.

The most fascinating thing about *Person of Interest* is The Machine. Invented by Finch, it's not too dissimilar from other programs like Hawkeye or Samaritan (or PRISM). The Machine parses massively surveilled data into algorithms and, in the show's most unrealistic gesture, is never wrong about the future. As Nolan says in the *Buzzfeed* interview, "The difference between our show and PRISM is that PRISM fucking sucks. PRISM doesn't work."[20] The difference between The Machine and programs like Hawkeye and Samaritan, which also promise accuracy but in a more frightening way, is that—simply—the viewer is not asked to trust those other computers. Samaritan is built by a private, un-American security firm, the corporate-sounding Decima Technologies, and run by a stern, ex-MI6 agent named John Greer who meaningfully lacks Harold Finch's harmless demeanor. But *Person of Interest*, over and over, asks us to trust The Machine. As Finch says in "No Good Deed," "We need to trust the Machine, exactly as we built it." He also says, multiple times in the first season, that he doesn't regret building it. We judge it through Finch, who has a "good heart," as his fiancé tells him in the premiere of season five. As Root says in the same episode, explaining why she trusts The Machine: "It's a reflection of you." Most of all, Finch himself is always reluctant about this power he created, which makes him appear morally cautious. Because Finch often plays the show's moral compass, these impressions stick.

Even without Finch vouching for it, The Machine's accuracy demands a certain kind of faith: the confidence in knowing that someone is watching over and not misrepresenting us. Like the center eye in Bosch's *The Seven Deadly Sins*, The Machine is portrayed as omniscient and god-like. Repeatedly, someone in the show compares it to a god. When Finch unleashes The Machine's artificial intelligence, he calls it "God Mode." While this can be frightening, there is something comforting in the personification of such abstract power (as opposed to surveillance today, which is fractured in all directions). And finally, the viewer trusts The Machine because it, like The Powers That Be, like the forces of mysterious probably-goodness in *Early Edition* and *Quantum Leap*, is presumed

[20] Arthur, "Why *Person of Interest* Is The Most Subversive Show on Television," 2014.

benevolent. Rather than being purely algorithmic like Samaritan, the artificial intelligence of The Machine has been authored and even instructed by Finch. Multiple flashbacks show Finch giving lessons to his creation. This is best illustrated in a scene from the episode "If-Then-Else" (2015), when Finch teaches The Machine to play chess, including the lesson: "Anyone who looks at the world like a game of chess deserves to lose." As the series progresses, The Machine become another loved character, as if it were indeed Finch's child—and when, at the end of the fourth season, as The Machine retreats from the unchecked utilitarianism of Samaritan, we mourn the loss of its god-like surveillance over the fictional New York in the show. We mourn the fantasy of it watching over us.

The fifth and final season of *Person of Interest* aired in 2016, and the show remains undecided in regard to surveillance technology. Added to the intro sequence is the voice of John Greer, Samaritan's architect, who echoes Finch's cautionary statements, such as "The government has a secret system," as the devil on our shoulder: "a system you asked for to keep you safe." To the system, Greer says, "you are irrelevant." The season includes one plot arc in which Samaritan introduces an outbreak of a dangerous flu in order to force people to get vaccinated, to collect even more data: in this case, DNA. This is a surveillance nightmare scenario—the overt abuse of biopower—but the television series, starting in season four, made a shift. If preemption algorithms had become too realistic in real life, the show chose to jump further into science-fiction. The threat in *Person of Interest* becomes not terrorism, nor government greed, nor even surveillance, but the existence of artificial super intelligences that might decide humanity is not worth protecting. Two A.S.I.s, The Machine and Samaritan, are at war, and we root for the first because, well, as viewers of the show, we trust The Machine. We trusted it to surveil us, and then we trusted it to decide for us. And finally, the series ends, happily, with us submitting ourselves to its newly unchecked power.

One can imagine a darker version of *Person of Interest*—a version of the show that owes no loyalty to its fan-favorite characters and doesn't need to sustain a story for multiple seasons. We've seen glimpses of that version, as when The Machine asks Finch and Reese to assassinate a congressman, in "No Good Deed," or when Samaritan appears to have replaced The Machine for good. But even at the end of season four, Finch carries out his all-powerful child in a briefcase, still beeping: a ray of hope. Even at that lowest moment, there is optimism in *Person of Interest*'s vision of the future, an ambivalence toward surveillance that might even betray an affinity for this beautiful, dangerous technology. That hope doesn't seem possible in the real world, but then, maybe we wouldn't really mind such a surveilled life—so long as we might keep watching comfortable preemption procedurals on Netflix.

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Celebrity Sting Operations in India: An Analysis of Technologies of Surveillance in 'Public Interest'

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The State and the legal system in India provide a thin protection of privacy that can be suspended in favor of surveillance when it is deemed to be in the 'public interest.' Though this seems consistent with sting operations of 'public servants' (holding public offices in the service of the people), it becomes difficult to chart out in the case of operations targeting celebrities whose sexual exploits often form the subject of stings. This paper is an exploration of the modalities of the act of surveillance in the technology of sting operations targeting celebrities (in this case Aman Verma and Shakti Kapoor) in India that have been aired on television news channels from time to time. Through a careful analysis of the elements of morality, human agency and technology involved in sting operation, this paper tries to show how sting operations become a case in point to understand how neither clear binaries of morally good and bad can be sustained nor the wielder of power and control be clearly fixed in the model of surveillance that renders itself visible in such operations. If the taking of a bribe (in cash or kind) is an immoral act on the part of the target of the sting, the donning of a false identity and use of a hidden camera is no more moral on the part of the TV reporter. If the reporter has control over the various specificities of the encounter, the media house carefully chooses and instructs the reporter about how he/she must ensure a given sequence of events even as the media house promises the reporter personal safety. If the media house gets to choose what is made available to the public and when, the use of technological gadgets and the presence of a vast and varied viewing public ensure that not even the media house can fully control the reception of the information it releases. Drawing on Martin Heidegger's 'The Question Concerning Technology' and the concepts of 'enframing' and 'presupposition' therein to comment upon the effect of the use of technology on the 'truth' that is revealed, I suggest that the sting operation is not the starting point of but, to a large extent, the result of a continuous invasion of the target's privacy that precedes the act. Another tension emerges when attention is paid to the socio-economic and political context that triggered the phenomenon of sting operations in India. Investigative journalism seems to have come to the fore after what could be seen as a transition from the rhetoric of 'development' to that of 'democracy' in terms of the progress of the Indian nation-state post the Emergency era of 1975-77 (Dodd 24). Sting operations,

in particular, came to the fore and evolved greatly with the liberalization of the economy and the advent of 24-hour news channels on cable television. Thus, the issues which become important in the case of stings targeting celebrities must be analyzed against the backdrop of commercialism on the one hand and 'democratic progress' on the other. This further leads one to understanding surveillance as a participatory activity for the citizens of a country (blurring the binary between the State and citizens), taking us to the final variable that must be taken into account when thinking about the effectiveness of sting operations− the receivers of the image. Following Jacques Rancière's *Future of the Image* and *The Emancipated Spectator*, the paper finally considers the role of the subjectivity of human beings and the resulting differences in perception while receiving processing images, thereby making it nearly impossible to determine the effectiveness of the sting operation.

"In a way, I am trying to scare her off... I faced this [the casting couch] too..." was the immediate justification AmanVerma offered the reporter-posing-as-aspiring-actress's team-mates as they walked in to AmanVerma's house after he allegedly had tried to 'get close' to the reporter.[1] In video that survives, we first hear a telephonic conversation between the reporter and Verma in which Verma makes it clear to the reporter that he will meet her (and presumably consider promoting her for a role) only if she stays at his house overnight. At what we assume to be Verma's residence, we then see Verma sitting down and passing remarks while he also tells the reporter (whom we do not see in the video but can hear) to turn this way and that and finally asks, "can I see you more closely?" Next, seeing the reporter's reluctance, he himself gets up to go towards her. Verma's expressions are suggestive and Verma calls himself "a naughty guy." While we never get to hear the conversations that seem to have taken place between the two before the one we hear, what is still relatively clear in this case is the reporter's suggestion that she stay just for a brief period as opposed to what Verma demands very directly: "Let's get one thing very clear— you have to stay overnight."(Interestingly, we never actually get to hear, in the video now available, that this is in exchange of a role). Thus, if for an instant we leave aside the invasion of Verma's privacy through a hidden camera smuggled in to his house (and also the invasion of privacy which must have preceded this, that is, during research before the actual sting), we do not quite see clearly the elements of the alleged 'entrapment' in the little that has survived. However, the case of Shakti Kapoor is rather different.

I am "not denying what I said... (but) I was provoked,"[2] insisted Shakti Kapoor in his defense against the casting couch allegations that came after a sting operation conducted by INDIA TV in 2005. Shakti Kapoor was seen not only making advances towards an

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[1] Since the complete video of this sting operation is no longer available except as one very short and highly edited YouTube video (see Works Cited), my understanding of the chronology of events before and after the sting operation is formed on the basis of several reports and (online) newspaper articles that survive. This also makes it necessary to recount the chronology, as I understand it, as part of this paper. My email request to INDIA TV to grant me access to even that version of the video which was aired publicly in 2005 solicited only a telephone response from them refusing to comply in any way.

[2] http://articles.timesofindia.indiatimes.com/2005-03-14/news-interviews/27853504_1_shakti-kapoor-channel-tapes Accessed: 21/12/12

INDIA TV reporter posing as an aspiring actress, but also confidently claiming sexual favor(s) as the rite of passage, as it were, for entering the Bollywood film industry. To emphasize this latter point, Kapoor claimed access to the secrets of several other well-known actresses (including Rani Mukherjee, PreityZinta, Aishwarya Rai) who underwent the same rite of passage that Kapoor now offered the reporter, thus (unknowingly) bringing many more from the Bollywood community into scrutiny. What we see in the video is Shakti Kapoor sitting in a hotel room with a reporter posing as an aspiring actress (whose face we don't see) as Kapoor makes the above claims before finally saying: "You just have to do it once..."; and then to the reporter's question, "what?", he adds, "Fuck!" What we do not see or are not told in the video are the prior calls made to Shakti Kapoor and the content of those conversations. Kapoor later alleged that he had been 'framed,' that the videos were doctored, that the reporter had been in touch with him for several months and threatened to commit suicide if he did not come to the hotel room, that he was provoked by the reporter's expressions and the movements, which we never get to see in the videos released, and in short that he was 'trapped.' Kapoor came to a hotel room booked by the reporter (unlike Verma who called the reporter to his house) and from what one can reasonably assume the invitation was made by the reporter herself.

Leaving aside for an instant the truth and validity of Kapoor's claims, which are not in any way the interest of this paper, I wish to focus on some other questions including the idea of an intrusion of privacy which necessarily must have preceded the actual sting operation and which convinced the reporter that it would be 'fruitful' to perform a sting operation on Shakti Kapoor and AmanVerma rather than anyone else. I will henceforth use the term 'presupposition'[3] for this concept of intrusion. One can only begin to imagine what kind of intrusion of privacy (tapping phone calls, hacking accounts, hunting for records of any past relationships and so on) must have led the team to narrow down these two as the right targets (a more detailed analysis of the intrusion of privacy will follow later in this paper). As has already been pointed out, the reporter had been in contact with Kapoor for several months, and since none of those conversations were ever made public, it seems unjustified to form opinions solely on the little that was made public. What is safe to construe, though, is that what was made available (or what was captured by the video) was not really an action initiated by Kapoor and Verma but rather their reaction to the offers made them by the reporter/aspiring actress. In one sense then, the a script that promised high Television Rating Points (TRPs) was already written by the INDIA TV team and Kapoor was chosen as one of the actors. The public interest served by a sting based on such reactions (rather than actions) is far from clear, and legally speaking this seems to be a case of advances between two consenting adults. And if we are in the least tempted to take a moral stand on the conduct of Kapoor, then what do we make of the 'immoral'/pirate means (hidden camera, disguised character and so on) used to 'reveal' Kapoor's 'immoral' action

[3]This paper relies on the concept of presupposition as elucidated by Martin Heidegger in the context of the working of technology which in turn seems to be influenced by Hegel's idea of presuppositions which he elucidated in the context of academic explorations in general.

(or, in this case, reaction) which in all probability might never have been performed if the reporter had not herself performed a false identity?

Yet, this is much more than an ethical/moral question as it leads us also to a questioning of the binary between the inside and outside (a person's exterior—as he appears to be, and his inside—presumably revealed through a hidden camera and the use of disguise); as well as the blurring of the lines between the public and the private, by drawing attention to the newer modes of surveillance through internet-based technologies; and finally, it raises a concern about the very role of human agency in maintaining this surveillance upon other humans and/or subverting it. Does the reporter performing the sting have complete control over how those videos will be broadcast, or is she also an instrument of the media house that sets her to the task? Can the media house then claim to have complete control over the reception of the images once they have been broadcast? Is the media house, driven by profit-motive, even in a position to freely broadcast what and how it wants? If not, then whose interests do such acts of surveillance serve? Or can the subject of the sting operation be said to enjoy a publicity he might not have otherwise received? These are the questions that this paper finds itself grappling with in the following sections, though often without conclusive answers.

Martin Heidegger's reflections on technology and human-agency (or lack of it) in his essay, "The Question Concerning Technology," are of some help in understanding technologies of surveillance and the role of humans within it. Heidegger maintains that the process of revealing (bringing something into presence) is the essence of technology, challenging the commonly cited instrumental (the notion of technology as a means) and anthropomorphic (the notion of technology as a human activity) definitions of technology. The bringing-forth of something through *techne* (described in its productive capacity as *poiesis*) is then termed as 'revealing' with the Platonic assumption that to bring-forth something, one needs to have in advance the concept and the material required for the thing to exist. Heidegger further distinguishes (though not very convincingly) between old (rudimentary) and new (motorized) kinds of technology, insisting that while the former is said to simply bring-forth, the latter is conceived as more of an imposition, as it presumably works by 'challenging-forth' and by (almost forcibly) extracting more out of what is at hand (nature). Further, modern technologies (as opposed to old technologies) transform whatever they are applied to into a form that is stored as a "standing-reserve" to be called upon at a later point. Heidegger maintains though that human beings have no (or minimal) role to play in this calling upon and challenging-forth.

Several points from the above discussion are helpful for the present argument. To begin with, when we understand technology as the process of revealing, we could think of sting operations as a technology of surveillance that aims at controlling by first revealing the self of a person (potentially) harmful to public interest. In this sense, then, Heidegger's Platonic assumption that the concept of the thing to be brought forth through technology always already exists is comparable to the presupposition we form of a person before conducting a sting operation, which was detailed above in connection with the Shakti

Kapoor case. Heidegger seems to propose that the very process of revealing (which always accompanies concealing) forms the essence of technology, and that truth, which is not immediately accessible, becomes knowable slowly through the process. It is not clear, however, what agency (if any) Heidegger accords to humans and/or technology in influencing the 'truth' that is unearthed. Again, the present enquiry echoes the question asked frequently in the context of sting operations: does the hidden camera coupled with the (disguised) reporter/journalist merely reveal a pre-existing truth or does it produce a story where none existed? In short, is truth poetically[4] manufactured, or passively recorded? One could also advance this line of thought into a more metaphysical enquiry to formulate a concept of self or Being from here and ask–is self a given or something that takes shape even as it affects other selves around it? In the given case, is the self of the subject as well as the journalist a given that is unearthed in a sting operation or something that takes shape, that is formed and transformed through the process of revealing itself and the concealing (the masking, disguising that the reporter uses) that accompanies this process?

Even though Heidegger's distinction between old and new technologies might not hold when we concern ourselves with the technology of sting operations, we could still perhaps safely say that no revealing is unblemished by the effects of the presuppositions with which we approach it. The influence can be observed not only in what we choose to investigate and where we direct our search but also what tools we rely on for our enquiry and investigation. In their use of spy cameras and other innovative techniques of revealing, sting operations could perhaps be explored in terms of what Heidegger categorizes as 'new' technology which challenges-forth and transforms greatly what it reveals. It also seems, however, that Heidegger is blurring this distinction between human subject and technology by suggesting that humans are rapidly moving towards becoming standing-reserves themselves. Heidegger introduces the concept of 'enframing' (*ge-stel*) to suggest that the role of humans is limited to being called upon, like technological gadgets, to reveal truth in a certain pre-codified manner. When we begin to explore what the enframing force could be that drives humans to such revealing/bringing-forth of truth in sting operations, we begin to see the significance of two related aspects: the commercialism and profit-motive that drives news channels; and the role of 'citizen journalists' and a general mode of participatory surveillance that citizens and consumers maintain over each other.

A short critical history of news television in India and the advent of sting operation have become necessary at this point. My view of this history has been formed primarily from two readings: Maya Dodd's doctoral thesis, *Archives of Democracy: Technologies of Witness in Literatures on Indian Democracy Since 1975*, and Nalin Mehta's *India on Television: How Satellite Channels Have Changed the Way We Think and Act*. Dodd argues that although the logic of state legitimization changed from a focus on development to a focus on democracy (and thus a discourse of citizenship and rights), from the Emergency years onwards the faith in the State remained unquestioned. It is in this vein that Dodd

[4]Following Heidegger, I use 'poetically' here in the sense of 'poiesis.'

analyzes the coming up of Public Interest Litigations and RTI (Right-To-Information) petitions to stress that though these seem to aid in democracy by making the State responsible and accountable for their actions, they end up being mere sweet-talk as even the rulings on and responses to these are surreptitiously guided by State interests (Dodd 107-108, 111). With these evolving forms of State control, Dodd insists, the technologies of witnessing and bringing forth the sites of control into visibility must also change accordingly, by which Dodd means the use of newer media forms like spy cameras, streaming online videos, digital images, and satellite television among other forms that initiate newer, innovative claims to citizenship. I think that it is against this background that we ought to analyze the coming to the fore of investigative journalism and sting operations initiated by Tehelka in the late 20th and early 21st centuries as a subset of it. The use of 'pirate' means in this sense, then, could be seen as a marker of democratic equal accessibility through any means available. If the State (presuming the State-citizens binary can still be justifiably talked about) has access to creating fake official identities for several special tasks, the citizens' use of such fake identities for exposing the State must be considered legitimate too. This point about the use of the same means by State and by subversive citizens alike is one to which we will return.

It is in a celebratory tone that Nalin Mehta, in his seminal work, *India on Television: How Satellite Channels Have Changed the Way We Think and Act*, analyzes the transformation of Indian television from its complete reliance on State-controlled Doordarshan to the advent of satellite channels that have not only outnumbered the programs that Doordarshan could ever produce but have also found innovative ways of bypassing laws in an economy that gradually became more open and liberal over the 80's and 90's. Mehta seems to downplay Dodd's cautionary note about the "limitations the state imposes through its ownership of public cultural institutions and the economic constraints against formal participation in the Habermasian public sphere" (Dodd 36). Mehta draws attention instead to the dispersed nature of this ownership (post liberalization) and thus to the ineffectiveness of state control in order to say that the subversive qualities of rumor and the oral tradition (characteristic of India) are retained in what he calls "argumentative television" that uses talk shows, mock trials (like *Aap Ki Adaalat*) and public debates as a way of presenting news and views.

It is my opinion that although Mehta's focus on distributed ownership is justifiable to the extent that it differs from the completely State-controlled scenario of the Emergency years which is Dodd's focus, Mehta seems to over-emphasize the qualitative change brought about by the liberalization of the economy. It has been argued that the way private media is dependent on and driven by the concerns of the corporate world today is not very different from the manner in which public broadcasting was controlled by the State in its heyday (Kumar, 39). Thus what remains unchanged is again what Heidegger terms 'enframing'—the calling upon to reveal truth in a certain pre-codified manner. Driven mostly by profit motive, private media houses have tended to sensationalize news (Kumar) and sting operations centered on the sexual exploits of celebrities would fall directly in this

bracket. It is because of this omnipresence of enframing/calling upon (in this case, profit-motive), that presupposition and the adoption of 'any means necessary' to have a story which sells ought to be prominent in our analysis.

Sting operations, which also fit into the general demand for transparency, of being able to know with certainty what a (public) person is, form a curious case in which both sides use a liaison (unique to each) of activities that are acceptable/legal/morally-sound and those that are unacceptable/illegal/morally-questionable. The reporter/journalist's presuppositions about the person form only a small part of what is morally unacceptable on this side. A sting operation means a violation of a person's privacy, not only in terms of space but also in conceptual terms, and the latter would include the kinds of sting operations that intrude into the private lives of 'public' personalities. I think it is this similarity and this interplay of the legitimate and the illegitimate that prevents us from seeing such sting operations as an outlier to be condemned. Even though stings are driven by profit-motive, they are (nearly) legitimized by the democratic processes of the country.[5] Even though they use pirate means for their purpose, they claim to be taking a protective, moral stance by exposing what they claim is an immoral act. In this sense, it seems that a sting operation is a weapon that cuts both ways: even as a sting might claim to be exposing the other side of the State-citizen binary, it also always exposes itself. Ravi Sundaram's description of the proliferation of piracy (both in terms of space and technology) during the modernizing initiatives in postcolonial Delhi in his book, *Pirate Modernity: Delhi's Media Urbanism*, seems to take a similar stance about the larger issue of piracy. Sundaram highlights two significant points: one, that piracy often uses the pre-existing established structures and networks of production and even circulation; and second, that piracy is a "mix of place, time, and thing... that dissolves and reconstitutes itself regularly" (Sundaram 138). Further, Sundaram points out that this fluidity, this versatility and the "parasitic" use of pre-existing and dispersed modes and structures of "procurement, production, packaging and distribution" shield piracy from being considered as a clear "outside" (135).

The second aspect to which the idea of omnipresent 'enframing' draws attention is that of an invasive dystopia that seems to be an inevitable consequence of the proliferation of digital, internet-based communication technologies. As opposed to (or perhaps alongside) Foucault's concept of the 'panopticon,'[6] where surveillance happens through an all-pervasive gaze, what seems to prevail now in the Indian public sphere is a more diffuse form of surveillance which, under the cover of making the nation more safe and secure, encourages citizens to keep a check on each other. Thus 'public wisdom' has it that a 'good

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[5]The guidelines for conducting sting operations released by the NBSA (News Broadcasting Standards Authority) in 2011-12 seem vague enough to allow for further such stings. Though one of the points says that "resort shall not be had to sleaze or sex or any illegal acts"; the first, second and fourth points together seem to allow sting operations in the "public interest" and for "exposing a wrong-doing" and if "there is no other effective overt means of collecting or recording the same information."

[6]Foucault's later works notwithstanding, where he does seem to move closer to a concept of a diffused form of surveillance.

citizen' must serve as the "eyes and ears" of the police[7] by keeping an eye out and reporting anything 'suspicious' that happens in one's neighborhood. The proliferation of digital media and internet-based technologies that can detect one's location and activities and that can transfer data, sometimes even without one's own knowledge, make this process faster, easier and even alluring.[8] One striking precipitate of these developments is the prevalent concept of the 'citizen journalist.' Mehta discusses this, once again in a celebratory tone, as he sees this participative nature of the audience in news-making/presenting as strengthening democracy. 24-hour news channels come out of the union of news of a fast-moving world and technology which makes possible such immense coverage of news from across the globe and its presentation. This results in a race to present more and thus citizens are called on to be "vigilante reporters" and to send mobile phone video clips and photographs of anything unusual seen anywhere as well as to give their opinions through SMS's and so on.[9] However, I think here too the celebratory tone might be unwarranted, as it is this same acquired impulse to observe, capture and report that has led to the invasive dystopia which we seem to inhabit now and in which identities are fixed and constantly tracked. What this has produced is not only a blurring of the boundaries between the public and the private but also a blurring of the boundaries between what have been called the 'State' and its 'citizens.' The punishing gaze is not one, simple and unidirectional anymore, but many, diffused and coming from all possible directions. As the 'private' and 'public,' the 'State' and the 'citizens' begin to resemble, merge with and overlap with each other, any claims of an invasion of privacy get further complicated. Therefore, as Lawrence Liang suggests in an unpublished paper, "Erotics of Law and Scandal," we need to question whether the conventional language of privacy and autonomy of the individual can adequately address the issue here.

At this point, our reliance on biometric technologies for the confirmation of a person's identity must also be investigated. Simson Garfinkel in his book, *Database Nation: The Death of Privacy in the 21st Century*, recognizes the inevitability of technology entering every sphere of our lives while at the same time acknowledging that many of these technologies (particularly the biometrics on which we rely for identification of individuals) have not gone through rigorous tests to ascertain their validity and accuracy (Garfinkel 58). Casting doubt on identification technologies, Garfinkel says that human brains, "...unlike mass-produced computers," grow organically and hence each brain and its functioning is

[7] These are the words from a Delhi police message frequently heard on FM radio (my translation).
[8] Though this proliferation of technology is not noticeable in the rural areas, the proposed Universal Identification Number system serves as a parallel to this. I draw here from Pramod K. Nayar's detailed study of the concept of 'participatory surveillance' in his essay, "Smile! You Are on Camera: The Rise of Participatory Surveillance."
[9] It seems, then, that even the good citizen is almost like a 'standing reserve' (in the Heidegger-ian sense) called upon from time to time to report anything that could qualify as 'news,' much like any of the news reporters in disguise that this paper deals with. While it may be argued that a crucial difference exists between a reporter and a 'good citizen'—that while the reporter makes profit the citizen's action is a 'free' one—it must be noticed that the good citizen is obliged to perform this action and is in this sense called upon by the State to behave in a certain preconceived manner.

bound to be slightly different from every other, making any kind of standardization nearly impossible (233).[10] It follows from two observations (of the dispersed network of pirate identities as well as pirate means and the inability of technologies of detection) that everyone could be a suspect and at the same time, no one.

Thus, as the private and the public, the state and its citizens begin to overlap with each other, even as technology proliferates and stings become commonplace, it is not only the ownership of the resources that is distributed but also, more significantly, the legality and morality of real and fake identities is distributed. Thus the conventional categories of the subject and the object, the predator and the victim, the private and the public, establishment/rules and subversion, need to be reconceptualized. This is not to suggest simply that the subject and the agent of a sting operation (allegorically, the State and the citizen) mirror each other in their ways. Rather, this is to suggest in more complex fashion that they interact with, overlap with and influence each other such that power and agency also shift hands constantly, with technology being the third claimant of this power. Thus, Garfinkel's recurring demand (as stated in his book) for rules and regulations for the circulation of information (to protect against the violation of privacy that follows the inevitable growth of technology) is one that needs us actually to draw lines through very fuzzy territories. As stings become commonplace and sensationalism becomes mundane (if the oxymoron may be permitted), the notion of the 'scandal' itself must also be rethought. This is not to deny the effectiveness of stings at their peak (indeed, Jaswant Singh resigned after Tehelka 'stung' him) but to assert that 'scandal' itself has become mundane. Yet, however, the idea of the scandal and what it implies remains an important topic, and, as Liang suggests, the reliance of scandals on a pleasure that is simultaneously gleeful and guilty makes them an interesting subject for further analysis.

Finally, two other related issues that need further analysis here are those of human agency and the effectiveness of sting operations given the scenario of an unpredictable after-life of images. Are human subjects caught in an unbreakable order of being, called upon to reveal truth? Heidegger insists that 'freedom' is to know fully the working of technology and enframing and let that process function as a light which falls upon truth to reveal it. What Heidegger does not consider adequately, I think, is whether the 'truth' revealed (even as the revelation process can never be a perfectly 'objective' one) really has a constant after-life as he seems to assume. Different people might receive the same 'truth' differently and might thus be variously affected by it. The image of AmanVerma sitting in a pair of skin-colored, not-so-visible pants with his erotic expressions and calling himself "naughty" might also on some viewers have the effect of titillation rather than simply leading the viewer to condemn Verma's 'act.' Heidegger thus downplays the agency that

[10]See WikiHow on "How to cheat a polygraph test":
http://www.wikihow.com/Cheat-a-Polygraph-Test-%28Lie-Detector%29
Accessed: 22/12/12

humans might have, and this is where I think Jacques Rancière's concept of the 'emancipated spectator' opens up another vista for further analysis.

Rancière's politics involve a resistance to Postmodernism by highlighting how the omnipresence of 'images' and the rupture that Postmodernism claims to bring with it is an old condition that had been long-forgotten by people under the influence of Leftist thought in the realm of aesthetics. While Rancière's political commentary about why and how this forgetting was brought about are beyond the scope of the paper, his comments on the working of the aesthetic regime and the reception of images could prove fruitful for the present analysis. For Rancière, images are "an interplay of operations that produces what we call art: or precisely an alteration of resemblance" (Rancière, *The Future of the Image* 6). The operations he refers to include relations "between a whole and parts; between a visibility and a power of signification and affect associated with it; between expectations and what happens to meet them" (Rancière, *Future*3). It is in this sense that he proposes that all art is made of images regardless of whether one is dealing with a painting, a film or a written text.

Interestingly, this is how Rancière brings back the receiver of images (the spectator, the viewer, the reader)—as an agent in the production of the final affect of the image, thereby challenging the stability and certainty of the image (or 'hyper-resemblance' in his terms) that was believed to have been achieved with the invention of the camera. Insisting that emancipation is marked by a questioning (conscious and/or subconscious) of the rigid binary of actor and spectator, Rancière also asserts that "Being a spectator is not some passive condition that we should transform into activity. It is our normal condition" (Rancière ,*The Emancipated Spectator* 17). Thus, while a constant, tense oscillation between aesthetic autonomy and art's engagement with life is seen as an empowering condition, a resolution of this tension into a single aesthetic formula is seen as a disempowering one.

In the context of the present paper, it seems that something akin to this constant redistribution of the sensible, which Rancière sees as empowering, is also visible in the shifting agency between the celebrity, reporter, the profit-making TV channel and the 'emancipated' viewers. Furthermore, even as an attempt is made to use the scandalous potential of what looks like a hyper-resemblance (the presence of the hidden camera ensures that), the phenomenon remains an image the production of whose affect depends on and may vary with each emancipated spectator. Thus, even as we talk about the distributed and shifting nature of power and agency in terms of sting operations, what must also be kept in mind is that there always remains an excess which active spectators interpret differently, bringing about a constant redistribution of the sensible.

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CNN and Al Jazeera, and Their Versions of James Foley Story

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The video posted on Internet on August 19, 2014 went viral—A man is kneeling next to a masked man, dressed in all black and carrying a knife in his hand, which is pointed at the throat of an American, James Foley. This masked man also warns the American President that attacks on ISIS will further result in the spilling of American blood. The scene continues with the severing of the victim's head. This masked black figure is none other than a self-proclaimed terrorist, "Jihadi John." And he is very successful in his mission of instilling fear and anxiety around the world, and this is what distinguishes acts of terror from everyday news of murder—terrorists use violence mainly for dramatic purposes and they are more concerned about the nature and extent of terror that they can communicate than the actual death of the victim. Thus, this masked man in black becomes a symbolic haunting image of the powerful and wealthiest extremist group known as ISIS (Islamic State of Syria and Iraq) or also ISIL (the Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant), Da'esh, or simply the Islamic State.

The world for many seems no longer a safe place to live in—the 9/11 attacks, the post 9/11 situation, the rise of the extremist groups like Al-Qaeda, ISIS, and Boko Haram all echo this world view and perilous geography. Exploring these realities, I trace how the social media reacted to the news of Foley's murder through a comparative analysis of two diverse and representative international news agencies from the West and the East: CNN and Al Jazeera. My guiding research question is: How have CNN and Al Jazeera responded to the murder of James Foley? I argue that these two media sources have adopted their own methods to portray the same event—the decapitation of Foley by ISIS. An analysis of some of the news articles published by CNN and Al Jazeera points towards an individualized version of the Foley discourse along with media sensationalism. In terms of methodology, I employ a broader contextual/thematic and rhetorical analysis of the featured news articles on Foley's murder coverage in CNN and Al Jazeera to understand the approaches towards the same story, and how those approaches further resulted in the formation of their own independent versions of it. I incorporate Michael Taussig's concept of "terror's talk always talks back," from his "Terror as Usual: Walter Benjamin's Theory of History as a State of Siege," to understand how CNN and Al Jazeera as international media sources contribute to ISIS' propaganda machine by circulating "terror talks" about the deadliness and dangers of ISIS.

Literature Review

Most of the scholarly conversations surrounding ISIS deal with its origins and the political puzzle of ISIS in the region (Gulmohamad 2014), and the nature of foreign policy concerning terrorism and the gruesome realities of ISIS' deadly acts and brutal propaganda tactics (Sekulow 2014, Stern and Berger 2015). All of these studies of ISIS discuss its successful propaganda mission and the advanced technology ISIS employs to create and circulate this propaganda. For example, scholars such as Becker discuss how the Islamic State has entered the battle in Syria and Iraq equipped with an impressive propaganda machine, enhanced by the terrorist organization's own media center, Al-Hayat (2014). ISIS has been active on Twitter and Facebook; it has published YouTube videos, a feature-length film and an English e-magazine. Also, it has allowed prospective recruits to turn to forums like *Ask.fm* to ask questions to the jihadists in the field (Rose 2014). I hope to add to the ongoing scholarship on ISIS' propaganda mission and the media response by engaging in a critical conversation that tries to understand how media (CNN and Al Jazeera) consciously or unconsciously propagates terror and adds to the rhetoric centering the violent notion of jihad. The violent notion of jihad adds to the hatred against Muslims by creating a discourse such as, "All Muslims are terrorists and all terrorists are Muslims." Using Taussig's concept of "terror talk," and his discussion of how terror gets normalized after a certain point, "terror as usual," I examine how ISIS tactfully feeds terror across the borders to create unequal hierarchies of power. Thus, ISIS has been using social media to diffuse its ideas to lure its supporters and also to instill fear among its victims and enemies. It is important to understand how the international media resources such as CNN and Al Jazeera, can also indirectly become a medium through which they unconsciously propagate these "terror talks." This is equally dangerous as it contributes to the rhetoric of violence surrounding the notion of "jihad" and adds to the hatred against innocent victims.

Cable News Network (CNN) is an American based satellite channel owned by the Turner Broadcasting System division of Time Warner and was founded in 1980 by Ted Turner. CNN was the first channel to provide 24-hour television news coverage, and was the first all-news television network in the United States. Al Jazeera, also known as Aljazeera and JSC (Jazeera Satellite Channel), is a Doha-based state funded broadcaster owned by the Al Jazeera Media Network, and is partly funded by the House of Thani, the ruling family of Qatar. Initially launched as an Arabic news and current affairs satellite TV channel, Al Jazeera has since expanded into a network with several outlets, including the Internet and specialty TV channels in multiple languages. Al Jazeera is also considered one of the largest news organizations with 80 bureaus around the world.

A comparative analysis between CNN and Al Jazeera: Foley news reports

Analysis 1. In the following, I attempt a thematic and rhetorical analysis of two featured news articles published by CNN and Al Jazeera on how they responded to the Foley video

that went viral, and how each of these two media sources justified their approach towards it. I used a couple of different search terms to browse through the official website of CNN and Al Jazeera to find articles related to the topic. These search terms included but were not limited to: James Foley, Foley decapitation, Foley and ISIS, Foley murder, and even just the single word search "Foley" redirected to articles that are related to the abduction and killing of Foley. ISIS kidnapped Foley from northwest Syria on November 22, 2012, and the first news article about his missing did not appear on CNN until January 3, 2013. Except for this article, which was published on 2013, all the articles that I have analyzed here were published in 2014 and are mainly focused on CNN's and Al Jazeera's reaction to the murder.

A comparative analysis shows how CNN provided an extensive coverage of the Foley decapitation (a broader search term "James Foley" leads to more than 50 featured articles and newscasts combined on the topic), whereas Al Jazeera has a relatively fewer number of articles and newscasts on the topic, numbering anywhere between 20 and 25. Both CNN and Al Jazeera, as they explained, did not broadcast the video due to their "ethical responsibilities." In "James Foley beheading video: Would you watch it?" Brian Stelter reported the news about the murder and announced the media's approach: "Most Western news outlets shunned the goriest portion of the video but chose to show still photos from the minutes before the beheading. We made the right choice, not broadcasting the video, but the audio version" (Aug 2014). Thus, "CNN is not airing the video" (Aug 2014), but reported the audiotaped version of the speech.

Al Jazeera did not even air the audio version and stated that the video was no longer available to watch, and had been removed from its site due to the channel's own "ethical" responsibilities:

> The IS [ISIS] staged the execution, captured it on video, and disseminated the footage on the Internet to deliver their message. The video shocked anyone who saw it and raised editorial and ethical dilemmas in the newsrooms around the world over reporting the facts without becoming a propaganda tool of the IS. The footage was immediately banned on social media and in the UK even just watching it constitutes a crime (Al Jazeera 2014).

Al Jazeera was the only channel that initially disputed the legitimacy of the Foley murder video, which this article will explicate in detail later. Al Jazeera even went to the extent of ridiculing the video and denounced it as a fabrication by Foley himself and compared the murdered journalist to a "Hollywood movie actor" ("Al Jazeera Retracts Story Suggesting ISIS Videos of Foley, Sotloff Were Staged," September 2014). Al Jazeera asks, "What editorial and ethical dilemmas in the newsrooms at the TV station are raised by the responsible media's reaction to the murder?" But what is far more interesting is to bring in Taussig to understand whether Al Jazeera and CNN as media resources have or have not

become a medium in "reporting the facts without becoming a propaganda tool of the IS." Taussig explains the precarious deadly situation in which the world is trapped as, "… a situation [that] exists which is no less violent than it is sinister, and its sinister quality depends on the strategic use of uncertainty and mystery around which stalks terror's talk and on which it always returns" (7). Thus, as Taussig mentions, the point about silencing and fear was to create more fear and uncertainty in which dream and reality commingle. Even though Al Jazeera and CNN have withdrawn the video based on their own ethical dilemma, the use of certain rhetorical word choices invokes a sense of fear. This technique adds to the sinister quality of the newscasts from CNN and Al Jazeera due to the media's "strategic use of uncertainty and mystery around which stalks terror's talk and on which it always returns" (Taussig 7). Employing very powerful rhetoric and horrifying word choices such as, "news outlets shunned the goriest portion of the video," "The video shocked anyone who saw it," and "The footage was immediately banned on social media and in the UK even just watching it constitutes a crime," heightens the mystery surrounding this video and ironically piques the interest of the audience, making it more "sensational." Thus, even a very broad analysis of CNN's and Al Jazeera's approach towards the same story reveals strategies that may be different and highly influential in shaping the reader's perception.

Foley worked for the *Global Post* and was kidnapped by ISIS in northwest Syria on November 22, 2012. It took almost a year for a leading news agency with international repute such as CNN to highlight the news. The "American journalist abducted in Syria," was the first featured article that came out in Jan 3, 2013 in reaction to Foley being missing, and CNN presented it as a kind of rhetorical "help-reach out" to media from Foley's family. "The journalist's family announced Wednesday … to make his capture public now in the hope that media attention will increase the odds he'll be released unharmed" (CNN 2013). Citing Foley's father's (John Foley) emotional words, "We want Jim to come safely home, or at least we need to speak with him to know he's OK," (CNN 2013) CNN tried to appeal to the emotional aspect of its readers. It also presented it as the family's responsibility, rather than the media's or government's, "to work with" the kidnappers, which is obvious from Foley's father's appeal: "To the people who have Jim, please contact us so we can work together toward his release" (CNN 2013). A close reading of the news feed points to the tone of the narrative as relatively casual, "The journalist didn't suggest that "he" felt he was in any danger during that conversation, he said." "He" refers to Foley's brother here. Moreover CNN reported that, "This isn't the first time Foley has been abducted. He was taken along with others in Libya in 2011." The relatively casual tone that CNN uses to highlight Foley's missing leads to the question: Is the news agency downplaying the seriousness of the situation and not acting responsibly enough? CNN also explained that the global news agency, AFP, which had been using Foley's work since March 2012, released a statement saying that Foley was taken in the northern town of Taftanaz and that no one had claimed responsibility. This statement provokes the question: What role do the media play in shaping the victim's future? In instances like this, an American based media source such as CNN should not be glossing over facts. It should try to take serious research initiative to

further provide clues about the life of an American citizen in peril. At the same time, I am not trying to imply that the news agency purposely held the news, but it is also possible that both family and government did not report the information to news sources for strategic reasons. I do agree that if this were the case, the network would not have known that Foley was missing. But this fact was nowhere mentioned within the article. There was also no clue as to when the global news agency, AFP, which has been using Foley's work since March 2012, released a statement saying that Foley was abducted from the northern town of Taftanaz.

Analysis 2. CNN's and Al Jazeera's Initial Reaction to Foley's Decapitation

In the analysis provided below, I make a comparison between how CNN and Al Jazeera initially responded to the viral murder video of Foley released by ISIS through social media.

Al Jazeera and Its Initial Response to Foley Video

An article published in *Huffington Post* on September 2014 reads, "Al Jazeera Retracts Story Suggesting ISIS Videos of Foley, Sotloff Were Staged," throws light on how Al Jazeera as an international news media initially reacted to the Foley decapitation video. Describing Al Jazeera as a "Pan-Arab news channel," Al Arabiya also reported how Al Jazeera had to remove a story published online that ridiculed the execution of U.S. journalists James Foley and Steven Sotloff as "Hollywood" fabrication ("Al Jazeera Retracts Controversial Story Doubting Foley, Sotloff Beheadings" 2014). The article had been published on Al Jazeera Arabic's website and had called the executions "unconvincing" and "staged." The article reportedly claimed that the Foley execution video had likely been created by the journalist himself. "Foley was playing the role of champion not the victim only, for he recites a lengthy statement in peerless theatrical performance, and it seems from tracking the movement of his eyes that he was reading a text from an autocue," the article read, and as Al Arabiya states, the masked executioner "did not have the features of common jihadist figures, but he was rather similar to a Hollywood actor." Eventually Al Jazeera Arabic's managing director Yasser Abu Hilalah had to apologize and pull the story from its website. The move to retract the article on Foley was in reaction to a report published by Al Arabiya that outlined the controversial claims made in the Al Jazeera story, which was considered as offensive and insensitive by many online commentators. A link to the original Al Jazeera article now prompts an error message.

This brings us back to Taussig's theory of how terror becomes normal in an actual abnormal state of emergency. There is this notion of terror always happening elsewhere, in some remote lands, and as Taussig asks, "in talking terror's talk are we ourselves not tempted to conceal the violence in our own immediate life-worlds. In our universities, workplaces, streets, shopping malls, and even families, where, like business, it's terror as

usual?" (16) Al Jazeera, a Doha based channel was "tempted to conceal the violence in our own immediate life-worlds." Al Jazeera was not very convinced of the fact that terrible things could happen within the Eastern geographic space of Syria, and a brutal beheading of an American was no mere Hollywood fabrication and theatrical performance. I would like to stop here and redirect the conversation about how an Eastern media outlet reacted to ISIS' use of technology. The high production quality and other technically savvy aspects of the video primarily aimed at ISIS media campaign led at least one news outlet to suspect that it was a false video. There is something interesting here in that prior to ISIS there was a sense that terrorists were anti-tech, barbaric, unpolished, etc.—the opposite of how the West and East imagine themselves. In part ISIS turns this on its head, but it also means that for a moment it appeared almost not "eligible" as a terrorist-group.

However there were confirmed reports of Foley and Sotloff's execution by ISIS, and the videos of their executions were also published on social media that went viral. Moreover, other Western and Eastern media/intelligence sources confirmed the authenticity of both videos within days of their release. It seems quite strange that even after all of these reports that confirmed the legitimacy of the events, a representative Pan-Arab Eastern news channel had not verified the authenticity of the video. Al Jazeera's careless response to Foley's death will makes us also rethink the media's commitment to responsible journalism.

CNN's Initial Response to Foley Video

CNN's initial response to the Foley murder also needs an in-depth evaluation and it was more of a politicized understanding of the ISIS crisis in relation to the United States. The news piece "Video shows ISIS beheading U.S. journalist James Foley," (2014), gives a deadly political and historical spin to the world situation by discussing the video of Foley as ISIS' response to American airstrikes ordered by Obama. "The video of Foley was released as ISIS is being targeted by American airstrikes ordered by Obama." This statement implies a cause-effect relationship and gives the reader the impression that as ISIS is being targeted by American airstrikes, they are forced to commit a horrible murder, a graphic portrayal and finally the circulation of it through social media. It is very politically charged as it brings in former CIA director R. James Woolsey, Jr. "I think [U.S security forces] may have been surprised and are doing the best they can to retaliate." The intervention of former CIA director Woolsey seems very diplomatic and powerful in this context. It shows how an American Western media network will have some vested interest in the United States' reaction to the situation. It also redirects a historical attention—"Beheading of American journalist James Foley recalls past horrors," August 2014." It discusses how Foley's killing is reminiscent of "previous videotaped brutal killings" of other Americans such as Daniel Pearl, Nicholas Berg, Eugene Armstrong, and Jack Hensley were carried out by al Qaeda during the height of the Iraq War. This is historically significant as Foley's killing "stirred grim memories" of earlier killings of Westerners, and as reporter Jethro Mullen explains, he

could trace a pattern of beheadings that brought into focus once again the risks faced by reporters in modern conflicts. As this article demonstrates, CNN is successful in highlighting a story of Us vs. Them and also reinforces the past tragedies that Americans have undergone as a result of attacks from the East.

Another related news piece from Al Jazeera, in response to the Foley killing is also not different in its intent and rhetoric as understood from its word choices. “IS group claims beheading US journalist,” reports that the Islamic State group says it acted in revenge for US strikes against it and threatens to kill another US journalist (Aug 2014). This extra piece of information, “threatens to kill another US journalist,” is highlighted as a moral warning. This further adds to the kind of sinister terror that Taussig warns about and the state of doubleness of social being, “in which one moves in bursts between somewhere accepting the situation as normal, only to be thrown into a panic or shocked into disoriented by an event, a rumor, a slight (14).” This is similar to the situation expected as a reaction to the news from Al Jazeera that tries to wake up the reader from his state of normalcy to be thrown into a disoriented situation through the warning referencing the killing of another US journalist. This leads to the question: are these two media sources trying to make the news “sensational” by giving a political spin rather than highlight the graveness of the issue and create an awareness to further prevent similar acts of terror by ISIS?

Analysis 3. CNN and Al Jazeera Reacted to the News of ‘Foley Ransom’

Even though I could trace individualized versions of the discourse between CNN and Al Jazeera throughout their news reports, there are also stories that are thematically similar in narrative. The following analysis examines how similarly CNN and Al Jazeera depicted the news about the United States government’s response to a certain issue. It is relevant to understand how the use of certain word choices as used by both these media sources to accuse the United States government. An article from Al Jazeera, “Al Jazeera: Foley family ‘threatened with terror charge’” (Sep 2014), presented an interesting spin to the Foley story by discussing how, “Mother of American reporter James Foley says US official made threat if family paid ransom to Islamic State group.” The report claims that the Foley family was threatened by an anonymous US official with terrorism charges if they paid a ransom to his captors in Syria. To validate this claim, Al Jazeera cites Foley’s mother Diane’s conversation with another American based news channel, ABC News. “It is reported that a military officer working for Barack Obama’s National Security Council had told them several times that they could face criminal charges if they paid a ransom.” Al Jazeera seems unconvinced about this article. It further discusses how the National Security Council officer was quoted as saying that the Foley family was informed of US laws banning terrorism financing, but denied that the family was told they could face charges if they made a ransom payment. Moreover, it also quotes John Kerry, the US Secretary of State, as “taken aback” by the report and as saying, “I am totally unaware and would not condone anybody that I know of within the State Department making such statements.”

There were also reports from CNN of Foley's family being "threatened with terror charge" if they paid a ransom to his captors in Syria, and it seems this was an important topic of debate that both CNN and Al Jazeera pursued to highlight the U.S government's problematic relationship with its citizens in terms of U.S ransom policy. But CNN's news coverage on ransom is titled as his mother being "appalled" by US policy rather than "threatened." "James Foley's mother [was] 'appalled' by U.S. government ['] handling of case." But it did discuss how Foley's mother was shocked by US' response and "[Diane Foley] added that the family was told many times that raising ransom 'was illegal (and) we might be prosecuted'" ("James Foley's mother appalled by U.S. government handling of case," Sep 2014). Thus, as powerful political and social mediums of knowledge source, expected to conduct an ethical and impartial news coverage and circulation, both CNN and Al Jazeera make us wonder, where exactly they draw their line in terms of their ethical responsibility to the world. It is equally important, at the same time to consider, what stance the reader should take in trusting these media sources.

Analysis 4. Jihad, CNN and Al Jazeera: Media as Mediums Across the World

How do various social media including CNN and Al Jazeera in general contribute to misinterpreting the meaning of jihad and thereby shape a rhetoric of violence surrounding the notion of jihad and add to the hatred against Muslims as voiced by politicians such as Donald Trump, the American business magnate and candidate for 2016 U.S presidential election? In the following analysis I compare news articles from CNN and Al Jazeera to understand how the word choices of these media sources reinforce a rhetoric centering the violent notion of jihad. An article from CNN titled "Why James Foley's Murder Was a Message to Britain" (August 2014) details how another threatening video from ISIS featured a group of jihadists speaking with British accents as they interrogated a Japanese hostage. It also analyzes how the beheading of Foley was staged as a "Message to America," and constituted a direct warning to Britain. The article compares Foley's murder to another murder by two home grown jihadists: "It served as a reminder that the killing of a young English soldier Lee Rigby on the streets of south London by two *home-grown jihadists* last year was not an isolated event" (August 2014). In a similar vein, Al Jazeera's article titled "Islamic State's Execution Videos are Sly Propaganda Written in Blood" (September 2014) examines how the murder of Steven Sotloff is designed to send a series of carefully crafted messages and the group's real goal is to provoke sufficient outrage to provoke Western powers to launch another war in a Muslim land and help sustain its "*warped vision of jihad.*"

The rhetoric of violence surrounding the notion of jihad has become very complex, especially after the 9/11 attacks in the United States and it created a psychosis of fear across the world. Jihad is an Arabic word, which is often translated as "holy war" or "holy struggle," but more importantly, jihad and its meaning have been constantly shifted and misinterpreted by both terrorist organizations and civilians and media. Even though the

Arabic word “jihad” is often translated as “holy war,” in a purely linguistic sense, the word “jihad” means “struggle” or “striving,” and the Arabic word for “war” is “al-harb.” Ayesha Jalal, in her *Partisans of Allah*, talks about how the rush to explain jihad after the attacks on the United States has generated a veritable industry in both print and cyberspace, whose main victim has been the idea itself (240). Scholars say this misuse of jihad is problematic and dangerous as it contradicts Islam. In a religious sense, as described by the Quran and teachings of the Prophet Muhammad, “jihad” has many meanings. It can refer to an internal as well as an external struggle or striving to be a good Muslim or believer. Thus, a misinterpretation of the word jihad and its religious association to Muslims by media sources, including CNN and Al Jazeera, can promote a discourse of terror and generalize them as terrorists and jihadists. As Taussig claims, terror talks circulate, and “fear begets fear.”

Thus, the majority of CNN and Al Jazeera’s news articles about Foley demonstrate how in general both these news resources through their pre and post Foley murder rhetoric tried to create a compartmentalized discourse (even though we could trace some similar narrative strands in some of the articles) to market their news “sensational.” And sensational news is always big business and with ISIS and its ongoing brutalities, it is really difficult to have first hand access to what’s happening in Syria and across its borders. Should we trust or not trust in its entirety what’s being catered through social media as “mediums of information” across the world? The choice is yours.

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Publicizing Suspicions of Espionage on the News: The Leak of the Felix S. Bloch Case

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On July 21, 1989, American citizens watching ABC Nightly News learned devastating news about U.S. national security: a State Department official named Felix S. Bloch was alleged to have engaged in espionage. The story, which broke on the 5:30 p.m. (EST) broadcast of ABC Nightly News, is introduced by news anchor Peter Jennings as an ABC "exclusive." The segment lasts 3:45 minutes, with ABC reporter John McWethy reporting from the lobby of the Department of State, foreign flags hanging in the background. As Jennings introduces McWethy's report, a photograph is shown of the man said to be Felix Bloch with a simpering smile and his eyes closed. As the videotape begins to roll, it provides images of the exterior of the U.S. Embassy in Vienna and an unidentified interior scene of men eating canapés and sipping cocktails while Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev shakes hands in a receiving line. Then as McWethy narrates, "It was not until earlier this year that Bloch was videotaped handing over a briefcase to a known Soviet agent on the streets of a European capital," a still shot depicts a man who is bald like Felix Bloch giving a briefcase to a dark-haired man with a mustache. Although McWethy doesn't say so, the two in the photograph are actually ABC News employees posing for an ABC camera. Then two men are shown crossing a street, as though it is a real surveillance film, but which in reality is a simulation.

The initial 5:30 p.m. broadcast on July 21, 1989, did not label any segment of the video as something created by ABC. But by the 11:00 p.m. broadcast that Friday evening, the word "Simulation" was added in the upper left corner during the segment of videotape when the two men walk across the street (Friendly, n.p.). The still shot of the two ABC employee actors passing the briefcase was never labeled as a re-enactment or simulation.

The relevant transcript section of the July 21, 1989, ABC Nightly News story is as follows, with bracketed notes about where simulations occur:

> **Peter Jennings**: Good evening. We begin tonight with a harsh reminder that a secret sells. ABC News has learned that a veteran State Department official, a man with access to some of the government's most sensitive political secrets, is suspected of working for the Soviets. The man is in Washington tonight. He is the subject of a full-bore investigation. This report from ABC's John McWethy is exclusive.

> **John McWethy:** The suspect is a senior American diplomat named Felix Bloch, a man who has served in embassies across Europe including six years in Vienna, where he became the number two man or deputy chief of mission. Vienna is regarded as the most active crossroads between spies of the East and West, and American authorities say it was there that Bloch allegedly made his first contact with the Soviets more than three years ago. In Vienna Bloch had access to all classified communications to and from the American Embassy.
> *[From 1:03 to 1:05, photograph of man handing black attaché case to other man, then from 1:07 to 1:11, zoom-in on the briefcase.]* But it was not until earlier this year that Bloch was videotaped handing over a briefcase to a known Soviet agent on the streets of a European capital.
> *[The word "Simulation" is in the upper left corner of the screen from 1:12 to 1:19.]* That videotape plus other pieces of evidence led the FBI to pick up Bloch when he returned to the United States about two months ago. . . . (ABC Nightly News, 21 July 1989)

In 2016, twenty-seven years after the initial broadcast on July 21, the reasons the allegations were made on ABC Nightly News have yet to be explained. No U.S. government arrest or indictment has ever resulted against Felix S. Bloch. In fact, the FBI questioned Bloch at his office in the Department of State on June 22, 1989, months after he had returned to the United States from his last Foreign Service assignment in Vienna, but never "picked him up." So far in the historical record, the allegations against Bloch linger on, unresolved, as there is no statute of limitations for a federal investigation of espionage.

The Rhetorical Situation

This paper argues that a rhetorical situation exists for public reconsideration of the Bloch case, employing scholar Lloyd Bitzer's idea that a rhetorical situation occurs when "a complex of persons, events, objects, and relations presenting an actual or potential exigence . . . can be completely or partially removed if discourse, introduced into the situation, can so constrain human decision or action as to bring about the significant modification of the exigence" (Bitzer, 6). Richard E. Vatz adds that it may not be just the exigence of a situation that must be identified, but that a "rhetor" must emerge who is willing to be "responsible for what [s]he chooses to make salient" (Vatz, 158). I think I can be that rhetor. I believe that the exigence exists for the Bloch case to be reopened because over time it has been proved that the case is being accepted as a real espionage case, rather than the only facts so far known, which is that the evidence consists of nothing besides allegations made in the media. That is, I argue that public pressure on the U.S. government is needed to open the existing evidence to public scrutiny. It is also my belief that scholarly theory that has arisen about the public sphere, most of it published in the United States after

1989, can be justifiably resourced to reanimate discussion in the twenty-first century about why the Bloch case needs public resolution. My hoped-for outcome for the research and views I am presenting here is that the U.S. government will release further evidence so that the extent of the wrong done on the handling of the Bloch case can be publicly known. The case needs further study not only for how the lapse in media ethics occurred, but also for who or what destroyed the U.S. government's investigation on Bloch.

The Background for the ABC News Broadcast of July 21, 1989

As a government investigation, the Bloch case supposedly began in late April 1989, when the U.S. government was listening while he allegedly received a telephone call from an "illegal," the spy craft term for a person who is suspected of conducting free-lance espionage for a foreign power. However, when FBI agents interviewed Bloch on June 22, 1989, he told them that he only knew that caller as someone who shared his interest in collecting stamps. It is important to realize that, in the historical record, the person considered to be the Soviet illegal agent had a name different from the assumed contact that Bloch described as a fellow stamp collector. The U.S. government was allegedly monitoring the phone calls of "Reinu Gikman." Bloch said he did not recognize anyone with that name; he knew his stamp-collecting connection in Paris only as "Pierre Bart" (Wise, *Spy,* 115). Bloch also claimed that when he went to Paris after the monitored telephone call in May 1989, any film taken there of him passing a briefcase, as McWethy reported, or a "bag," as Bloch himself described it, to this suspected Soviet illegal was related to their mutual interest in stamp-collecting. Whenever he was interviewed, whether by the FBI or by journalists, Bloch stuck to this reason for meeting the man in Paris: "stamps were in the bag . . . albums and pages of stamps" (Wise, *NYT*, May 13, 1990). But that explanation was not accepted by the U.S. government. The person considered to be Bloch's briefcase recipient, either named "Reinu Gikman" or "Pierre Bart," completely disappeared after June 1989, never to be found for questioning by the U.S. government or the media after the allegations surfaced on ABC News.

After being questioned by the FBI at his office in the Department of State on June 22, 1989, Bloch was relieved of his building pass and his passport. But since the FBI learned nothing from Bloch other than his explanation that the photo or video showing him handing over a case was nothing about his official job in the U.S. government and related only to his stamp collecting pursuits, the FBI had nothing sufficient to submit an affidavit to a court asking for the issuance of a warrant for arrest. But the FBI continued to investigate Bloch and monitor his movements. This was apparently the extent of the public knowledge that led to the ABC Nightly News "exclusive."

ABC's manufacturing of the simulations received immediate critique from within the media profession following the July 21 broadcast. Many in the national press realized that, although ABC had scooped them with its "exclusive," the story contained nothing more than allegations. Although for days ABC continued to insist that charges would be

brought against Bloch, NBC and CBS cautioned their viewers that the leak's claims were unproven. On the Tuesday, July 25, 1989, newscast, Peter Jennings apologized for the lack of labeling on the original July 21 videotape, announcing, "We're sorry if anyone was misled and we'll try to see it doesn't happen again." Nonetheless, the damage had been done, as the former head of NBC News, Fred Friendly, explained in an op-ed piece in *The New York Times* on August 6, 1989, from his position as emeritus professor at Columbia School of Journalism:

> 'What do you mean Felix Bloch might not be guilty - I saw him do it on television.' The conversation took place at the Denver airport, and it was with a top editor of a major metropolitan newspaper. My friend, the editor, had heard the ABC News correspondent John McWethy report that the United States diplomat Felix S. Bloch was under F.B.I. investigation and had had his State Department passport revoked for allegedly passing top-secret information to a Soviet K.G.B. agent. . . . The real losers are the millions of Americans who may never know that the videotaped briefcase exchange on a Paris street was staged or, at best, a producer's version of what a leaker claimed was reality. In the end, it may turn out to have happened just as ABC News "reported" it, but what the American public has a right to expect is accurate reporting of what exactly happened to the extent it is known, and not what a producer guesses happened. . . . Television journalism is at risk of losing its credibility. Anyone who teaches journalism is well advised to keep a videotape of the Bloch re-enactment in his or her desk drawer, and a still-frame from that tape of the briefcase being passed to a "K.G.B. agent" should be posted in every newsroom, lest the lessons of those 10 seconds of national television ever be lost. (Friendly, n.p.)

The story turned into a textbook-case example of a lapse in journalism ethics. This description from the textbook *Photojournalism: An Ethical Approach*, by Paul Martin Lester, is representative of how the profession remembers the historical significance:

> The loudest opposition to news simulations came when ABC's "World News Tonight" aired a re-enacted segment depicting Felix Bloch, the U.S. diplomat under investigation for spying, handing a briefcase filled with secrets to an enemy agent. Sam Donaldson, a senior correspondent for ABC, told the Associated Press that viewers could be easily misled by the film to believe 'that they had actually seen the event. [But] they didn't. They didn't see that at all." (Lester, 17)

Roone Arledge, head of ABC News, had at first defended his team, asserting that what they had done was acceptable because it expanded television's reportorial range, but the case also led Arledge to change ABC News policy so that "anything done out of the ordinary" must receive his or his assistant's approval (Lester, 17).

When reading all the different accounts of what happened to Bloch from April to August 1989, it seems to me that there are so many confusing and out-of-the-ordinary discrepancies to this story that the release of the actual evidence that U.S. government has on Bloch, such as the videotape or photographs and the transcripts of the monitored telephone call with Gikman or Bart and the FBI interview of Bloch on June 22, 1989, is required to make the historical record clear about why ABC Nightly News thought it had a valid story to share with the public.

The Official Leak and Claimed Need for Secrecy

The legacy of the Bloch case is what media scholars call a "fragile story," which continues along the lines of what Michael Lynch and David Bogen discuss in their book *The Spectacle of History*: *Speech, Text, and Memory at the Iran-Contra Hearings*, which is about an entirely different U.S. government case that required Congressional hearings to clarify the historical record. Relying on the work of conversational-analysis scholar Harvey Sacks, Lynch and Bogen define a fragile story as one that contains "potentially contestable assumptions or takes potentially controversial moral positions about the events or persons it describes" (Lynch and Bogen, 282). While the "teller" of the fragile story in question in the Bloch event, the ABC News team, was castigated publicly for assuming it could offer its viewing audience accompanying fake visual images, there was little public controversy about why ABC did not wait until the U.S. government revealed the espionage investigation underway on Bloch through official announcements. When a fragile story's questionable assumptions are accepted unchallenged, "this quiet agreement can, in turn, provide an assumptive basis for extending the narrative in a particular direction" (Lynch and Bogen, 282). The direction in which the story has continued, to this day, is that Bloch must have been guilty of espionage, even though the U.S. government never could charge him, just as Friendly predicted might happen.

To analyze a fragile story, it is necessary to find where the teller was able to rely "on the acquiescence of recipients to the terms and sense of the story told thus far as a basis for continuing that telling" (Lynch and Bogen, 282). Therefore the Bloch story could continue to be studied for being much more than a lapse in journalism ethics about labeling videos and photographs appropriately. One suggested strategy for how scholars in the twenty-first century could overcome the residual acquiescence by the public audience that formed in 1989 would be to look into how ABC News was able to produce what Benjamin Lee and Edward LiPuma define as a "performative," or a self-reflexive media production, where the media "in creating a representation of an ongoing act, also enacts it" (Lee and LiPuma, 95). The critique of the specific media excesses of the July 21, 1989, ABC News

broadcast, became sufficient proof for the public to believe that the media on the whole believes in and adheres to a code of ethics. But, in actuality, the primary lapse in media ethics was that ABC publicized Bloch when he was only alleged and not yet proven to be guilty of espionage.

Among the egregious examples of what the media continued to do to the Bloch story is illustrated by a report published in *The New York Times* on August 11, 1989, which describes how Bloch takes his dog, Mephisto, on a walk, followed by a crowd of FBI agents, reporters and cameramen, and stops to rest on a Washington, D.C., park bench. There he is approached by a man named James, who asks, “Did you betray your own country, man?” Then the article relates that

> James hit the diplomat on the side of the head, threw a blue backpack at him and played roughly with Mephisto. Only when the man tried to follow Mr. Bloch home did Federal agents intervene. Otherwise, they stood by with nervous looks after asking the man unsuccessfully to leave. (*The New York Times,* August 11, 1989)

Such coverage invites questions about who the man James was and why he took it upon himself to do this performative act of public outrage in front of cameras. The stock-still media went to the trouble of learning the man’s name was James but otherwise did not seek to find out how he recognized Bloch or question why, under the full purview of FBI agents, a person could be roughed up in the nation’s political capital.

Finally, in early December 1989, the Department of Justice announced there would be no judicial action against Bloch and all the FBI surveillance was called off. The media had long stopped reporting on either the case or the surveillance. But an editorial in *The New York Times* on January 3, 1990, did ask why the allegations had been aired in the first place and called for an “honorable” resolution, stating: “It is past time for the Government to close out Mr. Bloch's case.” Nevertheless, no further government action followed as called for by *The New York Times*.

The case re-emerged later in 1990 when the public was told that “suspected spy Bloch” had been fired from the Department of State by Secretary of State James A. Baker III:

> In a brief statement, the department said Baker found that the 55-year-old Bloch's removal from the foreign service "was necessary because of his deliberate false statements or misrepresentations to the FBI in the course of a national security investigation." Bloch's dismissal also was based on his "behavior, activities and associations," the statement said. There was no further elaboration. "In view of the national security aspects of this case and the privacy rights of the individual employee, the evidence against Mr. Bloch cannot be made public," the State Department said.

> The department's legal affairs office is reviewing Bloch's pension rights. (*The Los Angeles Times,* November 6, 1990)

With this suddenly changed rationale for terminating Bloch from government employment, it should be clear to anyone concerned about governmental clamp-downs on public discussion that it is historically important to know what the government decided were the reasons for firing Bloch and ending his diplomatic career, rather than prosecute and imprison him for espionage. Whatever those reasons, they have yet to be published.

David Wise's *New York Times Magazine* article of May 13, 1990, about the Felix Bloch affair, is the only media report offering a source for the leak that I have found. Wise writes that "sources said the F.B.I. investigation pointed to a 'surrogate'' acting for Secretary of State James A. Baker 3d. The State Department declined to comment on any aspect of the leak inquiry" (Wise, *NYT*, n.p.). A recipient of both the George Polk Award and the George Orwell Award for his journalism on U.S. government secrecy, Wise is one of the great American watchdog journalists, fabled for his tenacious interviews and indefatigable research. His offering that the leak came from a "surrogate" for Secretary of State Baker is not to be found in any other account of the Bloch case. Such reliable journalism is necessary to reference, because no memoir or autobiography by any Cabinet members or White House officials in the George H. W. Bush Administration makes mention of the Bloch case. Instead, what has been published by major publishing houses are unofficial popularizations of U.S. espionage history, in which Bloch is typically described as a "spy" that "got away," as David Wise himself explains Bloch in his unrelated espionage story *Cassidy's Run: The Secret Spy War Over Nerve Gas* (2000). Despite calling Bloch a "spy" rather than an "alleged spy," Wise does accurately sum up the case as follows: "And Felix Bloch, a State Department official suspected of spying for the KGB, was subjected to a media circus after a news leak identified him; he was dismissed from his job but never indicted" (Wise, *Cassidy's Run,* 154). Many other mass-market espionage books rehash the press coverage that resulted from the "media circus" about Bloch from 1989. Some also offer insider viewpoints, both attributed and unattributed, from FBI, CIA and State Department career government personnel who worked on the case, but none of them cites or leaks anything from official U.S. government files.

As Daniel Boorstin points out in his groundbreaking 1961 study, *The Image: A Guide to Pseudo-Events in America*, high-placed government officials often choose to communicate through anonymous leaks to the press:

> A news leak is one of the most elaborately planned ways of emitting information. It is, of course, a way in which a government official, with some clearly defined purpose (a leak, even more than a direct announcement, is apt to have some definite devious purpose behind it) makes an announcement, asks a question, or puts a suggestion. It might

> more accurately be called a "*sub rosa* announcement," an "indirect statement," or "cloaked news." (Boorstin, 31)

Over the years, the leak about Bloch has created a rhetorical tautology, where it is believed that any secret evidence that exists in the U.S. government or at ABC News cannot be made public, because giving the evidence over for public scrutiny would compromise the very secrecy supposedly required to be maintained for an espionage story by both the government and the media. Although any leak can and perhaps should be considered, as Boorstin parenthetically asserts, to have some "definite devious purpose" behind it, what has happened is that the leak has come to be accepted as having delivered accurate news.

Timothy Melley offers an interpretative framework for understanding why the American public accepts such leaks. In *The Covert Sphere: Secrecy, Fiction, and the National Security State*, Melley says that widespread public acceptance that government officials will sometimes leak misleading information is a consequence of the Cold War: "The discourse of the covert sphere is marked by a general sense of epistemological uncertainty, a feeling that Cold War secrecy has made it difficult to know what is true" (Melley, 28). Melley further explains that "the Cold War public sphere was awash in messages ghostwritten by functionaries with little personal investment in the content of those messages and minimal reason to guarantee their truth" (Melley, 33). Consequently, the public accepts the anonymity of national security institutions that alter the "conditions of public knowledge" and so American citizens, while cynical about what their government does, do nothing more than passively entertain "a pervasive skepticism about the public's ability to know what is real and true" (Melley, 36).

For many years, the public accepted that the leak to ABC Nightly News in 1989 must represent something true but unknowable. But then in 2001 FBI agent Robert Hanssen was arrested and, along with many other counts, charged with leaking the Bloch investigation to the Soviets. In 1989 the existence of an FBI agent passing Bureau secrets about the Bloch investigation to the Soviets was not known or even speculated upon. Given the Hanssen revelations, the American public is now supposed to accept that the Bloch investigation was destroyed by one of the many leaks told to the Soviets by Robert Hanssen, not the leak by an unnamed Bush Administration official to ABC News people. But why Hanssen could be arrested and prosecuted in 2002 and put in jail for life for provable espionage activities, while Bloch himself still could not be charged, needs further consideration. That Hanssen informed the Soviets about the FBI's investigation on Bloch does not prove that Bloch himself gave the Soviets any U.S. government secrets. Bloch walked free in 1989, but he also could not be arrested in 2001-2002, despite the inclusion of the Bloch leak among the counts that led to the conviction of Robert Hanssen. Yet, somehow public opinion believes that what a court determined about Hanssen's guilt should also be attached to Bloch; this yet-to-be solved conundrum is made clear on the Internet Wikipedia that link the Bloch and Hanssen cases (Wikipedia).

State and Media Control of the Bloch Debate in the Public Sphere

The foundational work of public-sphere theorist Jürgen Habermas helps to explain why state manipulation of independent media can be injurious to a society. Habermas's seminal book, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, is an intellectual quest to find the historical roots for how the fascist state of Nazi Germany was able to control public discussion and shape public opinion. Habermas also explains theoretically why any society's public audience can be swayed to think the media is giving them all they need to consider as sufficient public knowledge: "The public that read and debated this sort of thing read and debated about itself" (Habermas, 43). The public that was the ABC Nightly News team's viewing audience regularly trusted them as their source for credible news and so trusted that this particular instance of reporting was likewise credible.

In *Publics and Counter Publics,* Michael Warner elaborates on Habermas's ideas by theorizing on how "the legitimate textuality of the video-capitalist state" can create vulnerabilities for people who are given publicity (Warner, 182). The cooperation between the media with the state both denies such people the ability to protect their privacy and legitimizes how they get exposed in public. The result is that people can be forced into the glare of public opinion. As Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann says about the tactics of pillory in *The Spiral of Silence: Public Opinion – Our Social Skin* (1993), historically disgrace was made conspicuous in many ways but being humiliated in public spaces such as the town square gave way in the twentieth century to people being "pilloried in the press and on television" (122). Through the broadcast leak, Bloch became pilloried as the public learned many irrelevant private details about him and his family. For example, the initial stark allegation of the treasonable offense of espionage was, within days, embroidered with the sensational news that Bloch, while living in Vienna, Austria, had a relationship outside his marriage with a woman who is variously described in the media accounts and popular histories as a girlfriend, a prostitute or a waitress. Again, the media enacted a televised performative, where filming the woman walking with her current boyfriend in a park in Vienna and then interviewing her to learn the specifics about her intimacy with Bloch was to be presumed to offer sufficient cause to believe that supporting Bloch's liaison with her was the reason for his alleged espionage. However, the titillating details seem to be the sum total for why the story got so much air time. They further discredited Bloch, but nothing the woman had to say led to any charges of espionage against Bloch. The question of whether such an association could lead to the dismissal of a Foreign Service Officer was never discussed, but if it is the case, then Bloch committed a personnel infraction that begs the question of why he, or any government official who has such a questionable liaison, would be exposed so sensationally in the national news.

In hindsight, this case can be considered as an example, good or bad, of what theorists say can happen to state-controlled publicity. The publicity turned Bloch into a wide-open target for criticism. No one can like a government bureaucrat who is proven to have committed espionage. But so far as the historical record now explains the importance

of the Bloch case, the viewing public is supposed to attribute espionage to a public servant who found time away from his job to visit a sex worker. Habermas has a complete theoretical explanation for what has indeed happened in this case:

> the public sphere becomes the sphere for the publicizing of private biographies, so that the accidental fate of the so-called man in the street or that of systematically managed stars attain publicity . . . The sentimentality toward persons and corresponding cynicism toward institutions which with social psychological inevitability result naturally curtail the subjective capacity for rational criticism of public authority. . . (Habermas, 171-172)

Nancy Fraser elucidates Habermas's meaning by noting how difficult it can be for immediate public reaction to be revised: "intelligent criticism of publicly discussed affairs gives way before a mood of conformity with publicly presented persons or personifications; consent coincides with good will evoked by publicity" (Fraser, 195). In Bloch's case, Americans conformed in thinking that their media representatives had earned their good will by publically critiquing and apologizing for the lapse in media ethics for using the photograph and the video simulations to act out the allegations. But the public never was invited by the media to entertain any questions about why the allegations were leaked and broadcast before the case could be fully investigated to move it beyond the allegations stage.

Susan Wells explains that to return a neglected matter to public attention, "speakers and writers who aspire to intervene in society face the task of constructing a responsive public. Nobody, not even the president speaking on national television, enters it without difficulty" (Wells, 328-329). Thus it may be an uphill battle to find a public that will reconsider how and why incomplete accounts persist in alleging Bloch conducted espionage. What must be debated are the written and video historical records that are no more than what Melley describes as dysfunctional narratives, which are based on "the construction of *strategic fictions.*" This requires the fabrication of "false documents so rich in detail that unknowing investigators will be able to 'reconstruct' an entirely fictional event and believe it really happened" (Melley, 29). So far, the suppression of the evidence and the telling of the story through leaks and performative re-enactments and simulations can be said to offer an exemplary dysfunctional narrative in the Bloch case.

In my view, publishers should stop accepting the inclusion of the Bloch story in the media or in popular histories about American espionage, until the government opens the files that explain why Bloch could only be fired from his job, rather than arrested and indicted for espionage. His case is different from any other in the historical record. As it stands, it does not deserve to be included among U.S. espionage histories about convicted spies. Unless the actual photographs and/or videotapes that were claimed to exist in 1989 are made public, or any other evidence emerges, the conclusion here is that, whatever Felix

S. Bloch did wrong to get himself fired, since he could not be charged with espionage, he cannot be presumed to be someone who got away with it. Bloch's story of alleged espionage should be encouraged to fade out of the historical record, replaced with public understanding of what got him fired. Instead, the U.S. government official(s) who were leaking the unprovable allegations to media reporters, those who in the Bloch case compose Warner's "video-capitalist state," that should be discovered and remembered for what they did wrong.

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Part three

SURVEILLANCE AND RESISTANCE OR WHEN EXTREMES COLLIDE

Psychic Surveillance: Punitive Psychiatry in Sokolov's *A School for Fools*

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Introduction

Sasha Sokolov's *A School for Fools* (*Shkola dlia durakov,* 1976) came out during a turbulent time in the Soviet Union. A series of show trials and public dismissals meant to control dissident thought in the country had recently taken place. Sokolov began writing the novel in early 1973, about seven years after the infamous show trials of Andrei Siniavsky and Yulii Daniel, two authors who were publicly convicted and sent to labor camps solely on the basis of their "anti-Soviet" satirical literary writings. In 1970, Aleksandr Tvardovsky, the editor of *New World,* one of the oldest and most prestigious Russian literary journals, was pressured to step down at the end of a brutal campaign due to his liberal-leaning publication choices. This time period was also marked in the international public eye by Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn's dismissal from the Soviet Writers' Union in 1969, the deportation of writers Joseph Brodsky and Siniavsky in 1972 and 1973, not to mention the infamous forced incarcerations in mental institutions of General Grigorenko and the biologist Zhores Medvedev, in 1970 and 1972, respectively.

When read against the historical context upon which it comments, *A School for Fools* provides valuable commentary on the dissident artist's struggle to retain his creative freedom in the face of a period of brutal repressions in the Soviet Union. This article therefore explores the authorial poetics of rebellion in *A School for Fools* and investigates the work's creative response to the socialist-realist literary restrictions and to the Soviet use of psychiatric interventions to discipline and punish the dissident artist. The article first surveys the historical landscape of the Soviet mental sciences and their use for the control of "undesirable dissident elements." In particular, I focus on the depersonalization of the Soviet patient; the radically positivist outlook of Soviet psychiatry, with its views of the patient as a "faulty mechanism" whose malfunction betrays itself through "incorrect thinking"; and the use of highly subjective diagnostic criteria such as "sluggish schizophrenia" to label and contain the patient's "malfunction." Next, I proceed to investigate the role of said elements in Sokolov's novel. Ultimately, I argue, reading *A School for Fools* within the historical context of the Soviet use of psychiatry to control the dissident artist's psyche reveals an important symbolic layer of the work that has been

overlooked by previous criticism and that provides an important insight into the poetics of rebellion in the dissident writing of the time.

Medicalization of Madness and Creativity

The usage of the mental sciences for individual and social control has a long history in both Russia and Western Europe. In the past, however, so-called madness and alternate states of consciousness have not always been viewed as pathological. The Ancient Greeks, for example, and Plato in particular, explicitly connected so-called "possession" by a demon, or what today may well be classified as schizophrenia-related hallucinations, with creativity. Such "demonic possession" was conceived of as a source of divine inspiration, with the "demon" itself cast as a benevolent creative agent from beyond. Later, the Romantics resurrected this idea and reincarnated the figure of the "divinely-inspired artist" as a prophet who channels artistic expression from a realm beyond that of mundane, every-day experience (Becker 47). Similarly, in Russia, during the Middle Ages and well into the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of nineteenth centuries, the figure of the *yurodiviy*, or the "holy fool," was viewed as an individual with a closer connection to God, as one who possessed the capacity to perceive divine truths unavailable to the common people (Brintlinger 7).

Beginning with the late eighteenth century in Europe and early nineteenth in Russia, however, conceptions of "insanity" became increasingly medicalized. In *Madness and Civilization*, for example, Michel Foucault describes the scientific reduction of "insanity" and of alternate states of consciousness to the status of disease—both visible and treatable on a physiological level. Furthermore, Foucault argues that madness, formerly seen as a culturally significant symbol, becomes pathologized in the eighteenth century and is now seen as susceptible to rational intervention. He asserts that the "medicalization" of madness did not simply follow independent empirical discoveries, becoming synthesized into an objective "truth," but was instead guided by a particular structure of perception that organized said information with specific conclusions in view. Far from following disinterested ends, the medicalization of madness was instead deeply influenced by power and was motivated by the "production and establishment of the normal" in its drive to implement increasing social control (Foucault 228). In their quest to "neutralize" madness, the medical discourses of the time reduced it to physiological symptoms, connecting the latter to imaginary causes in the body and reconstructing the overall "condition" as a disorder of reason (Foucault 70).

A similar process, albeit later than in Europe, takes place in Russia. As science became increasingly more professionalized, the scientific establishment began treating madness and alternate states of consciousness from a radically positivist perspective, discrediting those states' creative artistic possibilities, as well as denying their potentially spiritual value. As a result, one group in particular suffers greatly as a result of the medical establishment's appropriation of madness and of its creative and spiritual potential—artists.

The Platonic and Romantic conceptions of the genius-artist as a medium and a prophet become largely replaced by the idea of the artist as a degenerate, mentally ill social outcast—one to be mistrusted and, in best-case scenarios, "cured" through physiological medical intervention (Brintlinger 203).

In the first decades following the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, in turn, a curious shift in the relationship between the mental sciences and the arts occurs in Russia, as both set out actively to reshape human nature. The post-revolutionary period "was one of those rare moments in history when a large number of people actually tried to break the mold of social thinking that sets limits to mankind's aspirations, that defines 'human nature' in a certain unchangeable way, that speaks in realistic, prudent and ultimately pessimistic tones" (Sirotkina 145). While the goals of both mental sciences and the arts appear to expand and become more ambitious, however, the fields themselves become centralized and controlled by the government. Thus, following the Bolshevik Revolution and World War I, the field of psychiatry in Russia faces a crisis—the flood of traumatized war combatants overwhelms the professionals, while the number of patients in mental hospitals decreases drastically due to famine and war-time devastation.

Generally speaking, psychiatrists at this point recognize the need for state-assistance and centralization, while supporting the belief that state-sponsored mental hygienic prevention represents the best solution to the country's psychological problems. As a result, numerous institutions, such as the Moscow Institute of the Brain, the Central Institute of Labor, and the Psychoanalytic Institute are all conceived and established through government support in the first decades after the Revolution (Sirotkina 146). The post-revolutionary period also creates an institution designed to control the psyche of the artist through the means of science—the so-called "Institute of Genius," in which, as envisioned by the psychiatrist Grigori Segalin, the genius would have received "special treatment" that would nurture his creativity while avoiding fully curing him of his illness. It would have operated under the assumption that "the cure" would presumably deprive the artist of his talent (Sirotkina 162).

A similar process of consolidation and centralization takes place in the arts. Following the prolific experimentation of the various literary groups in the 1920s, as well as the re-establishment of private publishing houses during the NEP era, the Soviet government attempts to gain control over the literary arts by increasing censorship and creating the Writers' Union in 1934. The newly-inducted Socialist Realism doctrine now conceived of the artist as an "engineer of the human soul" whose goal was to "break… away from old-type romanticism, from that romanticism that depicted nonexistent life and nonexistent characters, [as well as to] divert… the reader from the contradictions and oppressions of life into a world of the impossible, a world of Utopia" (Sirotkina 177). Thus, art began to carry a strictly defined social mission and depicted life as it should have been, not as it was or could have been.

Beginning with the 1930s, in turn, Soviet psychiatry and psychology also underwent a complete break with Western traditions. Psychoanalysis, and Freudianism in

particular, became dismissed as "bourgeois pseudosciences" and "reactionary mytholog[ies] calculated to deceive the workers" (Segal 508). The practice of psychoanalysis itself became prohibited, with most official psychologists and psychiatrists denying the psychoanalytical concepts of repression, sublimation, and projection, as well as other protective mechanisms of the ego and the concept of the unconscious altogether. Instead, Pavlovian theories that viewed the psyche almost exclusively through the prism of "conditioned reflex activity" and that claimed that psychological processes and disorders arose as a result of "the interaction of processes of excitation and inhibition in the cortex" began to dominate. After Stalin's official decree in the fifties, Pavlov's concepts became the reigning theories in the field (Segal 513).

The treatment of the patients themselves, in turn, was characterized by their "depersonalization" and reduction to a "faulty organism." As F. Kondrat'ev, former director of the Clinical Department of the V.P. Serbsky State Research Center for Social and Forensic Psychiatry and a practicing psychiatrist in the seventies, points out:

> The patient was a faceless, soulless object for investigation of the symptoms and of the pathophysiological mechanisms and biochemical disorders causing them, not a subject experiencing inner distress. Attempts to rise above these "mechanisms" in scientific analysis and practical activity were considered ideologically alien "psychologization." (10)

While it may be tempting to assign blame for the "depersonalization" and arguable victimization of the mental patient wholly onto the ideology and guidelines provided by the Soviet state, Soviet psychiatric theories in fact grew out of nineteenth-century Western European scientific practices and represent their natural continuation, absent the psychoanalytic intervention that took place in the West. Following the "neurological revolution" that began in the eighteenth century, Western European mental sciences eventually became dominated by theories such as physiognomy (the diagnosis of the patient based on the interpretation of his facial structure), craniology (examination of the shape of the skull), as well as degeneration, all of which placed disproportionate emphasis on the physiological, hereditary factors associated with mental illness, while dismissing the personal experience of the patient and overlooking her ability to formulate an account of her own experience. While the development of psychoanalysis at the end of the nineteenth century contributed to a growing emphasis on the "talking cure" and on the patient's experience in the West, the mental sciences of the Soviet Union continued following the earlier trends of patient "depersonalization."

The absolute power of the doctors over the "mentally ill," as well as the "convenience" of using mental institutions for the elimination of unwanted social elements came to frightening prominence with the Soviet usage of mental incarceration for silencing political dissidents, a practice that continues today and has been reinvigorated under the

Putin regime. As F. Kondrat'ev points out, Soviet punitive psychiatry flourished during the years of mass terror, particularly the late 1930s (1-2). The year 1939 witnessed the opening of the Serbsky Institute, the first "special" psychiatric hospital in Kazan. As opposed to the "ordinary" mental institutions, the "special" hospital served for the incarceration of persons detained specifically for political reasons. In addition, the Serbsky Institute, along with subsequent "special psychiatric hospitals," came under the regulation of the NKVD (the People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs, the precursor of KGB), as opposed to the Ministry of Health, as in the case of "ordinary" mental institutions. Unfortunately, the beginning of the Serbsky Institute, and by extension of other institutions of its kind, lies shrouded in secrecy, not only due to their classified status, but also because of the destruction of the Institute's archives during the German incursion in October 1941. Alarmingly, the number of "special psychiatric hospitals" increased to twelve by the 1970s (Kondrat'ev 4).

By that time, the Soviet usage of punitive psychiatry to control the dissident elements began gaining increasing international attention. As mentioned in the introduction, the forced incarcerations of Zhores Medvedev and General Grigorenko added notoriety to the profession, as well as inciting debates within the international psychiatric community at large. According to Carl Gershman, the former US representative to the United Nations' Third Committee (which dealt with human rights issues), by 1983, the debates became so heated, that the World Psychiatric Association considered expelling the Soviet affiliate from its membership. The latter made the choice to withdraw voluntarily (55).

The principal charges against the Soviet Union, in turn, focused on:

> the application of a pernicious theory of "sluggish schizophrenia" unknown outside of the Soviet Union; the forcible detention in psychiatric hospitals of political dissenters on grounds that they are "socially dangerous"; the use of painful, harmful drugs with punitive intent; and the severe persecution of Soviet psychiatrists and others who have complained about these practices. (Gershman 55)

The diagnosis of "sluggish schizophrenia" and its treatment with psychotropic drugs proved particularly harmful. The latter, used both for treatment and punitive reasons (mainly haloperidol, aminazin, and triftazin), produced side-effects similar to "parkinsonism" or "extra-pyramidal derangement," which were characterized by "muscular rigidity, paucity and slowness of body movement, physical restlessness and constant desire to change the body's position" (Gershman 57). The diagnosis of "sluggish schizophrenia," in turn, was characterized by "seeming clinical normality," as well as the patient's tendency to complain about work conditions and his "exaggerated" adherence to reformist ideas (Gershman 55). In addition, the so-called "schizophrenic" displayed "anti-social" behavior that manifested itself in his refusal to participate in "voluntary" Saturday work and political meetings; he also demonstrated an "inadequate sense of self-preservation" by failing to show "proper"

understanding of his vulnerable position in relation to the authorities (Gershman 55). In short, the diagnosis left much room for the doctor's subjective interpretation, as well as being easily applied to individuals with unpopular and strong political convictions.

Psychic Surveillance and Creative Rebellion in *A School For Fools*

The struggle of the dissident writer to retain his creative freedom in the face of medicalized opposition lies at the center of Sasha Sokolov's *A School for Fools*. As Alexander Bogulawsky points out, the whole work is characterized by a rebellion against the official guidelines of Soviet writing. Bogulawsky draws attention to the fact that due to the uniqueness of its hero, the distortion of and lack of importance assigned to time, strong emphasis on the importance of the imagination, as well as the insistence on the unlimited freedom and power of the author, the novel breaks completely with the major tenets of socialist realism (92).

In the novel, the main character is a schizophrenic boy attending a "special school" for developmentally challenged children. His illness manifests itself as dissociated, split consciousness, which results in a continuous conversation and interaction between his two alter egos. On multiple occasions, the protagonist also alludes to his stays in a Soviet mental institution under the watchful eye of Doctor Zauze, as well as referring to the fact that he suffers from "selective memory," remembering only that which strikes his imagination and thus in some sense living in creative freedom. The novel's plot, however, is almost impossible to recount, since it does not follow linear time and does not appear to have formal structure. The whole work, in fact, can be seen as chiefly characterized by this unpredictability, lack of formal structure, and creative freedom.

The very opening of the work, with its dedication "To the 'slow' boy, Vitia Pliaskin...," immediately emphasizes this creative freedom within the novel, foreshadowing its "uncontrollability." (All translations from the novel are mine.) As both Bogulawsky and Alexandra Karriker point out, the name is connected to the illness colloquially called "St. Vitus's Dance" (or "chorea"), a condition characterized by uncontrollable movements of the limbs and the trunk, as well as by partial loss of memory (Bogulawsky 92). While Sokolov's choice of dedication does suggest that he intends for his work in some sense to be viewed as a creatively uncontrollable "choreic dance," it also points to another layer of reference. If, as Litus suggests, the main character represents the Soviet dissident writer who at one point is labeled "ill" and institutionalized in a mental hospital, then the "choreic symptoms" may also testify to the side-effects of such incarceration ("Intertextuality" 125). As mentioned earlier, the punitive usage of harmful drugs was routinely practiced on dissident patients within the "special psychiatric hospitals." Furthermore, one of the most often-cited side-effects of the medications was muscular rigidity, with the resultant need for the patient constantly to change the body's position and involuntary writhing of the legs (Gershman 57). In an uncanny, macabre way, such a reaction resembles an "uncontrollable choreic dance" that simultaneously testifies of the writer-patient's resistance to external

restrictions on his creativity, while at the same time emphasizing his helplessness in the face of the consequences of this rebellion.

The dedication further reinforces the novel's theme of resisting attempted control of the artist's imagination by referencing the legend of St. Vitus. While no historical records of the latter exist, the legend of his martyrdom during the reign of the Roman emperors Diocletian and Maximilian eventually became firmly entrenched in the popular imagination from the seventh century onward. Apocryphally, St. Vitus was a seven (according to some sources a twelve) year-old boy, a son of a pagan senator in the Roman province of Lucania in the fourth century. Vitus's father supposedly tried various means, including multiple forms of physical torture, of attempting to force the boy to renounce his Christian faith. Vitus stayed strong in his faith, however, eventually fleeing in a boat with his tutor Modestus and nurse Crescentia. Despite driving out a demon from one of Diocletian's sons, Vitus and his companions underwent torture once again because of their steadfast adherence to their faith. They were eventually saved by an angel who transported them from Rome back to Lucania, where all three died from tortures endured (Kirsch).

The novel's protagonist and, to a certain extent, Sokolov himself, undergo similar trials. Sokolov, for example, was born in 1943, in Ottawa, Canada, the son of diplomats who worked in the Soviet Legation ("Sasha" 394). His father was a passionate leader of the Komsomol, who, like the protagonist's father, supposedly placed loyalty to the Party above his family. He was the Deputy Military Attaché to Canada in name and a Soviet political spy with a mission to steal the atomic bomb plans in deed when his son was born. Eventually, the family came back to the Soviet Union in 1946, but Sasha Sokolov later emigrated again in 1975 ("Sasha" 393). The tension between the author and his father lasted for the entire duration of their relationship. Like most of his generation, when Sokolov Junior came of age, he felt alienated and disillusioned with the Soviet Union and its politics. These sentiments can be seen, for example, in his membership in SMOG, an unofficial dissident society of creative youth in the 1960s, as well as his attempt to flee from USSR on foot through Iran in 1964. The latter resulted in being caught and briefly imprisoned. Shortly after, Sokolov simulated mental illness and was confined in a psychiatric institution for three months, which released him from the Military Institute his father pressured him to study at (in order to receive similar foreign intelligence training) and from military service altogether. When Sasha Sokolov emigrated to the West once again in 1975, his family had legally disowned him ("Sasha" 398).

The novel's protagonist also turns to creative rebellion in response to a similarly hostile relationship with his politically doctrinaire father. Forced to live within the latter's antagonistic household, for example, the boy escapes his reality through flights of imagination, or dissociation. In one episode, in particular, the protagonist's alter ego sits carrying out a task of copying passages from newspapers in his father's house, while another dissociated part of his ego escapes to an imagined conversation with the Academic Akatov. The narrator describes:

> … you're sitting at the desk and diligently—your efforts are obvious in the fact that you have bent your cleanly shaved head sideways and have strangely bent your back, as if all of you had been broken, yes, as if you were thrown from a high cliff down onto the rocks below, and after that, someone came up to you and had further broken you with smith tongs that are used to grip glowing metal— and you're writing. But your father... doesn't realize that only one part of you sits at the table, while another you at this moment is standing by Akatov's barrel, taking pleasure in your own fugacious shouts. (Sokolov 100-101)

As Litus points out, the dissociative state of the protagonist can be interpreted as a metaphor for the "schizophrenic" state of the Soviet writer, who is forced to carry on a double existence while following the tenets of socialist realism ("copying" mandated by the "State fathers") on the one hand, and escaping through imaginative flights of fancy (and "writing for the drawer") on the other ("Intertextuality" 99-100). At the same time, the passage contains references to tortures imposed onto the dissident writer. The protagonist, for example, emphasizes the fact that he is writing "diligently," with said diligence expressed in his "cleanly shaved" head and "strange," unnatural curve of the back. The word choice implies that, under the watchful eye of the father, it is imperative for the protagonist to appear as if he wholeheartedly engages in his work. At the same time, the passage strongly suggests that he does so under the threat (or as result of) severe physical punishment. The "shaved head," for example, bears associations with either imprisonment or hospitalization in a mental hospital, where the inmates' hair was often shaved off.

Furthermore, the narrator points out that the protagonist has been "broken"—"as if thrown off of a cliff," and later, "further broken" with the aid of "blacksmith tongs." Throughout the whole novel, artistic inspiration and freedom are compared to various kinds of escapes (by bicycling, for example), as well as, more importantly, to the wind (the Russian word for *inspiration*, *vdokhnovenie,* shares its root with the word *veet'*, "to blow"). Therefore, if flight implies inspiration and artistic escape, then the narrator has been forced to undergo its opposite—a fall that, albeit temporarily, renders him void of inspiration.

In addition, the tools mentioned by the narrator bear similarities to modern-day instruments of torture (including medical instruments), as well as, through the virtue of their archaic nature, becoming situated within an older tradition of political repression. The "blacksmith tongs," and the protagonist's "shaved head," connect the protagonist's own trials to those of the Protopope Avvakum (1621-1682), another historical Russian figure who suffered in the face of political persecution. The narrator includes Avvakum's *Life*, for example, as one of the texts recommended to him by his teacher Paul/Saul, as well as one of the works his father becomes enraged about. The cited lines, unmarked within the novels, state, "Satan had asked for and received Holy Russia from God, so that he could darken it with the blood of martyrs. Cleverly have you planned this out, Devil, but it's a joy for us, for Christ's sake, our Light, to suffer" (Sokolov 41). The passage refers to

Avvakum's first-person life testimony, which includes accounts of his multiple exiles, imprisonments, punishments (one of which was the humiliating cutting off of his hair and beard), and tortures as a religious and political dissident unwilling to submit to the Nikon Church Reforms of the 1650s and 1660s. Part of the latter involved a movement to bring the Russian religious texts into unification with those of the Greek, thus bearing a distant connection to the literary censorship addressed in the novel. Despite the exiles and the tortures, however, Avvakum, like the legendary figure of St. Vitus, remained steadfast in his faith and was eventually burned to death (*Zhitie*).

The quoted passage implies that, despite Avvakum's trials, he finds some sense of liberation within them, interpreting his martyrdom as "suffering in the name of Christ." Similarly, the protagonist implicitly discovers a form of liberation through his ability to dissociate and escape into imaginative flights of fancy right under the watchful eye of the father. Furthermore, in his text Avvakum represents the "book reforms" imposed by the Patriarch and the Czar ("the fathers") as a temporary historical anomaly that tests the "righteous," but is destined eventually to pass. By choosing to incorporate indirect references to this earlier period of Russian religious and political persecution, Sokolov clearly implies that the Soviet regime, with its attendant "reforms" and attempts to control the psyche of the author, is also a temporary historical period that tests those who attempt to hold fast to their freedom as creators. His choice also situates the protagonist of the novel within a long line of political dissidents and religious martyrs, both within the Russian and the European contexts.

The geographer Paul/Saul, the protagonist's teacher and mentor, in turn, represents another such prototype of a political and religious rebel who chooses to express his dissidence through authorship. Modeled after the Biblical author Paul (Saul of Tarsus), Pavel Petrovich's name links him to both of the early Church founders, Paul and Peter. According to the Scriptures, Saul was a legionnaire in the Roman service, persecuting Christians. After his conversion, he became an avid proselytizer and writer (about two thirds of the New Testament, for example, is attributed to his authorship). Persecuted by the Roman Emperor for his faith, Paul nonetheless remained steadfast in his beliefs and ministry. Although his death, like the passing of Paul in the novel, is shrouded in mystery, it is commonly accepted that he was martyred in the name of Christianity.

Although *A School for Fools* leaves the specific circumstances of Paul's suffering unclear, it does implicitly connect him with political and, potentially, psychiatric persecution. At one point, for example, Sokolov provides a description of what can be interpreted as an interrogation scene between Paul and the prosecutor, or the protagonist's father (Sokolov 17). In another instance, the narrator mentions that, prior to his death, Paul becomes seriously ill, but does not speak about the condition. Supposedly, as a result of the sickness, he becomes dangerously thin, and, at one point, laughingly says, "The doctors have forbidden me to come within one kilometer of windmills, but the forbidden fruit is sweet: I am terribly drawn to them... and one of those days won't be able to help myself" (Sokolov 18). Shortly thereafter, the narrator has Pavel mention that in the village he is

called a "slacker" (in Russian, *vetrogon,* or, literally, "wind chaser") and a "weather vane" (*fliuger*) (Sokolov 18).

While the colloquial meanings of the Russian *vetrogon* and *fliuger* refer to an untrustworthy person who cannot be relied on and/or carelessly speaks falsehoods (as in the meaning of the former) and one who follows the safety of popular opinions while failing to take a stance for his own (referring to the latter), both words also conceal another semantic layer. As stated earlier, the Russian word for *inspiration*, *vdokhnovenie*, shares its root with the word *veet'*, "to blow," with the latter often used in reference to the wind. Paul's nicknames therefore also connect him with unbridled, uncontrolled inspiration. The image of the "wind-mill" in the passage, in turn, connects him with the figure of the prototypical dreamer, Don Quixote. Furthermore, at one point the narrator explicitly describes Paul as a "free-spirited, dreamy" man (Sokolov 19). Therefore, taking away Paul's ability to "commune with the wind" translates into a prohibition to act freely on his inspiration, disallowing his imagination's free reign. The fact that such restrictions are placed on him by the "doctors" further implies psychiatric incarceration and torture, both of which may also help explain Paul's "mysterious illness."

The protagonist himself experiences similar restrictions on his imagination from the psychiatric establishment. At one point, for example, the psychiatrist Dr. Zauze laughs at his patient, stating, "Patient So-and-So, I have never met a man healthier than you are, but here is your problem: you are an unbelievable dreamer" (Sokolov 24). While calling him a "patient," the doctor simultaneously asserts that the protagonist is the healthiest person he knows. The statement implies that the authorities view the main character's condition as problematic and worthy of institutionalization not because of the mental illness itself, but primarily due to the dangers associated with his free, unrestricted imagination and "incorrect" thought.

On another occasion, shortly after the protagonist's initial breakdown, Dr. Zauze advises him not to return to the countryside, the location of the "psychotic breakdown." The protagonist protests, stating, "But, Doctor, ...it is so beautiful there, so beautiful, I want to go there," to which Dr. Zauze replies, "In that case, ...I absolutely forbid you to go there" (Sokolov 25). The exchange reads as a prohibition to engage in art for art's sake. The countryside is a territory the protagonist values solely for its beauty. Furthermore, its location situates it outside of Moscow and, thus, further from the centralized repressive political power associated with the capital. In addition, the etymology of the original Russian for "countryside"—*zagorod*—and of the Russian prefix *za-* in particular, implies a boundary and implicitly connects that space with the Russian term for "abroad"—*zagranitsa*. Dr. Zauze's prohibition to visit the countryside therefore functions both as a restriction on imaginative exploration, as well as, metaphorically, the prohibition of traveling abroad. Tellingly, the narrator confesses that he did not listen to Dr. Zauze and later returned.

Dr. Zauze reveals yet another level of restrictions placed by the psychiatric establishment on the narrator's psyche, when he advises the protagonist on how to deal with one of his alter egos:

> If you notice that the one whom you call "he"... is getting ready to go somewhere while trying to remain unnoticed or is simply running away, follow him and try not to lose sight of him; try to remain as close as possible to him, as close as possible; look for a chance to become so close with him that you would merge in a shared pursuit, in a shared deed; make sure that one day—such a moment will unquestionably come—you will become united with him into a single, whole being with undivided thoughts and goals, habits, and tastes. Only in such circumstances... will you gain peace and freedom. (Sokolov 71)

At first glance, the doctor's advice appears to point the protagonist towards healing through the means of integrating the dissociated parts of his ego. Dr. Zauze, for example, speaks about both alter egos becoming "a single, whole being with undivided thoughts and goals, habits, and tastes." At the same time, however, a closer analysis of the passage reveals that Zauze advocates not psychic integration in its true sense, but an imprisonment of one alter ego by another. The psychiatrist in fact advises the protagonist to behave towards his "other self" the same way Soviet citizens were advised to deal with the "treacherous elements" within the populace—through surveillance, imprisonment, and, ultimately, subjugation and control. Furthermore, Zauze takes care to emphasize the fact that such a "perfect union" will "unquestionably come," echoing the Soviet leadership's promises of the "bright Communist future" that never arrived. Finally, the doctor's promise that success in such a mission represents the only means through which the protagonist can obtain "peace and freedom" echoes and appropriates Paul's earlier assertion that happiness does not exist in the world, while only peace and freedom do (Sokolov 19).

Conclusion

Reading Sokolov's novel within the historical context of the Soviet use of the mental sciences to control the dissident artist's psyche reveals an important symbolic layer of the work that has not been explored within previous criticism. Situating the novel within this historical legacy, for example, reveals Sokolov's commentary on and symbolic testimony about the plight of the dissident writer in the 1960 and 1970s, represented by the physical, as well as implicitly psychological, tortures of the protagonist and his mentor Paul/Saul. In addition, this reading sheds light on the so-called "schizophrenic state" of the Soviet writer, who, at least in the novel, manages to retain his creative freedom, despite the external controls of the environment he lives in. Finally, the reading reveals Sokolov's placement of

his novel within a long line of political and religious dissidents, whose “truth,” as well as power as authors and creators, was preserved through their works of authorship.

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Elegy and Resistance: Danez Smith's *Black Movie*

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In his growing body of work, emerging poet Danez Smith is a powerful poetic witness to the experiences of African American communities ravaged by violence. In these haunting and evocative poems, he channels the searing grief and rage experienced by the friends, families, and communities who are left reeling in the wake of this violent epidemic and must grapple with these losses. In his most recent collection, *Black Movie* (2015), Smith creates an elegiac cycle in the African American tradition of the elegy, as pioneered by Phillis Wheatley and Jupitor Hammon and continued by Claude McKay and Langston Hughes. Through his work, Smith reinvigorates the African American elegiac tradition as a vehicle of witness, resistance, and collective mourning.

In the series of poems gathered in *Black Movie* under the title "Short Film," Danez Smith engages what Steve Mann has coined as "Sousveillance" or counter-surveillance. More specifically, Kingsley Dennis employs the term to characterize the use of digital technology by minority groups to provide evidence of violence perpetuated by people in power. He links the term to the Rodney King incident of the 1990s, which was recorded by a bystander and bore witness to the police brutality all too common in poor, urban, and predominately African American and Latino communities across the United States (Dennis 384). Although Smith's use of sousveillance is not literally that of a camera lens, the poems serve as a recording device to return the surveillance present in the contemporary landscape that controls minorities through the panopticon's presence. Kinsley Dennis cites one sousveillance endeavor, "The Witness Project," which "collects footage from a network of dispersed amateur camera men and women and use this as proof against authorities abusing rights of power and security" (349). In Danez Smith's poetic series he pays tribute to a pattern of deaths through five particular cases: Trayvon Martin (2012, Sanford, FL); Renisha McBride (2013, Dearborn Heights, MI); Michael Brown (2014, Ferguson, MO); John Crawford, (2015, Beaver Creek, OH); and Brandon Zachary, a suicide (2011, St. Paul, Minnesota). Smith, as the poet, makes surveillance and its accompanying violence the thematic and political focus of his work.

Within the African American literary tradition, the elegy played a crucial role in articulating African American grief. In *American Elegy*: *The Poetry of Mourning From the Puritans to Whitman*, Max Cavitch underscores the significance of the elegy as a site of resistance. According to him, "…the slave's complaint, the articulation of grievance, and the expression of his woe has been among the most heavily suppressed and violently

circumscribed in modern history" (Cavitch 202). He highlights the significance of the African American elegiac form in creating "the cultural role that mourning would have in the oppositional consciousness of both blacks and whites" (Cavitch 180). The popularity of the form was evident in Black newspapers. He explains, the elegy "was a staple of black reading and writing" and were essential components in early black and antislavery newspapers (Cavitch 195). The historical significance of the elegies continues to have contemporary resonance. In African American communities, grief continues to be unacknowledged and unaddressed by the power establishment that too often does not bring perpetrators to justice.

In order to critique how the photographic lens serves as a social control in which live enactments of Black deaths are normalized, Smith turns his poetic lens on the media that perpetuates the broadcasting of the murder of Black people through the 24-hour news cycle in the frame poem, "Autoplay" (19). In this poem, which is written in prose, a graphic as well as textual concept is represented. It is written partially in two columns and in black and white print to mimic the layout of a news report, text overlays text. The text overlays other text and it looks like a tape ribbon of an unfolding cassette tape. As a result, the text itself is nearly illegible. It is almost not necessary to view the entire text, because the story itself is so familiar. The opening lines read, "please get the video of the black/please get the video of the black man's murder" (19), looping and repeating with variations for the entire poem. With this technique, Smith calls attention to the ways in which Black death is broadcast repeatedly through the news cycle. In this way, the television itself becomes like the watch tower at the center of the panopticon, broadcasting back to the people at home a warning of what will happen to them if they do not internalize the regime's rules and obey (Foucault 201). Yet the viewer demonstrates resistance to these images by stating, "he will grow his hair long" (19). He will thereby violate standard codes of masculinity. Furthermore, he states, "I'm about to roll up" (19), indicating that he is about to smoke pot. However, the impending drug haze that is about to consume him is not enough to counteract the fact that "every time I open my laptop there is another body drained of a name/the name spilled everywhere on everything a mess" (19). So, the poet's response becomes to write a poem to try to make sense of the words reporting the latest death.

To highlight the themes of the erasure, loss, and death Smith uses a double negative in the construction of the subtitle: "*not* an elegy." The word "not" seems to erase the words that follow it and thereby demonstrate in which the voices of grief are often not heard. Moreover, because elegy, by its very nature of the genre, is a "song of bereavement" (literarydevices.net), the subtitle denotes a profound absence and loss through death. Therefore, the use of the word "not" doubly negates and underscores the death of the person to whom the poem is dedicated, in this case several very high profile Black victims in the last few years. In this elegiac cycle, Smith utilizes a variety of elegiac conventions. In this way, he demonstrates his technical prowess as a poet. He writes the elegies in first person, posing rhetorical questions focused on the larger issues of truth and justice. In one of the elegies, he utilizes the couplet form characteristic of the traditional elegy. Smith also

repeatedly alludes to the larger African American elegiac tradition through the repetition of the word song, alluding both to the "sorrow songs" identified by W.E.B. DuBois as sung by African American slaves and to Langston Hughes' blues elegies.

The position of the first poem, which is dedicated to Trayvon Martin, serves as an invocation of the muse characteristic of traditional elegies. The poem underscores Martin's liminal position because he is not yet a "legend" or a "god" (20). Since muse, in the Greek tradition, was synonymous with god, Martin serves a muse for the poet who inspires the reflection that leads to the other poems. In this sense, Martin's death invokes and calls up the deaths of other African Americans both before and after him. Smith suggests the possibility that Martin's death may be 'forgotten' and therefore offers these poems as a way to document the deaths of Martin and the others. The sorrow of the poem is reinforced by the last line of the poem which implores, "ask the rain what it is like to be the river/then ask who it drowned" (20). This line creates a poignant metaphor for Black deaths by comparing black boys to rain drops that originate from and return to a river of death.

In part two, "Not an Elegy for Mike Brown," Smith dedicates two stanzas to commemorating Michael Brown's death. In this poem, Smith extrapolates out from this single death to the collective experience of the grieving of Black deaths. He notes his own disgust at having to write another poem about Black death, declaring, "I am sick of writing this poem" (21). Yet despite his disgust, he proceeds to ask for the young man to be brought forward so that he might reflect on the latest death and write a poem in his honor. To emphasize the routine horror of Black death, he stresses "his new name" and "his same old body" (21). Smith underscores that contemporary Blackness is defined by these deaths and the disappearance of Black bodies. He continues, "& isn't that what black is about/not the joy of it/but the feeling you get/when you are looking/at your child, turn your head/then poof, no more child" (21). The onamonapoetic device of "poof" emphasizes the abrupt disappearance of children in Black communities. Equally importantly, it stresses how these men and women, while adults or near adults, were nonetheless someone's child. These men and women were an established and beloved part of a family and community.

In order to draw attention to the inequities in treatment between Black bodies and white bodies, Smith utilizes an extended allusion to the Helen of Troy. He juxtaposes the kidnapping of one white woman against the ordinariness of Blacks being shot. He writes, "think: once a white girl/was kidnapped and that was the Trojan war/later, up the block, Troy got shot/& that was Tuesday. Are we not worthy/of a thousand ships/launched because we are missed?" (21). Literary critics have suggested that elegies include a cementing of national identity. By using this historical allusion to a war, albeit a mythical one, between two kingdoms, that launched a war, this stanza of the poem ends with consolation in the form of an affirmation of the violence that engulfed the community in protest of Mike Brown's death. "Look at what the lord has made/above Missouri, sweet smoke" (22). The religious allusion, which reaffirms the conviction of a Black god, echoes the spirituals in the belief that God's righteous anger supports Black people in their time of trouble. The idea of vengeance is a recurring theme for Smith.

In "Not an Ode for John Crawford," Smith creates a "bop," a contemporary African American poetic form created by Afaa Michael Weaver. The bop utilizes a three stanza format with a song refrain. In this particularly poignant section, Smith uses the refrain of a call to Saint Anthony, the patron saint of things lost, petitioning the Saint to recover the lost John Crawford. Again, Smith emphasizes the repetitive nature of these deaths. He queries, "Does it matter his name? John/Hakim, Anthony, Tim/Ayiende or Fred" (24). Then he utilizes the last stanza to reaffirm the importance of the particularities of this particular John Crawford. "He had his own scars, his joys, his secrets, his wants" (24). This poem ends with a question, a searching request, "John?" (25). This question emphasizes the grief in trying to find someone who has disappeared but who cannot be found or heard from again due to his sudden death.

In section number five, "who has time for joy?" Smith turns more fully to himself and his own experience of how these frequent deaths affect him as a Black man. In this poem, written in elegiac couplets, he writes, "I have no more/room for grief/for it is everywhere now" (27). This poem elucidates how even simple, everyday actions like dancing or smiling are suffused with grief. He queries, "How does it feel to dance,/when you're not dancing away the ghost?" He further remarks, "How does joy taste/when it its not followed by *will it come in the morning*?" (26). These lines emphasize the haunting quality over Black lives that are always uncertain when death will come, and to whom. In this poem, Smith emphasizes the intimacy present in Black families. He writes, "& somewhere, a mother/is pulling her hands/across her seed's cold shoulders/kissing what's left of his face" (26). Again, Smith uses religious undertones to underscore the sacredness of Black lives. He asks for "ashes," for a type of resurrection of Black bodies. He writes, "I pray to my God/for ashes/I pray to my God for ashes/to begin again" (27). Smith knows the futility of his request for a resurrection, but his desire to do so highlights the tragic-ness of not being able to replace the lives lost.

In section six, "not an elegy for Brandon Zachary," Smith utilizes the first person to fully identify himself with Zachary, who committed suicide. In his early twenties, the mourners at the funeral and Smith himself speculate about why Zachary committed suicide. The poem asks a series of questions about what Zachary might have seen in his future: "the world? A road?/A river saying his name?/trees? A pair of ivory hands?" (28). Through this use of synchedoche, Smith packs in African American historical moments from the contemporary moment through the past. Most broadly, the use of the word "world" evokes any contemporary conditions that shape and impact black lives. A road serves as a metaphor for a journey and a future that is uncertain and potentially lined with obstacles. The river, the trees, and a pair of ivory hands all allude to historical moments where African Americans were faced with particular violence through dislocation, lynchings, drownings, and slavery. Without any more particular historical information or accounts, these moments hover in the air like floating signifiers.

The penultimate poem in this series, "hand me down," reflects on the family genealogy of Smith in two ways. He traces both the patriarchal and matriarchal experiences

of his family and exposes how violence impacts men and women differently. While the men's experience occurs primarily outside of the domestic sphere, the women's war is internal, primarily of white people's houses. He writes, "The women stood in the kitchen making dinner for white folks" (29). The oppressive economic and domestic circumstances are first implied and then amplified by the silence enforced on the kitchen itself: "no one said the kitchen was theirs./no one said/their children didn't thin/then disappear altogether" (29). The word thin could be because the children are not spiritually nourished, neglected and left without care or supervision of their own mothers who are taking care of white children. The children could be thin also because they do not have enough to eat, as their mothers do not make enough money to support the family. Yet, at the end of the poem, Smith notes the possibility in Black ownership when he reflects on his great grandmother who "owned her block/a shop where she sold fatback & taffy, ran numbers" (29). For Smith this store is a "kingdom, a church, a safe house" (29). For Smith, Black institutions offer safety and safety against the daily aggressions against Black people. He closes the poem by reflecting more existentially on the fact that while all Black people die, he believes "the black lives on," suggesting a hopeful possibility and continuance of a tradition and existence (30).

In the final poem in this elegiac cycle, Smith uses an ellipsis in the title to indicate the future deaths that will occur but have not yet occurred. The subtitle of this section, "not an elegy for…" is followed by a repetition eleven times of "this one" (31). After the very specific naming of particular deaths throughout the elegiac series, the final poem in the cycle reverts to anonymous victims. This poetic move denotes Smith's cynicism regarding the ending of the cycle that he has so far outlined of Black people dying most often at the hands of a white oppressive system that uses brutal force against Black people.

The elegiac cycle as a whole concludes with a reflection on "The Politics of Elegy." This closing frame considers the very nature of elegy itself. The center point of this poem is the audience's response to the poet's work. He reflects on a time when a woman approached him after reading his poems on Black death to say, "she enjoyed his work" (32). Smith's response is disbelief: "what?" (32). He emphasizes that enjoyment is not possible because in fact the poems do not create but rather document failed attempts at creation: "failed resurrection? burial?/Unsolicited eulogy?" (32). In this way, Smith points to the role of words and poems in these deaths—is it to try to bring the dead alive again? Is it to acknowledge their burial? Is it a eulogy to honor their lives, albeit unsolicited?

In "Short Film," Danez Smith uses the lens to zoom in on the deaths of five young African American victims and to offer his poems as a form of resistance to the pervasive surveillance, imprisonment, and deaths of African Americans. Smith's single voice, intermingling his personal grief with the collective grief of the African American community, constitutes the central emotional tenor of these poems. Smith, through his identification, as an African American man, with the men and women who have died and whose deaths he has witnessed through the news media, builds a web of kinship between himself and them. He imagines them as family and situates them within a larger African

American community—a community whose genealogical ties are established first and foremost by grief. Smith continues the work of early African American elegists in using his poems to articulate a grief that too often does not receive proper hearing in the national media landscape and too often for deaths that do not receive justice through the criminal justice system.

Smith's collective bereavement songs offer a national keening and mourn the loss of the potential of young men and women who were on the cusp of making potentially significant contributions to society. Smith underscores the relentless nature of these deaths and the patterns that create them by moving from poems that denote particular deaths to the anonymous, future deaths still yet to come if the pattern continues. The opening and closing frames for this section suggest a meta-poetics of the larger social-political concerns that Smith raises throughout the elegiac cycle. The repeated questions he asks throughout are ones that are meant to provoke the reader's critical consciousness. In this way, Smith seeks to raise the consciousness of all those under the governance of the modern panopticon to raise their voices in resistance against the oppressive forces that not only surveilled, oppress, and sometimes kill Blacks. Smith, not through a cell phone camera but through his poetry, turns the lens around and examines the circumstances of these deaths, thereby enacting "sousveillance"— witness and resistance to systemic brutality.

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Surveillance and the Metropolis: Individuals, Collectivities and Resistance in Delhi/NCR

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Most of the characteristics associated with modernity– technological advancement; master-plans to re-organize the city which necessitated dislocations, relocations and even destruction; heightened surveillance to make everyone 'visible' and counter activities undertaken to remain invisible to the powers-that-be, and so on, have had a significant impact on Delhi's city-space in both geographical and conceptual senses of the term 'space'. Thus the impact surveillance on space and how it is subjectively experienced by the inhabitants is what this paper concerns itself with for which purpose I use the figure of the flaneur as a theoretical tool to explore how the city is experienced and how the flaneur's imagination impacts the city. As vision and visibility are at the heart of any model of surveillance, I use visual culture(s) rather than literary culture(s) of the city to analyse not only artistic representations of models of surveillance but also geographical and virtual spaces of resistance to those models. This paper will explore these concerns through the artistic responses of Indian artists Gigi Scaria, Chandan Gomes and Vivan Sundaram to the experience of the metropolis.

This paper thus begins with an exploration of Edward Soja's six discourses on the postmetropolis, followed by an examination of the differences between the metropolis and the postmetropolis and then, specifically in the Indian context and the rising middle-classes, an analysis of how Michel Foucault's theory of panopticism could be useful in explaining the participatory governance and surveillance that seem to characterize the metropolis. Primary readings in the Indian context for this section include Dipesh Chakrabarty's *Habitations of Modernity* and Janaki Nair's *The Promise of the Metropolis: Bangalore's Twentieth Century*. These analyses are infused with comments also on how the individual's relationship with the collective undergoes a transformation in the metropolis, thus throwing some light on protest movements as spaces of resistance or of co-option. Certain specific spaces of Delhi/NCR including the Delhi Metro and the street with their merging of the private and the public respectively peculiar to each, lend themselves to a fruitful analysis.

Edward W. Soja in his essay 'Six Discourses on the Postmetroplis' elaborates upon what he thinks are six discourses that characterize the postmetropolis and groups them

under three heads: those that lead to a restructuring of spaces as we know them; those that are the empirical, spatial and social effects of the restructuring; and those that could be seen as the societal response to urban restructuring. The first category includes what he calls ‘flexcity’ (which addresses the changing forms of production in the postmetropolis) and ‘cosmopolis’ (which is under the grip of globalization and glocalization i.e. the local versions of globalization with its immense emphasis on finance, real estate and insurance). The second category includes what is termed ‘exopolis’ (referring to immigration and emigration as workers flow into the cities in search for work even as the city expands outside its own boundaries to include the suburbs) and ‘metropolarities’ (which refers to the widening gap between the rich and the poor). Finally, the third category includes what is called ‘carceral archipelago’ (immense emphasis on how the “industrial metropolis, with its cultural heterogeneity, growing social polarities and explosive potential, is being held together largely by ‘carceral’ technologies of violence and social control” (194) which weakens our ability to translate this into radical actions) and ‘simcity’ (referring to the blurring of reality and fiction through an abundance of simulacra and simulations, giving rise to major scams). In emphasizing what he calls “restructuring-generated crisis” instead of “crisis-generated restructuring” (189), Soja suggests that not only is the metropolis changing into a postmetropolis, but even the postmetropolis is undergoing significant changes. Soja insists that the emphasis on the postmetropolis should not suggest that the ‘modern metropolis’ has lost its relevance, but that we must add to our existing knowledge about the metropolis, the knowledge of constant changes taking place.

However, this sense of constant evolution and constant urbanization is what has been associated with modernity itself since Habermas called it an unfinished project. Though Soja’s six discourses on the postmetropolis seem helpful in understanding the various levels at which changes may be observed, they do not seem to sufficiently distinguish between modernity and postmodernity in the context of the metropolis, as the primary and secondary effects of the modern metropolis could well be seen as a part of the process of modernity itself. At the same time, the need for maintaining heterogeneity in our analyses of the metropolis cannot be denied particularly in the Indian context where the reception and responses to modernism vary greatly across classes, castes and genders. Dipesh Chakrabarty in his *Habitations of Modernity* deals with the varied responses to, and modes of inhabiting modernity that different classes and categories of people in India adopted during and after colonial rule. Chakrabarty explicates the link between public health and hygiene, safety, and beauty of what we now call the ‘city,’ thus highlighting the bumpy process of transition from the already existing State (or more precisely, the absence of it) to a State equipped with institutions to deal with each sphere of life: medicine, education and so on. What is made evident once again is the nexus between what have been called the Ideological State Apparatuses (ISA’s) and Repressive State Apparatuses (RSA’s). While it is affiliation with all these that is conventionally believed to transform one into a citizen, Chakrabarty emphasizes, through an analysis of Ramachandra Guha’s work on peasant revolts in colonial India, that despite not transforming themselves into

industrial workers (who are recognized clearly as citizens of a modern state), peasants revolted against one aspect of modernity, which was forceful physical subordination of subjects.

It is in this vein of analysing the varied responses to modernity that Chakrabarty also analyses the consequence of the onset of modernity on the notion of private and public spaces for the people of India. Littering the streets with garbage and rumour-mongering in the bazaar become two significant aspects in this respect. Countering the claims of several theorists on modernity that the Indian populace, through its habits of bathing, defecating, changing and even sleeping in open spaces, challenged the divisions of public and private that the British brought with them, Chakrabarty argues that the throwing of garbage outside the house reveals a conception of the inside (which must be kept clean) as opposed to the outside (which could be littered and is the source of disease and, in the case of bazaars, of rumour. The fact that children were made to wear kohl to protect them against evil when going out of the house also shows (according to Chakrabarty) the conception of the outside as dangerous and potentially harmful.

This kind of an analysis could lead to a few significant aspects of discussion on the issue of surveillance and the city: first, the insistence of neighbours (and 'well-wishers') that one avoid throwing garbage on the streets seems to be the beginning of what has been called 'participatory surveillance'; second, if we think of modernity as an unfinished project (not one that will one day 'finish,' but one that will be perpetually unfinished), then there will be a constant strengthening as well as blurring of the inside and outside, the private and the public, and the privileged and the dispossessed with most spaces and 'subjects' having a combination of characteristics of both sides of these binaries. While these categories (even when spoken about in combinations with each other) would seem to fix identities of subjects and the nature of spaces (and thus contribute to a rigidly hierarchical society), the flaneur who roams about, observes, and in some avatars picks up trash and makes it 'useful' (rag-picker) could be seen as one who seems to retain his subjectivity and the agency to choose. The flaneur we are talking about in the context of Delhi (or other Indian cities) is not one who has the luxury of wealth and education to allow him leisure time to roam the streets with a partially interested demeanour. This flaneur is one who roams either for earning a living (for instance-the rag-picker, sellers on the pavements outside metro stations) or for experiencing the newness of the sites of modernity in the city–malls, the metro and the like. This flanerie then is not really a disinterested one but one keenly interested in the city and its people in order to make a niche to live.

Vivan Sundaram's installation 'The Great Indian Bazaar' (1997) and his multimedia exhibition 'Trash' (Walsh Gallery, Chicago; Dec. 2008-Jan. 2009) that included photographs, videos and installations is a case in point for such an analysis. These works have two major aspects in common: first, the use of waste materials and objects discarded by the inhabitants of 'modern' cities as the primary materials that constitute these works of art; and second, the use of flanerie in different ways to piece together most of these works, as it is known that Sundaram employed rag-pickers to collect these waste objects in his

studio for his work. The installation titled 'Great Indian Bazaar' is a heap of 4"/6" sized photographs identically framed (with red plastic material) inviting the viewer to sift through this heap of photographs, thus reminiscent of the street bazaars where vendors call out to customers who indulge in an act of sifting through material to find what is 'useful' for them. These photographs are not of exotic materials or locales or any other conventional object of photography but instead they are photographs of discarded and second-hand objects commonly found in 'modern' societies which are recognized generally as societies of disposable commodities. There are two closely-related consequences of this particular kind of representation: first, as art-critic Chaitanya Sambrani points out in his essay 'Tracking Trash: Vivan Sundaram and the Turbulent Core of Modernity', since labelling something as 'trash' requires sorting and deciding what is and what is not useful, 'trash' draws attention to human behaviour which is inevitably affected by the values of the culture inhabited and as Sambrani points out in borrowing from Michael Thompson, a society in which the labels of 'trash' and 'useful' can be used more interchangeably for objects represents a more democratic society, signalling perhaps that a large number of people have the agency to choose and label things. Second, such installations turn the viewer himself/herself into a flaneur endowed with the agency to sift through, ponder over and choose even as the artist himself could be seen as a flaneur hunting for something 'useful' for himself.

It has been argued by critics such as Chaitanya Sambrani and Deepak Ananth that the use of waste materials in a work of art transforms these materials into 'useful' objects and thus is subversive in its potential. It could be said then that the artist in this case embodies the flaneur's characteristic 'view-from-below', thereby transforming discarded materials from the underbelly of the city into materials of 'use' and hence of 'value'. However, one is not sure of the extent to which the artist might have instructed the rag-pickers about bringing the materials they brought, and this is what makes us wonder about the relationship between the agency of the artist (choosing whatever materials he likes and whatever protocols of representation that suit his purpose) and the agency of the viewer/spectator in the interpretation of the work of art. It is hard to imagine that the rag-pickers had absolutely no instructions from the artist, and any instructions given by the artist would be based on a 'plan' of the entire work and hence would make the artist analogous to the master-planner. This seems particularly true to me of the photographs which are part of the exhibition 'Trash' which represent an imagined metropolis made up again only of waste materials and objects discarded by the inhabitants of the city. The photos which use a huge quantity of the same kind of material, like the photograph with the landscape covered with cans of soda drinks (see photographs below), give one the impression that some kind of planning has gone into even the collection of materials.

Thus we realize that on the one hand there is clearly a limit to the agency of the flaneur rag-picker in this case: his 'employment' by Sundaram implies a contract in which the rag-picker will be paid only when he gets the materials he is supposed to get and hence his route is also likely to be determined by the kind of materials he is required to find. On

the other hand, the artist's subversive potential is not devoid of its own complications: as a bricoleur and a creator of installations and photographs that represent the city, the artist places himself in the position of the one who decides, one who allocates to different materials the roles they must play and the spaces they must occupy in his 'city'. This impression is intensified by the aerial and horizontal view of the city Sundaram offers, thus revealing a combination of a view-from-above with an activity-from-below (see illustration 2 above). While it becomes evident in this case due to the presence of the rag-picker as a subordinate assistance for the artist, a similar analysis could be made for many other works too. The point to be made is that agency cannot be seen as something fixed on any one person or thing in the making and receiving of a work and perhaps this really is the closest representation of the city itself: agency shifts constantly between everyone from the planners to the rag-pickers.

An interesting comparison could be made with a video titled 'A Day With Sohail and Mariyan' (2004) by multi-disciplinary artist Gigi Scaria. After a month of engagement with two rag-pickers named Sohail and Mariyan, Scaria shoots a day spent with them as they roam around the city streets at night collecting things they can sell the next day. In the video we see one of them finding a map of Delhi in the heap of rubbish and in a discussion on what it is and if it could be of 'use' to them, one of them remarks "this map does not tell us where our dustbins are (7:03-8:02 minutes). Then what use does it have for us?... Leave this, let us go separate the rubbish" (my translation from Hindi). This comes as a stark reminder for the viewer of how views-from-above and master-plans leave out the details of how varied people would live their lives in this city. This is at once disempowering and empowering: disempowering because the rag-pickers can't get any help from the map and empowering because then they make their own routes, paradoxically though, they limit their agency to feeling happy about being able to spread the rubbish and not face the danger of being known as the problem-creators (3:03- 3:34) and as they say: "it is our wish whether we spread this or not" but "the hotel nearby will always be blamed for this rubbish, not us" (my own translation).

Janaki Nair's description of participatory governance seems to project the Indian city Bangalore as a perfect example of an advanced stage of Foucault's panopticon where citizens not only give in to being observed but also participate in the strengthening of the structure of the panopticon by observing others from time to time. Foucault insists that it is the formation of the collective that is prevented in the panopticon. We could look here at responses from two different artists who look at the formation of the collective in very different ways: photographer Chandan Gomes and Gigi Scaria.

Gomes's 'The Unknown Citizen', a series of photographs on the recent protest movements in December 2013 following the gang-rape in Delhi on December 16, 2013, seems to be a celebration of the collective formed in the aftermath of the rape. The photos are all black and white, highly grainy, and intended to capture the events admittedly from the perspective of a participant in the protests, this perspective becoming evident in one of the first few lines of the commentary that runs along the photographs: "I took to the streets,

like the many young men and women in this country, in a bid to get rid of our collective helplessness. We wanted to reclaim a city that we had lost to our apathy and indifference". The opening photograph is that of Gomes's dear friend and he mentions it was clicked on the same day and around the same time as and not very far from the site of the rape that led to the subsequent protests in Delhi/NCR and beyond. This combination of the commentary and photograph throws up several interesting issues for analysis: first, as further analysis will explicate, the photographer seems to be functioning at a curious juncture of the private and the public, the personal and the political, acting both as an insider and as an outsider to the happenings around him, which helps us ruminate over the pros and cons of flanerie that views from below vis-a-vis meta-narratives and master-plans that are views from above; second, the utopian future that the photo-essay seems to invest faith in along with a homogenizing representation of the "collective" of people that are imagining this future could be analyzed to nuance our understanding of utopias, collectives and revolutions; third, in trying to point out the features that distinguish these photos from photos of any other protests, I hope to be able to throw some light on how romanticizing of protest movements also ends up de-historicizing them, thus depriving them of just that context-specificity that they thrive on.

The commentary, along with these photos and even conversations with Gomes, suggest that the grainy nature of the photos (which makes it nearly impossible to recognize the features on the faces), being one of the protesters and telling the story of 'us' rather than 'them', are all deliberate practical strategies: the blurring of the features is used to protect the identity of the protesters on the one hand and to emphasize upon a collective of what Gomes calls the "ordinary", "faceless", "unknown citizens" who had spontaneously come up to protest on the other; being one of the protesters gives him an insider's perspective that an outsider might lack while also emphasizing the romanticized notion that this zeal is in each one of us and that these people represent all of us. However both strategies seem to have their own complexities and pitfalls: despite these claims to be one of the protesters, documenting the movement from the 'inside' and the constant use of the pronoun 'we' to refer to the mass of people, we also see Gomes clicking from heights, away from the masses and from almost a panopticon-like angle. While a photograph from an eye-level gives us the feeling of the photographer being one of them, clicking from high above and making sure as many people as possible are visible (which is again perhaps practically useful for the purpose of documentation) gives the impression of the photographer being an 'other' who documents for a purpose he does not seem to reveal to the protesters. The photographer himself in this case is an example of the oscillation between the voyeur and the walker that Benjamin and Certeau suggest – engaging and commenting from within at one point and disengaging and viewing from far and merely documenting on the other.

In a theoretical and generalized sense, this failing on the part of Gomes to be only a "common man" giving us "an insider's perspective" could be seen as one of the merits of the work as the work could then be credited for maintaining a critical (objective?) distance even as some other photographs confirm a proximity with the masses. Edward Soja's 'Six

Discourses on the Postmetropolis' critiques privileging of the flaneur's 'view-from-below', emphasizing how this privileging (not flanerie itself which has its own credits) tends to make us unreceptive to what could be gained from a 'view-from-above', from analyses of master-plans and meta-narratives. However, when we look at this specific case of the representation of protests a little more closely, we see that the effect of photographs taken from afar and from panopticon-like angles coupled with the very effective erasure of the identity of the protesters could be almost detrimental for the movement itself and as the following analysis will show, the effect could be as drastic as transforming the protest movement into a spectacle to be consumed by those who sit in the comfort of their homes and watch the events unfold (see photographs below).

With their faces not recognizable at all due to the grainy nature of the photographs and the distance from which some of these are clicked, the protesters lose their individualities. What matters, as the photographer would indeed hope, is the identity of these people as protesters and their actions as protesters but never their identities as individuals in their own right, their demands (which are most likely to be diverse) and their reasons for joining the protest movement. They are given a common voice then through the commentary that runs along with these photographs making them a homogenous mass with common demands: "Raat mein bhi Azaadi. Din mein bhi Azaadi. Pyar karne ki Azaadi. Dosti ki Azaadi. Moral Policing se Azaadi. Pehnave ki Azaadi... Is rape culture se Azaadi...Yuan Hinsa ke Khilaf Awaz Do. Hum Ek Hain."[1] The single photo that highlights that women from different social strata were part of this movement is also used to downplay nuances rather than highlighting them. Too much light on the placards that these women are holding and a high contrast level ensures that their placards are not readable and hence their demands cannot be known directly by the viewer of these photographs. While one must rely on the photogrpaher's interpretation of their demands, one can hardly fail to realize that the demands and everyday issues that concern these women from a different (economically weaker) stratum of the society will in all probability vary greatly from the ones that concern a person from an economically stronger stratum.

The ability of subjects to imagine a future radically different from the context of their inhabitation is obviously essential for the image of a utopia (a desirable future context). If a utopia is defined as a social order that is perfectly fair and just to all, two characteristics seem to be inextricable from this definition: a particular image of a utopia must be shared by a collective mass of people, and, as a corollary, this mass of people must all imagine themselves as fulfilled and secure in that common vision of the future. Herein lies perhaps the third dimension of the definition of a utopia: a utopia can only be an imagined reality but never a real existence. In any given society but particularly in a society as diverse as ours where not only class but also caste, gender and religions are causes of major divisions, a projection of a fair society into the future is hardly a believable one.

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[1] The first few lines of this have been translated by Gomes himself as: "Freedom at night. Freedom during the day./Freedom to love. Freedom to form friendships./Freedom from moral policing./Freedom in what we wear./ Freedom to be 'Dented-Painted'./ Freedom from this culture of rape./ Freedom to not be called names…".

Thus, as already stated in the context of the protest movement that followed the Delhi gangrape, the concerns of women from different strata might be vastly different from each other. This is not to say that this was a women's movement and men were not a part of it, but that this heterogenous nature of the protesters– different castes, classes, genders- could, if given a platform in an artistic work, have formed an interesting way to nuance our understanding of the movement. A failure to highlight such a significant characteristic of this movement and to connect this characteristic with the given context has the effect of de-historicizing the movement, thus making the documentation of this movement a spectacle to be consumed by people who look at these photos either on the internet or as an appreciable work of art in an art gallery.

In an interview, Geeta Kapur while talking about revolutionary change and the role of art within it discusses the problematic of imagining a utopian future, suggesting that there is "disjunction and disappointment and even tragedy written into that relationship" of utopias and contexts. On the one hand when a 'subject' (admittedly from an essentialist perspective but one that works in tandem with her Marxist perspective) imagines a utopia, it is inevitably based in his/her present context and state of mind, thus making future a 'context' that is linked to the context of the present. On the other hand, as Kapur puts it: "when the utopian imaginary is too historically bound to what is already available to our imagination today, it is inadequate. Revolutionary change must exceed what one can imagine contextually" (255). Thus though the imaginative power of the subject cannot be undermined, the future can never be totally "comprehensible" and "legible" in its context. Without being prescriptive one might imagine that an art form that represents that state of the modern citizen caught in a web of modernity and development and power structures that govern all of these cannot be one that establishes simple cause-effect relationships between a protest and revolutionary change, between intent and the hoped-for result will be an appropriate art-form.

In stark contrast with Gomes, Gigi Scaria in his series of photos titled 'Triviality of Everyday Existence' seems to be exposing the disruption in the formation of the collective that has become a part of everyday life as one of the facets of the ongoing project of modernity. While the series as a whole is an attempt to understand the life of the inhabitants of Seoul (South Korea) by photographing how they travel and work and how they are posited in the congested skyline of the city, part one of the series which bears the title of the series is a set of photographs of a few youngsters as they walk through the metro station. In what are scenes staged particularly for the purpose of the photographs, we see each of these youngsters looking only into their own handsets of electronic devices (mostly mobile phones) and these people are apparently watching videos of their favourite TV serials, films or popular programmes. Though these are photographs taken after Scaria directed the people to pose in this particular way, one can very well imagine these scenes to be an everyday reality not only in Seoul, but in the metro stations of Delhi as well. After two immediate qualifications then, I think it will be possible to discuss the new notion of 'public' that the metro seems to give rise to in a city undergoing modernization. First, a

homogenising universalization (of the kind already critiqued) by way of using images of Seoul metro stations in a discussion about Delhi's urbanity is neither the intention of the artist nor in any way of this chapter. By linking these photos with sociological studies on the Delhi metro, I will attempt to highlight the similarities as well as the differences that seem evident in the notions of the 'public' these seem to hint at. Second, the fact that these photographs were taken after Scaria directed the subjects to pose in this particular way does not seem to make these photos less creditable as representations of the city, since one is accustomed to coming across such scenes in metro stations even in Delhi itself. However the slight dramatization which adds to the alienating effect of the photos on the one hand also seems to make these representations less nuanced and symbolically monochromatic on the other, necessitating a closer look at the coming of the metro in Delhi and people's behaviour inside the stations and on the metro.

What these photographs dramatize is the disruption of the formation of collectivities as these people prefer to be in touch with their secure private worlds that they carry in their handsets rather than with each other. The dramatization becomes evident from observing that in every such photograph the people are shown lost in their handsets to such an extent that they do not even directly face each other. In one such photograph which could be seen as the height of this dramatization, people sit around a cylindrical pillar with their backs or sides turned towards each other forming a circle which seems to possess centrifugal forces under the influence of which these people could only move farther away from each other but never towards each other (see Illustration 5). In another such dramatization we see people moving in random directions apparently on their own designated paths but again, lost in their handsets and oblivious not only to others around them (with whom they might even collide) but also to the aesthetics of the inside of the metro station which they seem to consider only as an everyday means of getting to their everyday destinations (see Illustrations 5 and 6).

Watching the programmes and videos that they otherwise watch in the comforts of their houses shows a desire to carry a sense of that comfort with them even in the public space of the metro in order to kill the boredom of travelling across the city. In conversation, Scaria asserts that for him these photographs also reveal a blurring of the private and the public as people can easily have a sneak peek into each other's private worlds by gazing into others' handsets. However, the photographs do not seem to attest to these claims in any way as they are committed to a dramatization of the alienation that people feel with each other. Some of them might actually be regular co-travellers, but that too does not seem to have had much countereffect on the alienation that they feel and maintain. Thus the notion of the public that is generated by these photographs is one of people completely disinterested in coming together as a collective as their modern technological gadgets keep them occupied. From these representations it seems that the Korean master-plan of modernity seems to be fairly successful not only in technological progress, but also in segregating individuals from each other. In this sense then, it seems difficult to imagine that this space of the metro could ever be a differential space of resistance in the Lefebvre-esque

sense. However, it is again this extreme representation (on a polar opposite with that of Gomes) that implores us to reconsider the gaps that necessarily seep in between master-plans, lived realities and perceptions and/or representations of those realities.

In the Indian context, one can notice two significant differences: first, personal experience of travelling on the Delhi metro convinces one of a much more evident kind of blurring of the public and the private that takes place as one tries to carry any bit of one's private world into the public space of the metro, as people are quite likely to peep into the book one is reading or the video one is watching or even eavesdrop on the conversation one might be engaged in on the phone. In fact, one hears often even of matrimonial alliances taking place between co-travellers on the Delhi metro. The women's coach in the Delhi metro is ideal for analysing the interaction between individuals and the blurring or non-blurring of the private and the public as unsurprisingly, that is where the possibility of coming together as a collective is at its highest. Shelly Tara in her essay titled 'Private Space in Public Transport: Locating Gender in the Delhi Metro' suggests looking at the women's coach as a private space in which women come together and are able to assert themselves in ways in which they cannot assert themselves on the street or in other modes of public transport like buses. Tara emphasizes how women have the freedom of dressing up as they please (since they need not be in proximity with male passengers even on the platforms), of laughing as they please and of interacting with each other without having to monitor the visual and physical space around them. Most of all, they can come together and protest in case of an assault on a fellow woman passenger. Thus in Tara's view, the women's coach becomes a space of resistance and symbolic power owing to the majority of women passengers. However, once again this analysis seems to commit the fallacy of over-simplification and romanticization of the collective. If the formation of an effective collective depended only on the coming together of people in an ear-marked space (in the geographical sense of the term), revolutions would have always been successful. What about, for instance, those women in the women's coach who have internalized the order of patriarchy to such an extent that the private worlds that they carry with them into this public space are patriarchal in their attitude? Also what about those men who do not carry such patriarchal private worlds into the public space and could be of much help in case of an assault? Analyses that rely on such simplistic distinctions as between men and women necessarily suffer from this anomaly. In this sense, while Gomes's representation of the collective takes an extreme position on one end of the continuum romanticizing the formation of a collective thus celebrating the spaces they occupy as potentially revolutionary, Scaria takes the other extreme by dramatizing the dissociation of individuals from each other owing to their citizenship of what is called a 'modern' nation-state, thus undermining the possibility of any form of resistance.

The possibility of such differential spaces of resistance comes not from the perfect functioning of master-planned spaces where certain people come together (like the women's coach) but from the gaps between master-plans and how people really perceive and live those plans. This takes us to the second fact to be taken into consideration in the

context of the Delhi metro: that the metro still continues to be a thing of wonder for many belonging to certain weaker, lower-class sections of the society and thus, owing partly to this and partly to other factors, including the inevitable gaps between the master-plan and the lived reality, a lot of activity in and around the metro stations of the kind that cannot have been planned by the planners of the metro is easily noticeable. As Rashmi Sadana suggests in the first article in her series of articles titled 'Metrocity Journal: Delhi's Changing Landscape' in, the height that metro stations (and trips on the metro where it is above-ground) provide people with in this fairly low-rising city has led to a new way of perceiving the city, owing to greater awareness about the city's "contours and borders, rooftops and highways, malls and industries, settled and unsettled dwellings". This seems to then give rise to a new kind of flanerie, particularly in people of the economically weaker sections of the society for whom the metro is not really a means of travel but a place to be in itself. From such heights their slums and workplaces become visible, giving them also a certain distance from where to look afresh at the spaces they inhabit. Something of a healthy combination of a view-from-below which these people get in their daily lives and a view-from-above (literally so in this case) is on offer. Yet others seem to made niches for themselves in these master-plans by earning a living from moveable shops that they set up on the pavements outside and near metro stations selling things as varied as stationery items, formal clothes, magazines, and of course eatables.

This is not to say that these spaces like those of the vendors outside and near metro stations and like those of the flaneurs are necessarily spaces of resistance but this strengthens our belief in the fallibility of master-plans and the gaps and spaces that always exist within them. It seems that it is these spaces formed by responses of the common folk to plans, and the appropriations of these spaces they undertake in order to inhabit them that there is potential for resistance and even change. This change that we talk about here is not a revolutionary change in the world order, but change at the micro level, perceivable only through a view from below.

Further this shows us how the street (typically defined as an aggressive 'outside' and potentially unruly) and the metro (typically seen as a secure semi-inside space) come together. Vendors, dirt, even insensitive and aggressive behaviour are not exactly unheard of in the Delhi metro anymore. Thus once again the dividing line between the 'outside' (in this case the street) and the 'inside' (in this case the metro) is blurred. In conversations, Gomes stresses the change in the nature of the Rajpath space due to the presence of the protesters as the major cause of worry for the powers-that-be, rather than any real danger on account of the protesters, suggesting thereby that the Rajpath streets were different from any other streets in the city because of the symbolism of power and governance associated with them. As a corollary then, it is due to the people from the streets that the nature of this space was changing. However, one should probably try to push this argument further in the Lefebvre-esque way to argue that these elements with the potential of resistance come not from the outside of this space which they change, but exist in a way in this space itself. Where power and its symbols exist, the elements with the potential for resistance co-exist.

Thus two aspects associated with the image of the Delhi metro must here be challenged. First, it characterises an 'inside' which is secure and unthreatening as opposed to the street which is aggressive and fraught with varied vendors, pickpockets and the like who we must guard ourselves against. As has been already discussed, a blurring of the elements associated with the street and those associated with the metro is evident which punctures the image of people travelling with the single-minded aim of getting somewhere. Second, as Matti Siemiatycki points out in her essay 'Message in a Metro: Building Urban Rail Infrastructure and Image in Delhi, India', the Delhi metro was promoted by the DMRC as a catalyst for promoting progress and as a vehicle for inculcating a culture of discipline, order, routine and cleanliness in sharp contrast with the congested-ness of old Delhi. However as has been paradoxically evident, the building of the metro has resulted in a high degree of physical destruction and dislocation for hundreds of inhabitants of this city. This has in fact also been the fate of hundreds of others in the course of other such projects like the building of the Commonwealth Games village and others undertaken in the name of progress and 'development' and competing at the international level. Finally, in this paper I have tried to cast a slightly different glance at technologies of surveillance by focussing not on a direct analysis of the modes of surveillance but rather by observing closely the responses of those subject to these modes and their representations of surveillance in what has been provisionally called 'visual media'. Globalization, local responses to globalization (often termed 'glocalization') and constant urbanization and modernization have ensured that what have been called 'power centres' of the State are diffused to the extent of making not only resistance difficult but even analyses of power complicated. In the capital city of India which has seen many different regimes (whether, sovereign, democratic or quasi-democratic), the problem is made even more complex by the fact that a certain enchantment with the 'State' still prevails particularly in the underprivileged sections of the society who must look up to the 'State' for fulfilling all their needs even as they chide the State and show their discontentment with it at all other times. Thus any analysis of surveillance can be effective only when it is able to capture this curious mix of hope and despair in the 'citizens' even as the coming up of the 'modern' State with diffused power centres necessitates a movement away from analyzing the diffused 'State' and towards analyzing what has been called 'participatory' surveillance and 'participatory governance'. It is in this vein that indirect analyses of the blurring of the public and the private realms, of the self and the surroundings, the self and others, the active and the passive, visibility and invisibility, and an analysis of the virtual worlds gain prominence and have been undertaken. Even though the imagination of the experiencing subject has been emphasized upon in imagining spaces differently to transform spaces of symbolic power into spaces of resistance and potential 'revolution', the limits that discursive processes impose upon this imagination itself have not been downplayed.

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Illus. 1: *Metal Box* from ‘Trash’ (artist: Vivan Sundaram)

Illus. 2: *Master-Plan* from ‘Trash’ (artist: Vivan Sundaram)

Illus. 3: From ‘The Unknown Citizen’ (artist: Chandan Gomes)

Illus. 4: From ‘The Unknown Citizen’ (artist: Chandan Gomes)

Illus. 5: From ‘Triviality of Everyday Existence’ (artist: Gigi Scaria)

Illus. 6: From ‘Triviality of Everyday Existence’
(artist: Gigi Scaria)

Of Terror, Fear and Insecurity in the Drama on the Niger Delta: A Critical Evaluation of Esiaba Irobi's *Hangmen Also Die*

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Introduction

History has it that since the discovery of oil in commercial quantity in the Niger Delta region of Nigeria in the mid-twentieth century, there has been some form of agitation by various organizations drawn from the Niger Delta communities over inadequate compensation for the degradation of their environments. However, the agitation for the control of their natural resources by the people of the Niger Delta takes its cue from the earlier struggles of Isaac Jasper Adaka Boro and Kenule Saro-Wiwa. In their respective historical epochs and environments, Adaka Boro and Ken Saro-Wiwa had course to champion the struggle for adequate compensation of the Niger Delta communities that played host to the multinationals that are engaged in oil exploration and exploitation activities. The Niger Delta agitation for resource control, as propelled by Boro and Saro-Wiwa respectively, attracted global attention such that the Nigerian country was confronted with series of international sanctions and soiled relationships with her international allies for dispossessing the people of the Niger Delta of their rights to self-determination.

As it was to be expected, Boro and Saro-Wiwa were subjected to series of assaults, harassments, intimidations, torture and eventual murder by the machineries of the federal government for daring to speak up in favor of the impoverished peoples of the Niger Delta. Conscious of his convictions about the struggle and its implication, Saro-Wiwa declared:

> I am a man of peace, of ideas. Appalled by the denigrating poverty of my people, who live on richly- endowed land, distressed by their political marginalization and economic strangulation; angered by the devastation of their land, their ultimate heritage, anxious to preserve their right to life and to a decent living, and determined to usher to this country as a whole a fair and just democratic system which protects everyone and every ethnic group and gives us all a valid claim to human civilization, I have devoted all my intellectual and material resource; my very life to a cause in which I have total belief and from which I cannot be blackmailed or intimidated. I have no doubt at all about the ultimate success of my cause no matter the trials and tribulations which I and those who believe with

> me may encounter on our journey. Neither imprisonment nor death can stop our ultimate victory. (Qtd. in Akpan 11).

Saro-Wiwa's declaration embodies some prophetic undertones when viewed against the fact that a decade and more after his murder, the struggle acquired a different dimension. This time, a more violent trend with various militant groups engaging in one form of restlessness or another in agitation for the adequate compensation of degradation and pollution of their environments.

Today, the Niger Delta region boasts of a handful of non-governmental organizations and groups purported to be agitators and fighters for the protection of the environmental rights of the region. Such groups include; The Niger Delta Vigilante Force (NDVF), Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND), Movement for the Survival of Ogoni People (MOSSOP) and The Niger Delta Avengers (NDA) among others. Unlike, the machineries of Boro and Saro-Wiwa, these later groups are highly militant and violent in their agitation. Apart from the consistent vandalization of oil pipelines, these groups also embark on hostage takings and oil bunkering. At first, their targets for hostage takings were expatriates in the services of the multinationals with the demand of huge amounts of money as ransom but in recent times and amidst extreme security for the expatriates, these militant groups have reduced their options to kidnapping fellow natives who are adjudged wealthy whether as a businessmen, oil workers or politicians. Despite the federal government's offer of amnesty to these militant groups so as to lure them to drop their weapons and embrace dialogue, the Niger Delta region remains a den of restiveness, criminality and insecurity as cases of vandalization of oil pipelines, kidnapping, oil bunkering, politically-motivated assassinations, looting, armed robbery and other criminal activities are on the increase.

Interestingly, one of the means through which the Niger Delta critics and activists express their sentiments on the struggle is drama and consequently, theatre. Perhaps, in their conviction on the character of drama as a vehicle for social cohesion and order, some Nigerian writers especially of Niger Delta origin, have resorted to documenting their perspectives of the Niger Delta struggle in the form of plays. Today, references can be made to a modicum of Nigerian plays that depict the history, nature, characteristics and dynamics of the Niger Delta struggle. Such plays include J.P. Clark's *All for Oil*, Esiaba Irobi's *Hangmen Also Die*, Ahmed Yerima's *Hard Ground*, *Little Drops*, Akpors Adesi's *Agadagba Warriors*, Ben Binebai's *Drums of the Delta,* and Eni Jologho's *The Scent of Crude Oil* among others. Against this backdrop, the paper has been designed to examine the portrayal of terror, fear and insecurity in contemporary Nigeria drama with particular reference to Esiaba Irobi's *Hangmen Also Die.* The play under study would be used as paradigm for the body of plays that address the Niger Delta crises.

Terrorism, Fear and Insecurity: Conceptual Briefs

Our recourse to terror in this study would mean a person or thing that causes extreme fear. It also serves as the root word for the term terrorism. The several attempts made by scholars of psychology, sociology and political science to provide a uniform definition of the term terrorism seem to have been thwarted by various factors. Prominent among these factors is the reality that the various legal systems and government agencies use different definitions of the term in their respective national legislation and also because the term terrorism is emotionally and politically –oriented. Drawing largely from Brian Jenkins' analogy, Bruce Hoffman states that the term terrorism has a subjective definitional character since:

> …it implies a moral judgment; and if one party can successfully attach the label *terrorist* to its opponent, then it has indirectly persuaded others to adopt its moral viewpoint.' Hence the decision to call someone or label some organization *terrorist* becomes almost unavoidably subjective, depending largely on whether one sympathizes with or opposes the person/group/cause concerned. If one identifies with the victim of the violence, for example, then the act is terrorism. If, however, one identifies with the perpetrator, the violent act is regarded in a more sympathetic, if not positive (or, at the worst, an ambivalent) light; and it is not terrorism… (32)

When viewed from a broader perspective, terrorism is defined as the use of violence or threatened use of violence, in order to achieve a political, religious, or ideological aim. Hoffman also informs that in modern times, terrorism is considered a major threat to society and therefore illegal under anti-terrorism laws (32).However, our operational definition of terrorism in the study is that which underscores the psychological and tactical concerns of terrorism as provided by Carsten Bockstette, thus:

> Terrorism is defined as political violence in an asymmetrical conflict that is designed to induce terror and psychic fear (sometimes indiscriminate) through the violent victimization and destruction of noncombatant targets (sometimes iconic symbols). Such acts are meant to send a message from an illicit clandestine organization. The purpose of terrorism is to exploit the media in order to achieve maximum attainable publicity as an amplifying force multiplier in order to influence the targeted audience(s) in order to reach short-and midterm political goals and/or desired long-term end states. (20)

Our analysis of terrorism reveals its complementary relationship with fear. Just as pity and fear remain the chief emotions of tragedy from the Aristotelian discourse on drama, fear and shock are the major emotional responses to terrorism. Little wonder, Alex Ohman describes fear as:

> …a feeling induced by perceived danger or threat that occurs in certain types of organisms, which causes a change in metabolic and organ functions and ultimately a change in behavior, such as fleeing, hiding, or freezing from perceived traumatic events. (573)

He adds that fear in human beings may occur in response to a specific stimulus occurring in the present, or in anticipation or expectation of a future threat perceived as a risk to body or life. Ohman's analogy suggests in the main our response to fear arises from our perception of danger leading to confrontation with or escape from or avoiding the threat (also known as the fight-or-flight response), which in extreme cases of fear (horror and terror) can be a freeze response or paralysis. In an attempt to distinguish fear from phobia, Ohman reveals that fear is assessed from the point of view of either rational or appropriate or irrational or inappropriate and that what we refer to as phobia is simply irrational fear borne out reflex actions. (575)

Characteristically, fear can be learned by experiencing or watching a frightening traumatic accident. For example, if a person falls into river and struggles to get out, he or she may develop a fear of rivers even creeks. There are studies looking at areas of the brain that are affected in relation to fear. Andrea Olsson, Katherine Nearing and Elizabeth Phelps observe that people learn to fear regardless of whether they themselves have experienced trauma or have observed the fear in others (4). In a later study, Olsson and Phelps assert that fear is affected by cultural and historical context. In a bid to buttress their assertion, they recount that in the early 20th century, many Americans feared polio, a disease that cripples the body part it affects, leaving that body part immobilized for the rest of one's life. They argue further that there are consistent cross-cultural differences in how people respond to fear contending that "Display rules" affect how likely people are to show the facial expression of fear and other emotions. In the end, they submit that, although many fears are learned, the capacity to fear is part of human nature. (11o2)

While we acknowledge that fear is one of the emotional responses to terror, the duo of terror and fear are products of insecurity. Emotional insecurity, which is also referred to as insecurity, is a feeling of general unease or nervousness that may be triggered by perceiving of oneself to be vulnerable or inferior in some way to one's self-image and ego. Abraham Maslow describes an insecure person as a person who:

> …perceives the world as a threatening jungle and most human beings as dangerous and selfish; feels a rejected and isolated person, anxious and hostile; is generally pessimistic and unhappy; shows signs of tension and conflict, tends to turn inward; is troubled by guilt-feelings, has one or another disturbance of self-esteem; tends to be neurotic; and is generally selfish and egocentric." (Maslow, 35).

The deduction to make from Maslow's position is that the concept of insecurity is related to that of psychological resilience in as far as both concern the effects which setbacks or

difficult situations have on an individual. However resilience concerns over-all coping, also with reference to the individual's socio-economic situation, whereas the emotional security specifically characterizes the emotional impact. In this sense, emotional security can be understood as part of resilience. For Alegre, a person who is insecure lacks confidence in his own value, and one or more of his capabilities, lacks trust in himself or others, or has fears that a present positive state is temporary, and will let him down and cause him to loss or distress by "going wrong" in the future. (20) This is a common trait, which only differs in degree between people.

However, Alegre cautions that this similarity is not to be confused with humility, which involves recognizing one's shortcomings but still maintaining a healthy dose of self-confidence. For him, insecurity is not an objective evaluation of one's ability but an emotional interpretation. So far in the review, we have attempted an analysis of the distinctive and yet complementary relationship between terror, fear and insecurity. It has also been established in the study that the feeling of fear as a result of the possibility of terrorism is a robust manifestation of insecurity whether at the level of the individual or the larger society.

The Concept of Theatre and Drama

The phenomenon known as theatre has attracted quite an array of definitions. Each definition is either aimed at achieving a communal purpose or satisfying academic curiosity. For Samuel Johnson "theatre is an echo of the public voice" (14). As brief as this definition may read, it suggests a wide range of interpretations. Prominent amongst these interpretations is the deduction that theatre is a platform on which public opinions, views, concepts and ideas can be expressed. Patrice Paris takes Johnson's further when he describes theatre as "…a collaborative form of fine arts that uses live performers to present the experience of a real or imagined event before a live audience in a specific place" (38). Brian Hansen sees theatre not just as an experience or building but an art form that enjoys a healthy and balanced relationship with the society that supports it. According to him, "…theatre only happens when people understands and accept the performance contract" (20). He goes further to state that theatre serves multiple functions in human society. Against this backdrop, Hansen informs that in 1976, a group of social exchange educators met to reflect on the implications of theatre as a source of social exchange through education (20). One outcome of that meeting was an annotated list of possible functions of the theatre. He highlights the functions of the theatre, thus:

> To provide a public event… to demonstrate artistic achievement… to attract attention to people issues… to provide an emotional catharsis… to validate sense of personal identity and worth… to worship one's gods… to stimulate and shape creative imagination… to express social concern and celebrate social achievements… to perpetrate and enrich… (30-36).

Similarly, Brockett and Ball note that although how theatre emerged from its primitive ritualistic beginnings is unclear but it has achieved its own distinct identity at least twenty five hundred years ago. In an attempt to buttress the nature of theatre across the ages, Brockett and Ball recount, thus:

> In ancient Greece, it was performed for the entire community at religious festivals financed by the state and wealthy citizens. At other tim es, theatre has existed on the fringes of respectability, as it did from the fifth to the tenth century A.D. when small bands of itine rant performers travelled around playing wherever they could for whatever they could collect from those who came to watch. In other times, theatre has been forbidden, as it wasinEnglandbetween1642and 1660when the puritans then in power considered it not only morally unacceptable but also an activity that tempted people away from more honest work (5).

The deduction from Brockett and Ball's analogy is that during its long life, theatre has often been either denounced or praised and also that its value and rights to exist has frequently been questioned. It has become a consensus of opinion within theatre scholarship that no definition of theatre can ever be broad enough to accommodate the multiplicity of functions which theatre serves the human community. This is largely because theatre events cut directly and vividly into life, having to do with the currents of man's being, with personal crises and interesting moments of experience. Interestingly, theatre is both age and culture bound; its functions are determined greatly by the worldviews, age and philosophies of the society that creates it. Our brief review so far portends that in whatever form and age that theatre manifests, it sets out to underscore the tripartite functions of information, education and entertainment.

The Niger Delta Struggle: A Background Statement

The Niger Delta as covers a distance of over 70,00km^2, constituting 7.5% of land in mass of Nigeria. According to Onigu Otite, "the Niger Delta is reputed to be the third largest wetlands in the world that sustains a complex biodiversity" (1). In Nigeria's political geography, Niger Delta consists of Bayelsa, Abia, Edo, Akwa-Ibom, Cross River, Delta, Rivers, Imo and Ondo states. The Niger Delta is home to about forty ethnic groups which include Efik, Ibibio, Annang, Oron, Ijaw, Itsekiri, Igbo, Isoko, Urhobo, Yoruba, Kalabari, Ekpeye, Ikwerre and Ogba among others. The linguistic heterogeneity of the Niger Delta has been subject of significant scholarly analysis. Darah informs that "about one hundred of Nigeria's four hundred and two languages are spoken in the Niger Delta, the most

populaous being Ijaw, Urhobo, Edo-Bini, Ibibio and Igbo" (102). In present times, the Niger Delta region is synonymous with all manner of conflict and unrest, mostly of the proportion of unacceptable violence. Most of this unrest has been bla med on the discovery of oil in the region in the 1950s. Today, "the Nigerian Niger Delta re gion accounts for 80% of total government revenue, 95% of foreign exchange and over 80 % of national wealth"(Ebienfa,4). However, the discovery of oil in commercial quantity in1966 serves as the melting pot for the lingering Niger Delta crisis as the host communities consistently unleash violence and unrest in the region in protest for the degradation of their environments without adequate compensation by both the government and the multinationals.

Synopsis of *Hangmen Also Die*

Irobi's *Hangmen Also Die* portrays the proliferation of such criminal dispositions as burglary, armed robbery, political assassination, hostage taking and so on in Nigeria as perpetrated by the youths in protest against government's insensitivity to their welfare concerns. In the play, seven Nigerian university graduates of outstanding academic performance resort to violence and criminality as a way of registering their grievances and defiance in the face of protracted joblessness. Way back in their undergraduate days, they bonded as a miniature human rights group, which they christened "The Comrades" as a result of their ideological leanings towards Marxism. The group fizzles away following their graduation from the university. Several years after graduation, the seven youths meet again at the office of the National Directorate of Employment where they had gone for job hunt amongst thousands of other jobless youths. This meeting provides the platform for the youths to compare notes on the futility of their job hunts. Tempers begin to rise amongst them as they cast their minds back to their university days when they were taught the act of terrorism and violence by Dr. Ogbansiegbe, their ideological mentor.

Issues of Terror, Fear and Insecurity in *Hangmen Also Die*

The security concerns portrayed in Irobi's *Hangmen Also Die* are made manifest in the violent activities of the "Suicide Squad." As the play opens, we are confronted with a disturbing scenario where seven young men (members of the Suicide Squad) are filed out to be hanged to death as part of their punishment for murdering a serving commissioner in Izon State. However, the hanging process is truncated by Yekinni, the supposed hangman of the Prisons. Yekinni's refusal to hang members of the Suicide Squad is predicated on his justification of their violent and restive dispositions as acts of defiance. As he puts it:

> … Sometime ago, the Federal Government gave the citizens of this state, which as you know is a riverine state, the sum of three million naira as compensation money for the oil spillage which has ruined their farms,

> their homes, and their lives. But the man they killed, one Chief Isokipiri Erekosima, a commissioner for Local Government, Rural Development and Chieftaincy Affairs, connived with his councilors and local Government Chairmen to confiscate the 3 million naira. The Councillors took one million and shared it among themselves. The Local Government Chairmen shared one million. The Commissioner himself, one million. No single citizen, no matter how wretched, got a single kobo. That was when these young men stepped in… (Irobi, 23)

Though a government worker who is duty bound to hang the members of the Suicide Squad, Yekinni prefers to take sides with them by defending their act of terrorism and disregards for constituted authority. Interestingly, the resort to violence, militancy and terrorism by members of the Suicide Squad draws its root from their feelings of disillusionment and distrust towards the ruling class far back in their days on campus as university undergraduates. It is in their quest to challenge oppressive leadership campus that they formed the activist group, which they called the COMRADES with Dr. Ogbansiegbe, an extreme Marxist as their staff adviser. Through the narration of their leader, R.I.P., we are informed of the philosophy behind the formation of the COMRADES organization, thus:

> R.I.P.: …We met in our first year. Then, we were freshmen, fresh in the world, fresh from home and families stricken by poverty. At school, sometimes, we did not know where our first meal was coming from. So we became pregnant. Pregnant with ideas. Pregnant with dreams. Dreams and ambitions to change this nation. Change its leadership. Create a new lease of life for its citizens. (Irobi, 38)

However, the shift in the ideologies of the COMRADES to those of violence, militancy and terrorism is necessitated by the teachings of their Staff Adviser whom they describe as "…a great ideologue, a great demagogue, an actor and an orator…" who "…knew how to hit the target of your heart with his verbal bullets…" (Irobi, 38) In an attempt to mimic Ogbansiegbe, Acid, one of the members of the Suicide Squad, recounts how the former talked them into the act of terrorism, thus:

> **Acid:** (*with violent gestures*) Terrorism is a legitimate tactic of all down-trodden people seeking to combat oppressive government. Without terrorism by the I.R.A would the Republic of Ireland have gained independence today? Without terrorism by the Mau-Mau, would there be Kenya today?... Without terrorism by the Algerians, would the French ever have agreed to leave North Africa in 1962? Without terrorism in

> South Africa, do you think Apartheid would ever be dismantled? (Irobi, 39)

Upon the observation that the COMRADES are absorbing his revolutionary manifesto, Ogbansiegbe proceeds and pricks their consciences further by charging them, thus:

> **Acid:** You are all young men. And being young men in a third world country where no one, not even your leaders, makes any plans for your future, you are potential revolutionaries. (*fierily*) So I want you to write this down on the walls of your mind, and remember it now and always, that revolutions are always based on terrorism. Revolutions are always based on violence. On bloodshed and terror… revolution is not a dinner party, it is not a disco competition, it is not an ideological romance. (*With power*) It is an act of insurrection where one party overthrows the other. It occurs as the accumulated grievances of the common man… (Irobi, 39)

Overwhelmed by this lecture, the COMRADES honour Ogbansiegbe with a clapping ovation and he, in turn, cashes in on their excitement and charges them into full scale violent and terrorist onslaughts regardless of the security implications. As he puts it:

> **Acid:** So, comrades, do not burn but also kill. Mutilate your adversaries on the public highway. Pierce their eyes. Cut off their arms and tongues. Hang them by the neck. Spill their blood. And remember the world is always willing to forget and forgive the crimes of terrorism and in fact honour those it once called criminals provided the terrorist has sheathed his knife and washed blood off his hands. Think of Menachem Begin, Jomo Kenyatta, Fidel Castro… Malcolm X… Jerry Rawlings… (40).

Ogbansiegbe's revolutionary lessons sink deep into the consciousness of the COMRADES as they thread on violence first as petty thieves and later graduate into full scale armed robbers, political assassins thereby creating terror, menace and fear in society even as university undergraduates. Unknown to the COMRADES, Ogbansiegbe's ulterior motive in feeding them with terrorist ideals is to prepare them as deadly weapons for his revenge mission against his political enemies. However, Ogbansiegbe's selfish intent is exposed when the COMRADES are intercepted by a French major student in the department of languages on their way to murder the Chairman of Ogbansiegbe's political party who is alleged to have rigged him out of election. In a bid to debunk Ogbansiegbe's selfish and dangerous definition of terrorism, the student whom they identified as a comrade, provides yet another definition of terrorism. Through the act of mimicry, Dayan, a member of the COMRADES, paraphrases the French student's definition of terrorism, thus:

> **Dayan**: A revolution is always organized. Its strategies planned out. Its aims and objectives mapped out. A revolution is always planned and executed by a generation. In doing this, they have no need for an ideological mentor or an ideological Methuselah. We are just tools in Dr. Ogbansiegbe's hands. Spanners and hammers in the hands of a political mechanic. We have allowed him to sell to us an insane philosophy; Terrorism! Comrades, terrorism is useless if we are not organized. (Irobi, 43)

It is this new definition of terrorism by the French student that serves as the tonic for the COMRADES in their thirst for revolution. Upon the realization that they have been used as tools for vengeance by Ogbansiegbe, the COMRADES invade his house and murder him gruesomely by hanging him on the ceiling fan in his sitting room. Satisfied that they have put an end to the source of their wrong ideology of revolution through the murder of Ogbansiegbe, the COMRADES disbanded and in no distant time, they graduated from the university.

Seven years after graduation, members of the disbanded COMRADES meet again at the office of the Directorate of Employment where they have come to access the loans government had promised unemployed graduates as a way of enhancing self-employment for small scale industries. However, they are confronted with another round of despair and disillusionment as government fails to attend to their plight in spite of their daily report at the office. This sheer negligence by the government infuriates the youths to the dangerous extent that they begin to recall the violent revolutionary ethos, which they inherited from Dr. Ogbansiegbe. There and then at the corridor of the Directorate for Employment, they formed another outfit which they now christened "The Suicide Squad." The philosophical stand point of the Suicide Squad is captured in their slogan which reads, thus:

> **All: …**we do what we do because we know we have no future, because we know no matter what we do, no matter how we try, no matter how high we aspire, there is something waiting in the atmosphere to destroy us (Irobi, 55)

As members of the COMRADES, they puts up some form of disguise as political activists, but in their new identity as the Suicide Squad they parade themselves as bare-faced criminals, outlaws, vandals, kidnappers, hangmen, assassins, rebels, terrorists, murderers, etc. Their battered identity is encapsulated in their accumulated grievances and defiance that:

> **R.I.P.:** We have no homes, no loves, no cures, no compassion for self, friend or foe…

Dayan: We have no place, no spot, no piece of ground, no plot of land, no solid earth to stand upon.
Acid: We are murderous vampires, hangmen, outlaws…
Chorus: We have license to kill.
Mortuary: We have no rag to salute in the name of a flag
Discharge: No anthem to murmur like a murderous mantra composed in a foreign language.
Khomeini: No pledge to recite like parrots dirging on an empty Stomach.
Acid: Unemployed!
Tetanus: Our plea is the cry of the antelope pleading his innocent cause between a tiger's bleeding paws
Dayan: May it spread on your mind like blood on a plate of rice
Mortuary: Every dream we have you have stolen from us
Discharge: Every hope we had you have also taken from us
Dayan: Everything we have you have taken from us
Khomeini: And even that which we do not have.
Chorus: You have also taken from us. (Irobi, 52)

The position of the Suicide Squad above does not only portray them as a gang of notorious criminals but also as outlaws and terrorists who are out to constitute menace, fear and security to the nation. Their disregard for the national flag, anthem and pledge also brandishes them as rebels who care little or nothing about treason as a national crime. Their ability to get away with their criminal activities in the neighborhood for a long time puts them in a dreaded position as heroes and the most wanted in the state. They become idols for most unemployed youths such as the character of Dimeari, Tamara's son who joins them because he also feels disappointed in the government. In his crave to be "a most wanted" like the Suicide Squad, Dimeari breaks loose from his mother's care and saunters into the creeks in search of the deadly squad. He meets with them and after series of interrogations and brutalization by the Suicide Squad, Dimeari collapses. His collapse coincides with his mother's entrance and demand for her son. Dissatisfied with the response from the Suicide Squad, Tamara ransacks the nooks and crannies of the gang's hideout and finally discovers her son Dimeari wrapped in a wrapper amidst his scamper for breath.

In disappointment and anger, Tamara derides on the Suicide Squad, thus, "…You are the excrement of bandits who will not let us sleep at night…" (Irobi, 79). Tamara's vituperative language provokes the Suicide Squad but rather than attack her, they remind her that they are businessmen who engage in such criminal activities as murder, burglary, assassination, disruption and elimination on hire basis. Tamara takes a cue from their stock in trade and woos them to hunt Chief Erekosima and force him to return the money meant for the compensation of the communities affected by the oil pollution in Izon state (the metaphor for the Niger Delta Region) which he embezzled. At first, the Suicide Squad condition Tamara to hire them formally if she desires them to bring Erekosima to book. On

her part, Tamara discharges their request on the ground that the money belongs to the entire indigenes of the state including members of the Suicide Squad. She goes ahead to appeal to their consciences, thus:

> **Tamara:** …Your mates are in other parts of the world are guerrilla fighters, fighting for the liberation of their country. Haven't you heard of the Red Brigade of Italy who kidnapped their Prime Minister and murdered him because he could not find them jobs? Haven't you heard of the Frelimo of Mozambique? The M.P.L.A. of Angola? The A.N.C. of Azania?... The Mau Mau of Kenya and the SWAPO of Namibia? Young men dying for their land. Here you hide in the bush and burgle people's houses in the night…A man has three million naira belonging to you in his house and you are here choking on crumbs of bread… (Irobi, 85)

Though humbled by Tamara's charge, the Suicide Squad still puts up some pockets of resistance insists that Tamara pays a fee. This resistance triggers Tamara into yet another round of inspiring speeches, thus:

> **Tamara:** …(*desperately now)*Young men, remember your seventy- year old grandmother who still farms before she eats; remember also your poverty-stricken people; remember too your petroleum which is being pumped out daily from your veins and then FIGHT FOR YOUR FREEDOM… (Irobi, 89)

Tamara's charge above spurs the Suicide Squad into interrupting and invading Chief Erekosima's coronation party and whisking him away to their hideout in the creeks where they compel him to return the money left over of the embezzled fund. But rather than comply with the Suicide Squad, Chief Erekosima prefers to rain insults and abuses on them as well as promises to deal with them upon his release. He further tries to justify his looting of public funds by quoting from the Machiavelian philosophy as enshrined *The Prince,* which states that "…Anyone who seizes control of a state ought to consider carefully all the injuries he might do , and do them all at one stroke, so that he will not have to undertake new injuries everyday…" (Irobi, 115) Erekosima's display of arrogance, pride and pomposity even after embezzling public funds angers the Suicide Squad to the extent that they grab him, put a noose round his neck and hoist him to a tree in readiness for hanging. However, on a second thought, they interrogate Erekosima further with the hope of recouping what is left of the three million naira but when it becomes obvious to them that he has lavished the whole money, they facilitate his hanging and as he gasps for final breath, military men alongside angry mob round up the Suicide Squad.

The plot systematically returns to the end of the flashback where Yekinni is being persuaded by the Superintendent to proceed and hang the members of the Suicide Squad but

he still refuses. Rather than hang the criminals, Yekinni prefers to put in his resignation from the job. With a sense of self-conviction and justification, he tells the Superintendent that:

> **Yekinni:** …Superintendent! (*bitterly, as the superintendent turns*) Their blood is on your head. (*as he removes his uniform and rolls it into a bundle*) I shall return to the sea. I shall return to my paddle and my net. To my canoe and the creeks. I shall return to my living as a fisherman. To sail the sea, the deep blue ocean, the Atlantic, where on a night, when the moon is full and happy, if I look hard enough on the surface of the water, I can see the face of God.(*he hurls the bundle at the Superintendent. It lands on his chest. Yekinni turns away towards the audience. Under his breath…*) The sea is life. (Irobi, 125)

Yekinni's protest in defense of the Suicide Squad raises pertinent questions on the justification of criminal and violent behavioral dispositions in human society. The major argument raised by both Yekinni and the Suicide Squad in defense of their criminality and terrorist activities has been anchored on defiance and disillusionment over government's insensitivity towards the welfare of the impoverished Niger Delta communities. Here, the playwright seems to be arguing that youth restiveness and criminal behaviours in the Niger Delta are offshoots of accumulated grievances of the indigenous youths of the Niger Delta over government's negligible attitude towards their welfare and development.

Unarguably, Irobi's *Hangmen Also Die* harps on the sheer negligence bequeathed the oil rich Niger Delta by the Federal Government of Nigeria on one hand and the multinationals operating in the region on the other even when the region accounts for an overwhelming percentage of the nation's foreign earnings. The play portrays in lucid terms the conspiratorial tandem within the leadership class whether at the federal or state levels to impoverish the Niger Delta region even as oil exploration and exploitation activities continue to occasion consistent environmental pollution and degradation. Rather than marshal out plans for such developmental projects as good road network, pipe-borne water, effective health delivery systems, adequate educational provision and so on as compensation for the degradation of the Niger Delta region, the government prefers to give the host communities money to share. This approach is an eloquent testimony of government's trivial concern towards the development and growth of the Niger Delta people. One of the contentious issues raised in the play therefore, is the dearth of accountability in leadership.

Within the purview of this study, it should be stated unequivocally that the leaders in the Niger Delta region, as exemplified in the character of Chief Erekosima, feed fat from the sweat and labor of the common people. In his capacity as the Honorable Commissioner for Local Government, Rural Development and Chieftaincy Affairs, Chief Erekosima is expected to show some level of transparency in his dealings with the host communities especially as a native of Izon State but he prefers to siphon the money earmarked for the

compensation of oil spillage in his own territory and lavish it on such personal frivolities as massive celebration of a fresh chieftaincy title with a new wife to go with it. Without meaning to advocate for terrorism, violence and jungle justice, the gruesome murder of Chief Erekosima seems to be some kind of "necessary evil" when measured against the enormity of the health hazards occasioned by the oil spillage. Ibiaye, one of the victims of the oil spillage recounts the horrendous experience, thus:

> **Ibiaye:** It was one morning. We woke up to see the sea heaving. The sea was roaring, its face black with anger. The sea was boiling. On its blue surface was something black. Something thick and pungent, something like mud. But it was oily, oily like petroleum jelly. It surged like lava from the armpit of the ocean until it embalmed our little creeks. Covered it. Conquered it. Cordoned off the mouth of the fresh water spring from which we daily drink. Our plants began to die. Our roots to rot. Our seeds shriveled. We fled. Me and my children. We fled. In canoes. But somewhere before Opukiri, our canoe capsized in an ambush of water-hyacinths…So we swam. On to the shore. But little did we know that the water had been poisoned by the film of rancid crude oil…On the first day my eyes were only itching. The next day I scratched throughout the night. Three days later I could not see the sunlight… (Irobi, 97)

It is this depth of devastation occasioned by the oil spill that provokes Tamara to the point of charging the Suicide Squad to hunt and retrieve the money embezzled by Chief Erekosima. However, the Suicide Squad takes advantage of Tamara's invitation and information on Erekosima and clamps on him amidst his lavish spending of the money meant for oil spill compensation. As a group given to terrorist and criminal activities, the Suicide Squad tortures Erekosima to a death point whereby Tamara tries to stop them in protest that "…He has already squandered all the money. There is nothing we can get back from him. Not even a kobo. God will judge him" (Irobi, 118). However, Tamara's plea falls on deaf ears as the Suicide Squad continues with the hanging process, which they execute without a modicum of remorse.

The genesis of the Suicide Squad's resort to violence and terrorism is traced to the failure of the government to secure a future for the youths ab initio. The harvest of violence and terrorism unleashed by the Suicide Squad signals in the main the feeling of insecurity be it economic, cultural or political by the citizens of the Niger Delta in particular and Nigeria in general. As university undergraduates, they fought against oppressive governments and leadership through violent means in the disguise of the COMRADES and upon graduation they are stuck in the labour market for over seven years without jobs. This is clearly indicative of a society replete with insensitive, ineffective and purposeless leaders. It is this laxity on the part of the leaders that creates the room for crime, terror, violence and criminality amongst the youths. Little wonder, in the end of the play, the

playwright does not make any speed to execute the members of the Suicide Squad even when the death sentence have been pronounced and other death sentence rituals performed.

Conclusion

The study has brandished the drama medium as a unique art form that encapsulates the microcosms of society in order to occasion social change. Through Esiaba Irobi's *Hangmen Also Die*, we have been able to capture in vivid terms the factors responsible for the upsurge of the lingering youth restiveness, violence and terrorism in the oil rich Niger Delta of Nigeria. Our fundamental observation in the study is that the Niger Delta crisis is an offshoot of government's insincerity towards the development of the region in spite of the region's huge contribution to the nation's economy. The study also notes that the underdevelopment of the region is equally attributable to the selfish interests and greed of most Niger Delta indigenes as they consistently siphon funds entrusted in their care by the government to deliver welfare packages to the region. The paper deduces that the onslaught of terrorism, violence, criminality and break down of security in the Niger Delta in particular and Nigeria in general by the youths is traced to the alarming rate of unemployment amongst the teeming population of the graduates. The implication here is that both past and present governments in the country have failed in their responsibilities of securing a prospective future for the youths.

Against the backdrop of the numerous findings made, the study advocates the need for urgent governmental intervention in the development of the Niger Delta region through the provision of basic social amenities that would cushion the devastating effect of the consistent degradation of the environment. Similarly, there is the need for government at all levels to collaborate with the multinationals operating in the region to design effective youth empowerment programmes that would engender human capacity building as well as create job opportunities amongst the youths of the Niger Delta. The paper also canvasses for sincerity of purpose and selfless leadership amongst indigenes of the Niger Delta region who are entrusted with the responsibility of attending to the welfare concerns of the host communities. There is also the need for security agents in Nigeria to adopt more proactive and diplomatic measures in the day to day handling of the security challenges in the Niger Delta region. Nigerian playwrights are also encouraged to channel their creative energies further in the direction of the Niger Delta crisis so as to curry attention and possible solutions from the international community. The paper also admonishes Nigerian youths to shun violence and terrorism and device more civilized means of agitating or registering their protests against government's administrative inefficiencies and laxities.

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Re-Islamization as a Counter-Panopticon

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Visibility of the Self Through Incivility

Violence and aggression may be interpreted as a subversive reaction of youth against the society. Researchers have noted that youth do perform acts of vandalism in groups and in a deliberate sign of incivility[1] as if they are rejecting the stereotypes they face such as ex-colonized. They insist upon making themselves visible in a society they feel it marginalizes them and treats them as second-class citizens; they pursue their delinquent careers according to their own system of morals. Psychologists have noted that trivial crime usually starts during pre-adolescence, around the age of ten and accelerates during early adolescence until the age of 16, after which it decreases markedly in the youth twenties, especially when young people begin their professional career. This is not the case with the youth living in the Sensitive Urban Zones (SUZ) who become unemployed during their twenties. In total, according to the SUZ municipalities publicized statistics, one-third of all second-generation young people aged 20 to 30 born between 1973 and 1983 is either inactive or unemployed (Mucchielli 7). This fact extends the young people delinquency careers, as compared to other French citizens who are exposed to different conditions.

The government views deviant *banlieusards*[2] minors, as rebellious individuals who chose crime and therefore must be severely corrected by sanctions, irrespective of any of the relevant psycho-environmental factors. Considered dangerous and in need to be integrated into society, a legislative frenzy of unprecedented punishments was enacted from

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[1] The riots of 2005 are the biggest rebellion act since the seventies in France; the riots began in one of the difficult suburbs then spread out to many other areas accomplishing enormous damages; it presented a threat to the national security. According to statements by Altun, a group of ten friends had been playing football on a nearby field and was returning home when they saw the police patrol. They all fled in different directions to avoid the lengthy questioning that youths in the housing projects say they often face from the police. Three of them, including Altun, hid in a power-station; two of them died from electrocution. The official response was provocative to the *banlieusards*, especially when the minister of security at the time, Nicolas Sarkozy, blamed it on the two young men and refused to condemn the incident or apologize for it. This was France's worst urban violence in a decade, and it exploded for a ninth night on Friday as bands of youths roamed the immigrant-heavy working-class suburbs of Paris setting fire to dozens of cars and buildings. The resulting damage was enormous for both the government and the area's civilians (New York Times, November 4, 2005).

[2] Every youth who resides in a difficult French suburb (equivalent to the slums/ghettos in America) is called *banlieusard*. Usually these areas are filled with immigrants, especially from North Africa, and other minority groups.

1990 to 2000. This policy led to the creation of new offenses and expanded the definition of others. Crimes as malicious phone calls and verbal harassment receive harsh punishment. An exhaustive list adds new definitions of aggravating situations that, in essence, criminalize behavior that historically had not been punished.

In consequence, the number of incarcerated *banlieusards* has increased. In his book Muslims in Prison in France, Farhad Khosrokhavar noted that 80% of the prison population located in the suburbs comprises either first- or second-generation Muslim immigrants (8). This increases the youth's rebellion and its engagement in group violence.

Re-Islamization Within the Prison System Works as Therapy for Youth

Born in Algeria, Mustapha Raith tries to write his autobiography Palpitations ultra-muros even though he feels suffocated by what he calls the "abandonment syndrome" (8). In order to write one's autobiography, he remarks that "You must kill your past, die symbolically to reborn" (7). He evaluates his own condition by addressing his second-generation peers in his book, which he has dedicated to the thousands of immigrant children who are born in France one day or another, and find themselves in prison, victims of evil spirits. He states that he was aware of his unhappy fate and notes that "Someday he (the *banlieusard*) must enter a life of crime, for "the cursed vindictive impulse (that) seized him" (76). Mouss, the protagonist of Raith's novel, wants to destroy his past, his ancestors, and all to become a "particle orbiting in outer space" (77).

> Raith followed a spiritual journey in prison, one that allowed him to be born again: (In prison) ... Nothing worse can happen if we pass from life to death in excruciating pain ... What you look like? ... Observe yourself in your nakedness ... Who are you? You're a flabby mass, soft, ..., You doubt ... do you really exist in the present moment? You doubt as I doubt, because we are nothing more than man residue. We cannot even reach out to locate ... you are isolated in a concrete dungeon cut off by a gate. Why? ... We seem to vanish into nothingness ... I feel that this metaphysical experience involuntary (prison) teaches us to become an immaterial body, be compared to a vacuum. You'd scream, but you cannot. You invoke, you pray ... God is watching you. It is the only one to know, alone. You try to flee to him ... by overcoming fear you become a friend of the cosmos, time, everything. (162-163)

When Raith thought about his condition, he found that he had no choice. Haunted by evil and since he belongs to such a race condemned by the history of his colonized parents, his soul is full of sorrow. Seeing that he had no control over the diabolical environment within him, he asked: "Should we flee or face our fate?" (82). He saw handcuffs in his wrists as "the climactic fulfillment of fate" (95). In prison, he was one of

the “living dead held within the abyss of misery.” According to him “The slightest mistake and all but emptiness .... It could have been suicide, but life wanted to see him suffer. It had not given him the courage to vanish from the orbit” (96). Even the authorities appeared to him as a racist society that treats suburban youth unfairly and causing a strong change in his life. Raith says, “People outside are ignorant … even your relatives. ... It is a dialogue of the deaf” (174). Asserting that living in the absurdity of the world around him reaches the level of madness, he remarks that: “The stiffness of HELL burns my brain. Lucidity flies away in black smoke. The sooty flame of the absurd stretches to the ceiling of my foolishness. It’s hard to understand ...” (225).

After three years of imprisonment, Mouss, the protagonist of Raith’s novel, decided to observe Ramadan with Jimmy, his cellmate’s companion, in order to feel the presence of God: “It is a questionable period to enjoy all the moments of life” (104). Raith realized that living within an identity crisis, being rejected by a society and therefore experiencing perpetual instability, youth feels bullied by life. Mouss explains how he was unconsciously seduced by the easy life that led him to prison: “I would go unconsciously to the cursed kingdom of delinquency. I made a few visits to the houses of sin, where I was taught the art of stealing without being caught” (134). He wondered whether this “was (not) the silent rebellion of a teenager who could not grow up” (136), or the famous “deep anguish” that is, in fact, “a messed-up communication plaguing half of (all) young people” (138). He concludes that violence is the only cure to the psychological mutation experienced by young people in his situation:

> I proved that it was an accident. For men, they prefer to react to violence by violence in order to perpetuate the vindictive hatred in the heart of their offspring .... It is a reality, Sir, so do not ignore it and pretend to be indignant about the increasing rate of delinquency. Your cousin (citizen mate), who killed a young North African who was siphoning gasoline from his car like a rabbit (in the back), you let him out of prison after four months!!! I know (I guess) that the judge had to shake his hand and thank him ... The crime [...] is a desperate cry; a hungry that claims love. (140)

Becoming a prisoner, especially in one of the prisons located in the difficult suburbs, introduces the offender to a dark phase of life because the judicial system punishes him based on his damned culture: “street crime.” Khosrokhavar says that especially after 9/11, the number of young Muslims of North African origin in French prisons soared:

> Indicators of overcrowding, disorders, suicide, self-harm, boredom, illness, and racism all pointed reviewers toward the existence of long-term, deep-seated problems in prisons in the criminal justice systems that channeled the rising tide of prisoners and in the societies that generated such high levels of criminal conduct and jail sentences .... After

> September 11, 2001 … the atmosphere in jails became tenser. (Beckford, Joly, and Khosrokhavar 2&3)

But why and how do these young people get to learn about the Islamic faith? It seems as though they have adopted the faith in prison as a sort of therapy and resistance. As a strategic exit, young prisoners choose to take a spiritual route to purge themselves in an attempt to create self-harmony. They feel the need to learn about religion in terms of *halal* (recommended) and *haram* (forbidden), as well as *mubah* (permissible) and *makruh* (abominable). However, there are no imams to whom they can turn for accurate information. For example, imams can meet only with groups; prisonners must write to imams and ask to meet with them. However, they then have to spend the next three months on a waiting list. Moreover, many of them cannot write in either French or Arabic. The inaccessibility of accurate knowledge can lead some prisoners toward radicalization. With that said, the absence of Qur'an in the prison libraries, the lack of suitable places to pray (especially the Friday congregational prayer), the shortage of imams who can implement a relevant therapy and offer realistic advice, and the absence of *halal* food increase the youth' feelings of ill-will and turn them into combatants and fighters constantly looking for a way to exact revenge.

By undertaking a spiritual journey when allowed, these young people discover Islam in its full beauty and magnificence. As Muslims, they are recognized by the holy book as equal and worthy individuals, even if French society keeps rejecting them. Similarly, a number of prisoners convert even if they were born Muslim because of the prophet *hadith* (say) "God does not look at your body (color) or your faces (appearance), but only looks at your hearts" (transmitted by Muslim through Abu Hurayrah Abdelrahman bin Sakhr). *عن أبي هريرة عبد الرحمن بن صخر قال, قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم: "ان الله لا ينظر إلى أجسادكم ولا إلى وجوهكم بل إلى قلوبكم" (رواه مسلم)*. God Almighty does not seek the physical beauty of human beings. He does not look at their beauty or ugliness or at their color, whether black or white. He does not find out how rich or poor, strong or weak, they are. For God, only piety and a good heart matter. The best of people are the God-conscious, those who set a good example for the people by their noble actions and sublime morality.

Replacing Young People' Socialization Through Resocialization

The prison paradox expresses the contradiction between the functions of repression and rehabilitation. In theory, imprisonment should affect only one's freedom; however it denies the individual's fundamental rights, including freedom of expression, family life, civil rights, privacy and sexuality. Khosrokhavar gives the following definition of the metamorphosis through which people pass as prisoners "... Inmates undergo a process of de-socialization and a process of re-socialization. They lose their group identification and personal identity" (Khosrokhavar 40).

In fact, the 2002 Admirals Report estimates that the ambivalence of the immigrant political discourse is the result of the country's colonial legacy, which causes public xenophobia against Arabs in general and against North Africans in particular. In addition, Bernard Stasi's 2003 report noted the latent anti-Muslim racism in France. His "Commission Reflection on the Application of the Principle of Secularism in the Republic" declares:

> Based on the documented acts of racism against North Africans … in the eyes of some people, people of foreign origin, being North African or Turkish, are treated as having nothing to offer but religious identity thereby ignoring all the other dimensions of their cultural belonging (with which they can enrich society). To this mixture is added assimilation between political Islam and religious radicalism, thereby forgetting that most Muslims have a faith and a system of beliefs that are entirely consistent with the laws of the Republic. (Khosrokhavar 167)

While any religion cannot exist without the culture that surrounds it, Roy opines that "the category 'Muslim' operates as a neo-ethnic rather than a religious category" (82), especially since North African natives were called "Muslims" and not "natives," as was the practice in France's sub-Saharan African colonies. He explains that culture or civilization is necessarily intertwined with religion: "Civilization is culture that has incorporated religion's norms ... religion is not culture, and religion cannot exist outside culture" (62).

With that said and due to the existence of The Armed Islamic Group (GIA)[3] movement members since 1995 onward in France, Islamists from North Africa are more visible in prisons. Their presence causes the resurgence of Islam among prisoners, as well as conversions to Islam, which required the prison authorities to install a panopticon type of supervision to watch them. However, prison discriminates against Muslims, as is the case elsewhere. Prison authorities, who adhere to the principle of secularism, are generally unaware of Islam's rules and regulation. They are not concerned with the growing minority's spiritual needs or the Islamophobia that exists everywhere including prisons.

Therefore, in the process of defining themselves, in their own terms, youth who had been indifferent to their parent' faith re-Islamize in order to impose their visibility in the society. "Therefore, identification is a complex process of negotiating between the strength of self-identity and the identity imposed by external medium"(Beckford, Joly, and Kharoskhavar 59). As they move from one shift to another, their deep grievances move with them. Some of them are radicalized as a reaction to the racism they endure while in prisons. One of the Algerians interviewed, aged 42, remarks:

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[3] The Armed Islamic Group (*al-Jama'ah al-Islamiyah al-Musallaha*) was one of the two main Islamist insurgent groups that fought the Algerian government and army during the nineties. It was created after the 1992 Algerian military coup that cancelled the democratic elections that the Islamic party had won. Many French of Algerian descent had sympathized with it during its war against the Algerian government.

> Racism exists here (in prison)... I saw a lot of North Africans in Les Baumettes jail ... It's often not stupid people. They are prevented from practicing their religion. But prison authorities will never really discriminate against Islam because it is a transcendent religion. The danger is that violence becomes a legitimate way to assert opinions. We then see the radicalization of the Muslim community elements (Khosrokhavar, 181, French version).

In short, before these youth end up in prison, they must create a religious identity that will enable them to survive and eventually defeat the spatiotemporal exile as "prison," especially with its panopticon style, that is always watching what they do. Raith describes these people's torn feelings:

> Over there behind the walls lies a young convict.... So yes, he cracked from rage ... This is where their (i.e., second-generation to parent immigrants) dreams have failed.... S.O.S Liberty, one of them is in solidarity.... Behind the walls (stands) a delirious young convict. This is where his life has abandoned him (151).

Therefore, re-Islamization is the cure for a deadly change that can lead young people to suicide. For example, Gauffman notes: "They must recover a form of social identity as a protection against the impact of the degradation, mortification, desecration, and mutilation that may be the fate of people confined in total institutions" (quoted in Beckford, Joly, and Khosrokhavar 40).

I hypothesize that the Islamic revival, as well as the radicalization of the re-Islamized youth that may occur, is a process of self-definition, for when faced with such circumstances everyone has to create a new identity. However, they cannot communicate with the "other" (the jailer) and thus cannot negotiate their lives. All that is left to them is to revolt by making themselves visible; for the jailer's control of their body and mind is due to his absolute power over the prisoner. Fathi, a 24-year-old man of Palestinian origin, stated: "There's injustice or racism ... All supervisors (in prison) are *kleb* (dogs)" (Raith 118)

Desperate young people prefer to turn away from society when they leave prison, believing that they are doomed anyway, it seems, by their lack of faith or being the children of the formerly colonized. Omar, son of a *Harki*,[4] proclaimed:

> French or Arabs, I do not take one side over the other. This is a serious malaise. I never understood… it fully locked me in (confused). It always put me on the wrong side of the fence. I now think that life is only

[4] Adjective from *harka* (standard Arabic *haraka*), "war party" or "movement," namely, a group of volunteers, especially soldiers. This is the generic term for Muslim Algerian loyalists who served as auxiliaries in the French army during Algeria's war of independence (1954 to 1962).

> hypocrisy. They made us believe in the right of illusions, equality – all that crap, nothing is true! It is beautiful on paper. In addition, there's a discomfort among many young people like me, whether they are sons of *Harkis* or not. They do not talk about their problems, their discomfort. There's a *hachouma*,[5] a shame that France has made us suffer ... and Islam ... when someone is praying he becomes suspect. It is serious! (Raith 144)

Some young people find "salvation" in Bin Laden and make him an invincible hero opposed to imperialism. In their eyes, he can take revenge for the injustice that Muslims suffer around the world. Omar adds: "I am in a sense of loss today. I feel abandoned by everyone. Nothing holds me now here. There is injustice everywhere that must awaken people. Bin Laden awoke them with what he did on September 11th" (Raith 144) At a glance, what is the reason that "prisons" can be a tool of psychological defection instead of a form of a therapy that helps heal a delinquent? Why are prisons located in France's difficult suburbs are largely those of the panopticon style? What is the definition of prisons in general?

Before the thirteenth century, prisons fulfilled a limited role: confining a prisoner awaiting trial for a few days or months. Later on, the Church followed this same route by making school resemble a penal institution. For example, the monks who lived in monasteries had to admit their sins in front of their brothers (colleagues). Before the Church absolved a monk, he had to spend a period in public repentance both to cleanse himself of the offense and to reconcile with both himself and with the religious community as a whole. Thus, in this case, incarceration was of a personal redemptive nature and a promise that his guilty sentence would be annulled.

Yet the prisons adopted a more serious form of the Inquisition, in which Bernard Gui, citing the fight against the "heretic" Cathars in particular, opens the way to the inquisitorial procedure that allows long-term imprisonment. This type of confinement was made fully operational during the seventeenth century and used as a method of coercion and control against the poor, especially in the new colonies in Africa and North Africa. A century later, prisons began locking up the mentally ill to isolate them from society. This evolved into the idea of the panopticon-style prison designed by Jeremy Bentham (1748-1832), who said "the reformed morals, health preserved, invigorated the industry, the broadcast instruction, public burdens lightened, the fortified economy, ..., the Gordian knot of laws not sliced poor but untied, ... all this with a simple architectural idea". This architectural device creates a "sense of invisible omniscience" among inmates, as they are monitored every moment of the day and night, even while sleeping, without knowing who monitors them and how they are monitored.

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[5] "Shame" in colloquial Algerian

Based on the above, I argue that in both historical and social terms, prison is a religious tool that punishes the evil spirit, regarded as Satan in the image of a monk haunted by vice. This is the hammer that strikes against Islam; the enemy in the guise of a demonic religion. This reminds one of the Inquisitions launched after the Reconquista, a centuries-long undertaking of burning people alive and horribly torturing many more because they were "Muslims", "Jews", or "Heretics." During this period what had been Islamic Spain became a land of concentration camps, which reminds one of the French colonization of Algeria and sub-Saharan Africa. The government places those with mental disorders in the lunatic asylum isolating them so that they will not infect society as a whole. Ultimately, the panopticon possesses the prisoner's body by imposing upon him a colonial slavery-like docility. In this context, it is the body that must submit and suffer humiliation, because he has to behave in a way that satisfies the "Other". The body is punished when it refuses to perform the role assigned to it, and subjected through torture or other forms of abuse and humiliation.

Khosrokhavar insists that "the suburbs of Islam still bear the marks of the painful colonial legacy and the painful decolonization of Algeria in the early 1960s" (Khosrokhavar 181). The constituent myths of East/West antagonism recall the colonial era with its incurable scars. Raith proclaims that the generations of young adults, born into immigrant families are haunted by a sort of damnation, the history of colonization that chases and inevitably weighs upon them. In his autobiography he writes: "You pay for the past … feeling guilty in the present … pay accounts in the future … said the company …. but ... there is prejudice! … but ... there are conditions!... but ... how to explain? … I am persecuted" (222).

Becoming a prisoner, the person hears his humiliation: "*Bicot,* why you are here?" "You fob!" "Go back to your country!" "Dirty race!" (Beckford, Joly, and Khosroskhavar 34). I argue that the prison in general, or the prison panopticon in particular, is therefore a mirror of French society that stigmatizes Muslims as the "formerly colonized." Young people hold this colonial past responsible for their daily misery and bitterness. In the words of Raith, "(If) you cannot forget the past, kill it and help us" (156). He concludes that "The panoptic confinement system castrates the individual as a whole" (116).

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Part Four

SURVEILLANCE AS A LITERARY GENRE

Ethnic Espionage Fiction and Impossible Subjects in Chang-Rae Lee's *Native Speaker*

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Ethnic Espionage Fiction

Chang-Rae Lee's *Native Speaker* (1995) follows the genre of espionage fiction, chronicling a story of a Korean American spy, Henry Park who goes undercover to infiltrate the grassroots organization of a Korean American politician and aspiring mayoral candidate, John Kwang. With countless accidents that are hardly accidental, the narrative runs on thin ice, resembling one of the plausible legends Henry constructs as a spy. With its questionable plots, subjects, and genre, the novel seems, paradoxically, to present what is impossible to present. By presenting the unrepresentable, *Native Speaker* brings into being a new genre of ethnic espionage fiction that addresses an alternative form of epistemologies in Asian America.

Critics of *Native Speaker* have noted how Henry's occupation as a spy serves as a perfect synecdoche for his marginal status: "That Lee's protagonist is a spy is no coincidence: Henry's vanishing acts […] are a logical extension of his personal history" (Chen 638); "the trope of the Asian spy seems not only applicable, but inescapable" (Middleton 129). Growing up Korean American, Henry learns to master self-discipline and self-reinvention while struggling with an overwhelming sense of alienation. His sense of alienation comes from painstaking efforts to keep his feelings to himself in order to succeed in self-manipulation, and ultimately assimilation, making it impossible for others to fathom his mind and becoming a "difficult face" even to himself (Chang 323). It is Henry's inscrutability that initially attracts Lelia, positioned at the other extreme, an "average white girl [with] no mystery" and "the worst actor on earth" (10, 158). At their first encounter, Lelia, as the "standard-bearer," already comments on Henry as an "emotional alien" by stating that he is "someone listening to himself" and that she cannot tell whether Henry is enjoying their first kiss (5, 12-13). Such scrupulous self-awareness, inscrutability and characteristic isolation define Henry as a natural spy, as Henry confesses to himself in the novel:

> I had always thought that I could be anyone, perhaps several anyones at once. Dennis Hoagland and his private [investigation] firm had conveniently appeared at the right time, offering the perfect vocation for

> the person I was, someone who could reside in his one place and take half-steps out whenever he wished. For that I felt indebted to him for life. I found a sanction from our work, for I thought I had finally found my truest place in the culture. (127)

Even as spying becomes the "perfect vocation" for the person Henry is, Henry's choice of occupation is inevitably self-destructive and masochistic because of the conflicts embedded in the figure of an ethnic spy. By casting Henry as a spy, the novel speaks to a difficult condition of conflating ethnicity with invisibility that simultaneously authorizes and denies his being. While Henry gains his privileged vantage point through a spy's invisibility, he is also disempowered in that his ethnicity makes him transparent. To operate as an ethnic spy, invisibility is not only encouraged but imperative. The predicament of a spy is that invisibility becomes his only option. Thus he must bear the dehumanizing effects of erasing himself from existence, becoming a being completely devoid of affect. To this extent, the novel also evokes the model minority stereotype of inscrutable Asian Americans who work to reaffirm the existing, culturally dominant social relations without demanding the civic rewards. Henry is socially rewarded for protecting the sanctity of white privilege by surrendering his ethnic knowledge and keeping his problems private and invisible. That Henry must exploit his cultural prowess as a means of social control is consistent with the ideologies found within the genre of espionage fiction and contemporary multicultural crime fiction. In espionage fiction, a "spy is an 'agent' in the fullest sense of the word — self-possessed, resourceful, independent" (Kackman xvii), yet at the same time, the "radical, transformative multiculturalism" of ethnic spies is "often closed off by their implication in the hegemonic ambitions of their paymasters or the dominant culture" in contemporary multicultural crime fiction (Pepper 7, 175). *Native Speaker*, in this context, allegorizes the civic responsibilities and acts of commitment inherent to the genre of espionage fiction while the central paradox of the spy protagonist is heightened by Henry's ethnic corporeality.

Despite the fact that the novel takes the form of an espionage fiction, many reviewers have pointed out that the genre is at odds with the themes the novel chooses to convey: "Mr. Lee […] is no spy novelist. His interest lies in language, culture and identity" (Cooper 24); "[Was] it necessary to add in the spy story as well, fun though it is? Henry is so much more like a writer than a spy; perhaps he could just have been one" (Pavey 33); "[Lee's prose style is] the right language for insight, for revelation, even for threats, but it's the wrong language for telling a spy story" (Klinkenborg 77). By presuming that there is a "right" language for a spy novel, the reviewers call attention to the formulaic nature of the genre while implying that the author failed to write a plausible spy novel. Bart Eekhout, for instance, takes note of the "structural contradiction" in the novel that "borrows the mechanics of a political thriller or spy story, seeking to combine the seductions of a popular or 'low' genre with those of the elitist or 'high' tradition of *belles letters*"(251). These observations suggest that Lee has feigned a spy story simply to make the book more

accessible to readers of popular fiction and that the frame of espionage fiction is easily detachable from the novel—indeed, that the novel might have been better off without it.

Reviewers can make such bold claims about *Native Speaker* because the novel does not meet the widely shared expectations of the genre. One of the dominant conventions of espionage fiction is its focus on the integrity of a nation. The dramatic suspense of spy novels largely derives from the constant danger and uncertainty that permeates the narrative of national assertion within an international context. In espionage plots, foreign sovereign nations threaten to steal or surpass the technological prowess that ensures the security of the home nation. Such a threat posed to the nation by a foreign power or conspiracy invariably illuminates conflicting discourses of national identity and conceptions of nationhood. Indeed, one may aptly sum up espionage fiction as the nationalist genre *par excellence*. Yet the spies in *Native Speaker* hold no national allegiance.

> In a phrase, we were spies. But the sound of that is all wrong. We weren't the kind of figures you naturally thought of or maybe even hoped existed. […] We pledged allegiance to no government. We weren't ourselves political creatures. We weren't patriots. Even less, heroes. (17)

In place of defending the national security, Glimmer & Co. specializes in "ethnic coverage." Founded by Dennis Hoagland in the mid-seventies, Glimmer & Co. takes aim at the "growth industry" that followed the "influx of newcomers." Spies at Glimmer & Co. take orders from Dennis Hoagland, the "cultural dispatcher," to divvy up the world map according to their ethnic and cultural origins.

> Each of us engaged our own kind, more or less. Foreign workers, immigrants, first-generationals, neo-Americans. I worked with Koreans, Pete with Japanese. We split up the rest, the Chinese, Laotians, Singaporeans, Filipinos, the whole transplanted Pacific Rim. Grace handed Eastern Europe; Jack, the Mediterranean and Middle East; two Jimmys, Baptiste and Perez, Central American and Africa. (17)

Their operation may seem imperialist in its efforts to manipulate nations from the Third World, but Glimmer & Co. is post-nationalist yet exclusively rooted in capitalist social relations. If conventional espionage narratives are "post-industrial and post-Marxist" in defying the traditional currency of classical capitalism —spies do not work for money but for the nation (Slade 234), *Native Speaker* communicates a world of spies who speak of themselves as "business people" driven by "calculus of power and money" (17). Their operation exceeds national, institutional bounds: "Our clients were multinational corporations, bureaus of foreign governments, individuals of resource and connection" (18).

Manipulating their own ethnic corporeality to target those of the same phenotype, Henry and his coworkers are motivated by self-interest rather than national or cultural allegiances.

Native Speaker also differs from conventional espionage narratives in its lack of technological display and also in its epistemological emphasis. Spying in general has been intimately linked to technological and scientific advancements since World War II. The espionage genre, accordingly, has been synonymous with political or military intrigues involving the most advanced technological gadgetry. Moreover, the popularity of the genre has served to synchronize the relationship between the nation-state and its citizenship. Detective fiction, for instance, "flourished as the scientific revolution accelerated because its Sherlocks could at least pretend to emulate on a popular level the scientist's skill in investigation" (Slade 226). In other words, the spy's ability to flaunt his knowledge of the latest technology was tantamount to demonstrating the force of the nation-state as well as reflecting on the general well-being of the citizens. Yet spies at Glimmer & Co. entirely lack the knowledge to this respect: "We knew nothing of weaponry, torture, psychological warfare extortion, electronics, supercomputers, explosives. Never anything like that" (17). Instead, they are invested in a form of epistemic violence to thwart the efforts of potential ethnic insurgencies that might challenge standing racial, ethnic, or diasporic relations.

> We provided them with information about people working against their vested interests. We generated background studies, psychological assessments, daily chronologies, myriad facts and extrapolations. These in extensive reports. […] Then we wrote the tract of their lives, remote, unauthorized biographies. I the most prodigal and mundane of historians. (18)

To the extent that these reports fatally damage the ethnic targets, the pen proves mightier than physical weaponry. Their linguistic endeavors are transformed into bodily assaults that prevent the immigrant and ethnic subjects from becoming neo-Americans or taking advantage of American capital for their home nations. If spies in general function as epistemological figures by capitalizing on the proprietary aspects of knowledge, spies at Glimmer & Co. are doubly so for contributing to an epistemic violence that condemns the ethnic subjects to insignificance and invisibility. In doing so, Henry and his coworkers unwittingly become national gatekeepers when they adapt to the ideological expectations of the nation-state by tearing down ethnic communities before they become conspicuous threats. To be more precise, their efforts against conflicting political interests or transgression of boundaries prove them anti-diasporic more than anything else. It is for this reason that Glimmer & Co. cannot let the diasporic national Luzan survive with his questionable ties to his "homeland." Neither can they let John Kwang forge a diaspora to his need. Committed to cultivating a culture that is against dislocations and transgressions, Glimmer & Co. emerges as a new form of transnational agency that combines post-nationalist and anti-diasporic politics with traditional capitalism.

Failures and the Necessary Inventions

Perhaps *Native Speaker*'s most disturbing break from a conventional spy novel is that it foregrounds failures and incapabilities. In espionage fiction, the infallibility of the spy is critical in alleviating the national angst concerning foreign power or conspiracy and reaffirming national sovereignty and ideologies. If the growing popularity of espionage adventure was a product of "the growing fear of anarchism and later violence" as well as "an increasing anxiety about foreign invasion" (Cawelti & Rosenberg 38), espionage fiction had to frame fear and anxiety to keep them at bay, for which project the successful performance of the spy was considered indispensable. Espionage fiction can embody a wide range of often deeply conflicting systems of domination and political intrigue, still it must present itself as a narrative of assurance and certitude in the end. Such reassurance often culminates in the heroic accomplishment of the spy protagonist or the materialization of analogous ideals. *Native Speaker*, however, deviates far from these expectations. Henry is portrayed as helplessly incapable both in his professional career and his personal life. Kwang's utopian vision, despite being heavily favored by narrative sympathies, does not make up for Henry's failures. The novel dramatizes the breakdown of every ideal it represents, and of which it offers no confirmation or assurance whatsoever. This lack of assurance makes it difficult for some reviewers to read *Native Speaker* as an espionage fiction.

From the perspective of a conventional espionage narrative, Henry's failures are most unsettling. While Henry grows up to be a natural spy through his Korean American upbringing, he becomes incompetent as a spy for the very same reason. Henry can easily assume the role of Luzan's patient for he is already suffering from his own personal traumas. But these experiences make it harder to separate his spy persona from his personal life.

> I found myself at moments running short of my story, my chosen narrative. [...] I was no longer extrapolating; I was looping it through the core, freely talking about my life, suddenly breaching the confidences of my father and my mother and my wife. I even spoke to him about a lost dead son. I was becoming dangerously frank, inconsistently schizophrenic. (22)

Henry must walk the fine line between the chosen narrative that has a "truth*ful* ontological bearing" (my emphasis 22) and the given narrative of "truth." His failure to keep these narratives separate ultimately results in the death of his spy persona, and in Hoagland having to send in Jack Kalantzakos "to retrieve [his] remains, [his] exposed bones" (23).

Henry is portrayed as no more competent in his personal life. The novel opens with his failed marriage. Despite Lelia's continuous accusations, Henry cannot simply

compromise with the cultural values she takes for granted. Lelia may blame Henry for failing to mention the name of their dead son, Mitt (129) or to recognize Ah-juh-ma's real name (68), but Henry speaks from a different culture in which vocalization of names does not signify the weight of one's emotions. As much as these conflicts seem to indicate Henry's failure to assimilate, Henry has already assimilated more than he may be aware of. His marital failure, paradoxically, is his failure to assimilate to a culture he has already fully assimilated within himself. Henry desires a seamless assimilation as much as he aspires to be a native speaker of English. Throughout the narrative, he constantly reminds us how concerned he is about having his Korean accent creep into his speech. Yet the narrative also reveals Henry's questionable command of Korean.

> Peter and I possess a similar command of Korean, though perhaps his grasp is slightly better, his *bah-rham* or accent, or literally, "breeze," is more authentic, still deeply redolent of the old country. (267)

"*Bah-rham*" (바람) is the accurate transliteration of the Korean word for "breeze" or more generally "wind," but the correct transliteration for the word "accent" would be "*Bal-eum*" (발음). The two words, "*Bah-rham*" (바람) and "*Bal-eum*" (발음), are no more synonymous than are "breeze" and "accent" in English. It may be metaphorically appealing to mistake a connection between these two words— to think of the problem of accent literally as a breeze. Ironic as it is, Henry fails linguistically when discussing the authenticity of an accent. The slippage in the linguistic pun may simply point to the impossibility of translation in general. However, the continuous mistakes made throughout the novel—whether through slight confusions in honorific language or outright erroneous use of words— undermine the ethnic authenticity of Henry. Daniel Y. Kim, for instance, points out the remarkable fluency of the narrative as a gap between Henry and his elegized immigrant subject: "the central irony of Lee's immaculate prose style […] is that it seems so entirely evacuated of the immigrant sensibility it memorializes. Henry's melancholy attaches itself to a kind of language that he, as a wholly assimilated American subject, no longer speaks; with every word he utters, with every elegantly turned phrase, he marks his increasing distance from the 'different English' he elegizes" (253). As much as Henry considers his Korean background a burden, the fluency of the narrative reinforces the idea that he no longer has that burden to bear.

This narrative scheme allows us to begin to understand the death of Henry's son, for, after all, Mitt's death may not be "a random accident but something built into the very logic of the narrative itself" (Song 89). While it may seem problematic to attribute Mitt's accidental death to Henry's failure, the tragic death is indicative of how Henry fails in wishing to have his biracial child to grow up "with a singular sense of his world" (267). In this respect, the narrative is not so subtle about announcing Henry's failure—the failure to recognize the paradox of his assimilationist efforts.

And yet, the most decisive failure in Henry's narrative is found in the failure of Kwang's transnational politics. Kwang's failure might seem advantageous for Henry, for Henry is appointed to undermine Kwang's political organization. However, Kwang becomes so central to Henry's narrative vision that Kwang's utopian ideals turn out to be indistinguishable from Henry's. For one, Henry narrates Kwang in terms of kinship from the beginning. As a self-made man with an impressive educational background, who has been serving as the elder of the church for many years, Kwang is first compared to Henry's father: "John Kwang was Korean, slightly younger than my father would have been, though he spoke a beautiful, almost formal English" (23). Like Henry's mother, Kwang's wife May is described as a devoted homemaker who graduated from Ewha Womans University with a degree in English literature —a recognizable detail about well-educated brides-to-be. It seems that Kwang's story is almost interchangeable with that of Henry's father or perhaps with any other classic Korean immigrant tale. Every given detail is too predictable, barely escaping the "tired immigrant mythologies" (Song 186), until it comes to his flawless dual fluency of being "effortlessly Korean and effortlessly American" (328).

> [Kwang] was how I imagined a Korean would be, at least one living in any renown. He would stride the daises and the stages with his voice strong and clear, unafraid to speak the language like a Puritan and like a Chinaman and like every boat person in between. (304)

It is Kwang's ability to freely translate between Korean and American values that allows him to exceed the confines of imagination. Through his extraordinary fluency, Kwang is transformed into something unimaginable and inconceivable from what might have been nothing out of the ordinary in a standard immigrant narrative. Kwang demands a new model of characterization for no template exists for his unproblematic fluency. Throughout the novel, Henry reinforces the fact that John Kwang is his "necessary invention" (140): "I suppose it was a question of imagination. What I was able to see. Before I knew of him, I had never ever conceived of someone like him" (139); "They had never imagined a man like him, an American like him. […] He was how I imagined a Korean would be" (304). John Kwang comes to life with Henry's imagination and Kwang's very existence is materialized through his characteristic oral performance. Still, no matter how credible the speeches are crafted to substantiate Kwang's being, Kwang is an invention nevertheless. That is, Kwang is an imaginary product that verges on impossibility. Just as "Kwang" is an aurally convincing yet fake Korean surname, Kwang stands in for a plausible ethnic ideal that cannot exist.

Kwang's fantasy status is further highlighted when Henry portrays Kwang in terms of brotherhood. Henry imagines that Kwang has achieved his unprecedented success in connecting with a diverse group of people by invoking his status as a next of kin. Like Henry's imaginary brother, Kwang is popular with a wide, and also diverse, non-Korean public. As much as Kwang is singled out for his outstanding abilities, Henry notes that

Kwang's success with the public is very much grounded upon the notion of Kwang being one of them. Thus Kwang can accomplish a cross-ethnic ideal through his version of Christian brotherly love that at once originates from and transcends Korean ethnicity.

Kwang made feel as though he were bequeathing a significant part of himself. And I thought that no matter what skin you were, no matter what your opinion of him, when you met him in person you somehow felt that you understood the subtle pressure of his grip, that it said or meant that you were the faintest brother to him, perhaps distantly removed by circumstance or blood but a brother nonetheless.

> I had already connections to him, of course. He knew I was Korean, or Korean-American, though perhaps not exactly the same way he was. We were of different stripes, like any two people, though taken together you might say that one was an outlying version of the other. I think we both understood this from the beginning, and insofar as it was evident I suppose you could call ours a kind of romance, though I don't exactly know what he saw in me. Maybe as someone we Koreans were becoming, the latest brand of an American. That I was from the future. (138-9)

Henry imagines his relationship with Kwang as "a kind of romance," for Kwang indeed represents his idealized version of a Korean American who appears to be free of the cultural constraints by which Henry is bound. Henry as the narrator feeds us with a fantasy beyond what Kwang may be in reality. The romance could be seen as autoerotic in the sense that Henry falls in love with a version of himself —"an outlying version of the other" —and even places himself as an advanced version —"I was from the future." The idea of romance may also implicate that Kwang is not so much a character who turns everyone into a "faintest brother" as a "brother" himself imagined by Henry.

In fact, Kwang is not the only brother Henry imagines in the novel. We get a glimpse into Henry's interior when he has a therapy session with Luzan. During the sessions, Henry confesses of an "invisible brother" who excels in academics, sports, and heterosexual conquests.

> I described him for the doctor, his walking before me in the schoolyard, stamping the blacktop, announcing our presence with a swagger, his shout. He knew karate, kung-fu, tae kwon do, jujitsu. He could beat up the big black kids if he wished, the tough Puerto Rican kids, anyone else who called us names or made slanty eyes. The white boys admired him for his athleticism, how far past the fence he could send a kickball. The white girls were especially fond of him. He often kissed them after school, in front of everyone. He knew all about science, about model rocketry, chemistry sets, baseball cards, about American history. He was

> the lead in the school play. He spoke a singing beautiful English. He made public speeches. My mother and father were so proud of him. He was better than anyone. He was perfect. (205)

Henry's nameless imaginary brother is literally the "perfect" ideal. Strong and confident enough to be admired by those of the other race, the brother is a virtuoso in every aspect. In order to be "perfect," the brother is described against the ethnic stereotype of a fragile, hesitant and unpopular youngster. While every accomplishment of the imaginary brother articulates what Henry may have wished for as a teenager, the descriptions are easily interchangeable with what is described of Kwang. If the imaginary brother "spoke a singing beautiful English," Kwang's voice was "strong and clear, unafraid to speak the language like a Puritan and like a Chinaman and like every boat person in between" (205, 304). The brother's impeccable presentation and demeanor recalls the seamless performance of Kwang. Both Kwang and the imaginary brother can be impossibly flawless in Henry's fantasy. Yet as much as Henry is invested in the creation of these characters, he shares their pain and loss.

> But at night, alone in my bed, my stomach would burn, ache anxiously for his well-being. I feared he would perish in some accident wherever he was (when he didn't need to be with me), that he was going to die tragically, drown in a lake or slip and fall off a cliff; it wouldn't be his fault, it wouldn't be anyone's, just that it would happen without warning or reason. (206)

Even as the brother's unblemished performance seems to come effortlessly and naturally, it is what Henry has to constantly ache for. Henry feels the pain just as much as he wishes for his brother's perfect performance. His anxiety for his brother's well-being speaks to the precariousness he endures as an ethnic minority. As Henry frequently reminds us of how he dreads a single slip of a V sound that would reveal him as a non-native speaker of English, Henry fears his imaginary brother's collapse through an accident or an unidentifiable force. The way in which Henry imagines and fears the brother's death sounds almost identical to how Henry recognizes the death of his son, Mitt —Henry's creation in real life. Henry describes the event as a "terrible accident" (129) that happened without any warning or anyone to blame. Yet it is no coincidence that Mitt meets his tragic death on his birthday while playing a game of a "stupid dog pile" with the neighborhood kids (105). Like the imaginary brother and Kwang, Mitt stands out in his cultural and linguistic fluency. He could "mimic the finest gradations in our English and Korean" through his "wholly untroubled, perfect" speech (239-240). Again, the flawless performance cannot survive. The circumstances in which the death takes place could not be more allegorical — death on a birthday and physical suffocation to death as if to commemorate the trauma of oppressive anxieties. Despite its abruptness and unexpectedness, Mitt's death is far from an

accident but rather peculiarly anticipated to the extent that it is a substantiation of what Henry has been constantly anxious about.

As Henry's "necessary inventions" continue in his imagination and real life, the fantasy status of his creations is accentuated with each collapse and failure. The imaginary brother, Mitt, and Kwang all represent Henry's desires, only to repeatedly and increasingly prove that Henry's desires are indeed impossible. While the representation of failures or impossible desires veers the novel away from the conventions of the genre, the novel itself does not fail as an espionage fiction. Rather the novel broadens the scope of espionage fiction by its thematic experimentations of impossibility. By exploring what is impossible in terms of representation, the novel contemplates what can be possible in terms of genre and illustrates paradigms endemic to the genre of Asian American crime fiction. The novel also imagines a new kind of ethnic espionage fiction by shifting the focus of ethnicity from the optics to the acoustics. If visual representation has been central to understanding ethnicity in general, Henry's "necessary inventions" stand apart by their distinctive oral or aural representations. Kwang would have easily blended into a Korean immigrant typology if it were not for his remarkable linguistic fluency. New ethnicities may *seem* impossible in *Native Speaker* but nevertheless they survive through their non-visual representation.

Impossible Subjects and Nameless Shadows

If the novel reflects on the issue of impossibility or the possibility of alternative representation through a series of prominent representations of idealized subjects, it further contemplates impossibility through the muted representations of illegal immigrants. While illegal immigrants are hardly noticeable on the pages of the novel, their thematic significance is proved otherwise. Iillegal immigrants, for instance, emerge as a problematic yet productive subject calling for a debate about representation. Despite their muted representation in the novel, it is the illegal immigrants that allow Kwang's celebrated presence. Being the novel's synecdoche, Kwang gains his force by representing the unrepresentable —especially by helping the undocumented workers to gain access to capital through a Korean-style money club called a *ggeh*. Ironic as it may sound for a politician to gain force through a group of disenfranchised people, Kwang forms a political constituency that goes beyond the bounds of the nation-state.

> They were of all kinds, these streaming and working and dealing, these various platoons of Koreans, Indians, Vietnamese, Haitians, Columbians, Nigerians, these brown and yellow whatevers, whoevers, countless unheard nobodies, each offering to the marketplace their gross of kimchee, lichee, plantain, black bean, soy milk, coconut milk, ginger, grouper, ahi, yellow curry, cuchifrito, jalapeño, their everything, selling anything to each other and to themselves, every day of the year and every minute.

John Kwang's people. (83)

The demographics of Kwang's support are as diverse as the exotic list of foods sold at their marketplace. Still, they share the same marketplace as they offer their own cultural goods to one another. Like the *ggeh*, the success of their marketplace depends on the mutual trust among its members and allows its members to support themselves without relying on the mainstream economy. Their marketplace, as well as the *ggeh*, forms an alternative informal economy for those with limited access to the capital to achieve beyond their means, while Kwang gains his political power base by allowing the informal economy to channel through him. The Korean-style money club proves effective not only with Asians but with "newer immigrants" of varying ethnicities by granting them a network across race, ethnicity, nationality, or legislative boundaries. Kwang is able to build his political career by representing the underrepresented across social borders, yet he is doomed to fail on the very same basis. In fact, the impossibility of Kwang's political establishment is implied from the beginning when Kwang extends his network to those who border on constitutional impossibility. These illegal immigrants are on difficult ground as their very existence is both produced and cancelled through legislative regulation, as Mae Ngai notes:

> Immigration restriction produced the illegal alien as a *new legal and political subject*, whose inclusion within the nation was simultaneously a social reality and a legal impossibility —a subject barred from citizenship and without rights. […] The illegal alien is thus an "impossible subject," a person who cannot be and a problem that cannot be solved. (4)

According to Ngai, the nation-state simultaneously demands and outlaws illegal immigrants to solve its economic exigencies. Illegal immigrants are inextricably tied up in the conflict of capital and labor: they are invited to be a member of the workforce for their cheap and disposable labor yet they are excluded from formal membership when it comes to capital redistribution. Thus the impossibility of illegal immigrants is implicated in the law that sanctions and proscribes them at the same time.

In *Native Speaker*, illegal immigrants are not only a legal impossibility but an epistemological impossibility. It is unthinkable to acquire political force through disenfranchised people, thus Kwang's political rise through illegal immigrants cannot be possible. Yet *Native Speaker* specifically narrates the course of Kwang's political success involving illegal immigrants, hence representing "impossible subjects." Illegal immigrants are clearly at the crux of the narrative when their exposure leads to the demise of Kwang's political career and ultimately the novel's denouement. Kwang's transnational politics cannot succeed in the nation-state when the Immigration and Naturalization Service reinforces the citizenship protocols to the illegal immigrants.

Now another related report, an exclusive. There is hard evidence of a community money club that John Kwang overseas. The club is like a private bank that pays revolving interest and principal to its members, many of whom are Korean, lending activities that aren't registered with any banking commission and haven't reported to tax authorities. The information, oddly, originates from the regional director of the Immigration and Naturalization Service.

> 'What the fuck is he talking about?' Janice cries. 'What the hell is going?' But I am silent. (329)

The novel borrows the voice of the news report to fill in for Henry's knowing silence. The INS verifies that Kwang's *ggeh* included undocumented workers, the list of which Henry has compiled for Dennis. It turns out that Kwang's political demise is sealed by his association with illegal immigrants: "the Korean girl involved in the accident with John Kwang is also an illegal" (329). The narrative makes it clear that all it takes to defeat the illegal immigrants is to identify them. The INS regional director declares "we have them all" after identifying the ethnicity and nationality of the illegal immigrants: "The illegals are of all nationalities —some Koreans, of course, but mostly other Asians, West Indians, various Africans, and 'most whatever else you can think of,' he says, adding that aliens are coming now from everywhere" (329-330). The illegal immigrants are everywhere yet nowhere when the recognition of them simultaneously confirms their extinction. Such a conflict in representation is mediated through alternative epistemologies that rise from competing conceptions of cultural and national citizenship. It may seem as though *Native Speaker* relieves institutional and national anxiety by narrating the downfall of Kwang and the disintegration of the community he stood for. Nevertheless, the novel chooses to represent illegal immigrants through their dissolution and expulsion, thus gesturing toward an alternative site where impossibility can be reinvented and imagined. It is through such muted representation of "impossible subjects" that *Native Speaker* undermines standard knowledge production and presents new ambiguities, tensions, and conflicts.

Perhaps the novel's impossible representation is best summed up when Henry confesses to Lelia his ambivalence about finding his identity through a slur:

> "I never understood that word," she shouts into the wind. "*Gook*. I sometimes hear it from the students. I thought it was meant for Southeast Asians. I don't get it."
> "Everyone's got a theory. Mine is, when the American GIs came to a place they'd met by all the Korean villagers, who'd be hungry and excited, all shouting and screaming. The villagers would be yelling, *Mee-gook! Mee-gook!* And so that's what they were to the GIs, just gooks, that's what they seemed to be calling themselves, but that wasn't it at all."
> "What were they saying?"

> "'Americans! Americans!' *Mee-gook* means America."
> "That's perfect," Lelia says, shaking her head. "I better ask Stew."
> "Don't harass your father," I tell her. "He won't know anything. It's funny. I used to almost feel good that there was a word for me. Even if it was a slur. I thought, I know I'm not a chink or a jap, which they would wrongly call me all the time, so maybe I'm a gook. The logic of a wounded eight-year-old." (242-243)

The way in which an innocent term for American nationality can be transformed into a slur against Asians is suggestive of how the Asian American subject gains its significance through projective misrecognition. The Sino-Korean characters for the term "mee-gook"(미국) signify a beautiful country (美國) and the term for American, "mee-gook saram" (미국사람) continues to be used in modern-day Korean when referring to Caucasians regardless of nationality. The syllable "gook," which is represented by the Sino-Korean character "國," simply indicates a country or a nation. It is telling how the same phonetics came to derogatively refer to Koreans by American GIs who must have believed, despite the obvious peculiarities, that Koreans can only speak in broken English to say "me gook" instead of "I am a gook" and that all Koreans refer to themselves by the same appellation and run around proclaiming their nationality all the time. Such misrecognition is only possible for epistemologically impossible subjects who cannot be native speakers and who cannot have their individual identities. The transformation of a neutral yet potentially flattering term in one language into a derogatory one in another speaks to the psychology behind the racial and national dynamics. By calling Koreans "gooks," the American GIs defer ontological objectification by adopting the perspective of the other while leaving the Asian subject ultimately unrecognizable.

Eight-year old Henry may appreciate the recognition and ethnic differentiation of "chink" or "jap" as opposed to the term "gook," yet in reality the term blurs all Asian phenotypes as an ubiquitous and invisible enemy. *Native Speaker*, as a novel, speaks about these ubiquitous and invisible subjects through a triangulated reflection —articulation of the representation that cannot be. What the representations of illegal immigrants suggest for *Native Speaker* is how the immigrant subject is imagined through a triangulation of knowledge. In *Native Speaker*, illegal immigrants demonstrate a form of knowledge that is mediated through their muted representations. Through their muted representations, *Native Speaker* contemplates the process of knowledge that constitutes the Asian American subject.

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BBC's *Orphan Black*'s Slow Narrative Reveals a Foucauldian Prison Structure

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In the opening scene of the BBC television series *Orphan Black*, Sarah thinks she has watched her twin jump in front of a train and commit suicide. In the chaos of the event, she's pushed aside by the authorities and spies her double's purse abandoned on the platform. Sarah steals the purse, which belonged to a police detective named Beth Childs. With the possession of Beth's identity and through a series of events, Sarah discovers she is not a twin, but one of nine clone women worldwide. *Orphan Black*, which premiered its fourth season in April 2016, uses a biopunk plot and a neopunk narrator to take the viewer through the different aspects of a power structure which resembles The Mettray, the prison system Michel Foucault analyzes in *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison.* Through their choice of narrative structure, the series creators, John Fawcett and Graeme Manson, slowly introduces the viewer to the inescapable structures of power which molds and forms individuals. This slow progression widens the scope of the viewers' awareness, and the characters' reality, revealing a futility of resistance. Foucault observed a structure which utilized constant awareness of surveillance and small group bonding to ensure passive prisoners. *Orphan Black* shows characters whose passivity is nurtured in ignorance of surveillance, only resisting when discovering the overseers. What eventually thwarts resistance is when the small group bonds are threatened.

The Mettray was a 19th century French prison system for young delinquents, many of them abandoned children without parents. Foucault examines the prison's structure of "highly hierarchized groups"[1] within the prison to mold and shape its occupants. This method of a prison structure theorized a space of reform, ensuring prisoners would conform to societal norms. Foucault explains, "[The chiefs and their deputies] were in a sense technicians of behavior: engineers of conduct, orthopaedists of individuality. Their task was the produce bodies which were docile and capable"[2]. Docility is accomplished by systems of observation and prioritizing inclusion over isolation: not only spaces of awareness of surveillance, but cultivating a desire to be among the observers.

In *Orphan Black,* Sarah is a mother who had left her child in the care of another before disappearing for almost a year. She returns in hopes of finding enough money to

[1] Foucault, Michel, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. (S.n.: Vintage, 2009), 294.
[2] Ibid., 294.

give her child a good life. In an attempt to steal several thousand dollars from assuming her dead double's identity, she learns she's a clone. Additionally, Sarah learns each of the clones is being hunted by an individual on a religious mission. She and two other clones, Cosima and Alison, also discover they are being monitored by an institute known as the Dyad Institute. This institute was instrumental in their creation. The monitors are unaware that Sarah is the only clone who has the ability to produce a child, so the clones agree to protect the child, Kira from the institute. This information does not stay secure, so the clones consider making an agreement with the Dyad so they can live unmonitored. They also request access to the DNA sequence which engineers their biology. With it, they can solve the mystery of the deadly respiratory illnesses to which the clones are susceptible, and why Sarah is the only clone with the ability to produce a child. The clones want to believe the Dyad will allow them to live free, until Cosima discovers a sequence on their DNA, a patent, making them property of the institute. When Sarah flees the institute, she comes home to find her daughter missing, possibly taken by the Dyad.

As this narrative progresses and gradually reveals the mystery upon which it is based, it also reveals the structure of the prison which holds these characters. The viewer is offered a small scope from which to view this world, and episode by episode, the scope widens and the viewer is able to see more of the power system which inhibits the characters. This is not a narrative with one evil villain to face, but systems to dismantle from within. However, until the viewer and the characters get the full view of their prison, they cannot begin to tear it down.

The narrative begins by introducing the viewer to the major families. In the Mettray, families were organized among the prisoners, "composed of 'brothers' and two 'elder brothers'".[3] Sarah is an orphan who was raised by her foster parent Mrs. S. with her foster brother Felix. When she returns to the city, her first action is to make a phone call to Mrs. S. to ask when she will be able to see her daughter, Kira. Mrs. S. denies this request because Sarah had been missing for almost a year. Immediately the power dynamics of the family are established; Mrs. S. is the dominant elder figure in their family. Once she steals Beth's identity, Sarah also finds herself at the mercy of her dead double's family. Beth's family consists of her live-in boyfriend, Paul and her detective partner, Art. Paul and Beth had been fighting because their relationship was dissolving. Art and Beth had been fighting because of a civilian shooting which Art had helped Beth cover up.[4] With Sarah's foster family, she has to prove she is a new person, an upstanding perfect mother for Kira. However, with Beth's family, Sarah has to maintain she is Beth, a new person adamant that she has not changed.

In the process of appeasing these families, Sarah becomes further immersed in the mystery of her double and discovers a new family in which she also must appease, her clone family, or sestras. At this point in the narrative, the members of the families act as

[3] Ibid., 293.
[4] Fawcett , John and Graeme Manson, "Natural Selection" *Orphan Black*. BBC. 30 Mar 2013. AmazonPrime. Web 15 Apr 2016

obstacles, not enemies: Mrs. S. won't allow Sarah access to her daughter, Cosima demands Sarah retrieve evidence, and Alison won't offer Sarah any information outside the cover of darkness. All these demands inhibit Sarah from obtaining what she wants, but none of them place her in danger. However, once the families have been established, the narrative then reveals the need to fight against a larger force. Sarah's biological identicals are being murdered. Alison explains to Sarah, "We're clones! We're someone's lab experiment and they are killing us off".[5] This information presents Sarah with the burden of helping her sestras in order to protect them. In as effort to persuade Sarah, Cosima insists, "We are your biological imperative".[6] This is the first introduction of an adversary, and the Sestra Army faction. Foucault explained how The Mettray also organized its prisoners into Army factions, "each family, commanded by a head, was divided into two sections, each of which had a second in command; each inmate had a number and was taught basic military exercises; there was a cleanliness inspection every day, an inspection of clothing every week; a roll-call was take three times a day".[7] Alison mobilizes like a soldier: she keeps a weapon with her at all times, she dispenses information on a need to know basis, and trains herself in tactical support. Beth trained Alison in defense and weaponry, and until her suicide, led the Sestra Army. Alison would have been default leader of the Sestra Army after Beth killed herself; however, Sarah asserts her dominance and is deemed the leader. After the shift in power, Alison becomes second in command. Both Alison and Sarah enlist for the Sestra Army because they both have children they wish to protect.[8] The arrangement of the Sestra Army, like the Army Faction in the Mettray, facilitates discipline while also enhancing the opportunity for bonding.

Alison's insistence that a scientist is hunting down clones is not accurate. Their hunter is Helena, a soldier for the Prolethians, a religious group who views the clone experiment as against God's will. Helena was adopted by the Prolethians and trained to kill clones. She's a sniper, she performs field surgery on herself when injured, she gathers information on the sestras to use against them, is an adept fighter, and on all levels, a stone-cold killer. Helena is not just a soldier, but also another clone, which makes her part of the family faction. She's a specimen so dynamic, even Dyad director Dr. Aldus Leekie cannot help but comment upon it: "They trained a clone to kill clones. Brilliant, really."[9] Foucault's assessment of the Mettray implies this as the intended order, the deviant policing the deviant. The factions impose this hierarchy to ensure that one inmate possesses a position of superiority, to justify the imposing of punishment.

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[5] Fawcett , John and Graeme Manson, "Variations Under Nature." Writer Graeme Manson. BBC. 30 Mar 2013.
AmazonPrime. Web 15 Apr 2016

[6] Ibid

[7] Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, 293.

[8] Fawcett, John and Graeme Manson, "Effects of External Conditions." Writer Karen Walton. BBC. 30 Mar 2013. AmazonPrime. Web 16 Apr 2016

[9] Fawcett , John and Graeme Manson, "Unconscious Selection" *Orphan Black*. BBC. 30 Mar 2013. AmazonPrime. Web 15 Apr 2016

Helena not only acts as a soldier, but also as an instrument of justice. She was placed on a religious mission to rid the world of the "abominations" and "copy clones." Foucault ponders what might motivate one to impress this authority of the punisher on others and what allows others to be punished. In *Discipline and Punish* he explains, "The theory of the [social] contract can only answer this question by the fiction of a juridical subject giving to others the power to exercise over him the right that he himself possesses over him."[10] Helena is introduced as the agent of justice as the "original" from which the clones were created. She is raised with a mission, to eliminate her copies from the world. Upon her, she has carved scars into her back into the shape of angel's wings. She refers to the clones as Sheep, occasionally baaing at them. Cosima, through analyzing Helena's knife and weapon of choice, she explains,

> Cosima: "If you were a messed up, abused loner whose faith compels you to belong and somebody you trusted told you that this was the way to redeem yourself in the eyes of God…"
> Sarah : "I might become an angry angel, too."[11]

Sarah and Cosima recognize how this combination of isolation and religious ideology created a being which would take extreme action to be redeemed. Helena's social training by the Prolethians created a monster.

When Helena is introduced, she is an enemy, but by the end of Season 1, the characters learn she is Sarah's twin separated at birth. This connection changes their dynamic, and creates this lingering question of where Helena's loyalties lie: with her family, or with her army. For Helena's crimes, Sarah has to be the one who brings Helena to final justice. Once Helena separates herself from the Prolethians, choosing her sestra, Sarah, over her guardian, Thomas, she is no longer bound to any conventions of obedience to a family member. When Helena stabs their birth-mother Amelia, who placed the twins in separate foster systems, Helena explains it is because, "She separated us. She tore us apart. But now we're together."[12] Helena believes that she is free to do as she wishes, still dispensing justice as she sees fit. She is unconcerned with possible consequences because she believes Sarah will never hurt her, that their biological connection will protect her, explaining to Sarah, "Scientists made one little baby and we split in two…So I cannot kill you sister, like you can't kill me….Sarah, we make a family, yes?"[13] Unfortunately, for Helena, the risk of allowing her unpredictable twin to live outweighs the connection of their biology and Sarah shoots her. Here, Sarah is confronted with the question of nature over

[10] Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, 303.
[11] Fawcett, John and Graeme Manson, "Effects of External Conditions." Writer Karen Walton. BBC. 30 Mar 2013. AmazonPrime. Web 16 Apr 2016
[12] Fawcett , John and Graeme Manson, "Endless Forms Most Beautiful." Writer Graeme Manson. BBC. 30 Mar 2013. AmazonPrime. Web 17 Apr 2016
[13] Ibid.

nurture and who to protect. She and Helena, separated at birth, had not the time or opportunity to develop the fully bonded connection necessary for her to choose Helena over her foster family. In their climatic fight at the end of "Endless Forms Most Beautiful", Sarah's response to Helena is, "I've already got a family." Sarah is Helena's only family, while Sarah has cultivated relationships with Felix, Mrs. S., her daughter and the other sestras. In this instance, nurture wins.

Proctors of justice on *Orphan Black* are limited to clones within the soldier faction: Beth, who killed Prolethian Maggie Chen before her suicide; Helena, with numerous clone killings and her birth-mother Amelia; Alison, who through negligence kills her neighbor Aynsley; and Sarah, who shoots Helena. They feel justified in their actions, because they operate in a system within a society that is not monitored by society. The clones are part of an illegal experiment, which means they cannot rely on the police to regulate justice. Again, Foucault notes a system outside of the social contract within the Mettray. The prisoners governed justice themselves because the incarcertation system, "gives a sort of legal sanction to the disciplinary mechanisms, to the decisions and judgements that they enforce."[14] Within the Mettray, the primary tools of justice was to severely punish minor offenses before they become major ones through, "confinement to one's cell; for 'isolation is the best means of acting on the moral nature of children'".[15] He described the cells where upon the walls, black letters warn, "God sees you"[16] This act of isolation and surveillance inflicts a sense of being ostracized but never alone. Foucault sees this as societal training.

This form of isolation is used on Helena when she is punished by Thomas. For protecting Sarah from him, she's locked in a cage. Helena alludes to this type of repeated punishment when she explains her upbringing in the convent. When Thomas locks her in the cage, he also strips her of her superiority over the other clones claiming, "You are no better than they are!"[17] Later in the scene, she holds a gun between Thomas and Sarah: he proclaims Helena is the original clone and the rightful mother to Sarah's daughter Kira, while Sarah pleads that Thomas will likely lock Kira in a cage. The idea of going back into the cage, or seeing anyone else be punished in this way, leads Helena to turn her back on her guardian. This type of reversal of power structure on the family level is not remarked upon in Foucault's assessment of the Mettray in *Discipline and Punish.* Within the family systems, "The essential element of its programme was to subject the future cadres to the same apprenticeships and to the same coersions as the inmates themselves: they were 'subjected as pupils to the discipline that, later, as instructors, they would themselves impose."[18] The implication of this is reminiscent of a hazing ritual, where one must suffer

[14] Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, 302.
[15] Ibid., 294.
[16] Ibid., 294.
[17] Fawcett , John and Graeme Manson, "Unconscious Selection" *Orphan Black*. BBC. 30 Mar 2013. AmazonPrime. Web 15 Apr 2016
[18] Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, 295.

in order to gain power. In this situation, all Thomas' promises of power—motherhood and superiority—are not strong enough to subject one to the same methods of discipline she experienced as a child. The family factions in the Mettray composed the inmates into groups of at least three. A revolt against a family head would require the support of the others members of the family. If Helena had been charged with another in her family system, she might be more hesitant in overthrowing her guardian.

Thomas, as Helena's guardian, was not the only instance of monitoring for social conditioning. Over the course of the narrative, the sestras realize not only that they are subjects in a grand experiment, but that they are being watched. Cosima explains to Sarah that if she were in charge of an experiment on the scale of their creation, "I would put an observer close to the subject, you know, somebody to keep tabs and accumulate data."[19] This places each of the clones on the alert that they are secretly being watched on a daily basis by someone close to them.

Foucault introduces this type of monitoring in *Discipline and Punishment* within the family groupings at the Mettray, explaining that, "Heads or deputy-heads of families, monitors and foremen, had to live in close proximity to the inmates; their clothes were 'almost as humble' as those of the inmates themselves; they practically never left their side, observing them day and night; they constituted among them a network of permanent observation."[20] The monitoring system accomplishes two objectives: the monitors model "good" behavior and report "bad" behavior. "They were in a sense technicians of behaviour: engineers of conduct, orthopaedists of individuality. Their task was to produce bodies that were both docile and capable."[21] For the most part, among the clones, the subjects remain docile. As long as the clones were being monitored, but kept in the dark, the subjects remained calm and susceptible. Cosima was working within a university system studying evolutionary development; Alison was raising a family in the suburbs. Pre-clone exposure, the subjects were docile in ignorance. This is different from what Foucault observes in The Mettray. Those prisoners are aware they are part of a penal system, and that they are being watched. This surveillance maintains their docility: they won't misbehave because they know they cannot get away with it without being punished. On *Orphan Black*, the breakdown of the Dyad's surveillance system occurs when the clones become aware of their biology. Only when they recognize they are part of a system, do they resist it. The rationale the series provides for the clone's ignorance, is the legality of the experiment, and the concern over tampering with the results. Paul is instructed that his function is to observe, and "as long as your subject makes her own choices, there are no wrong

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[19] Fawcett , John and Graeme Manson, "Conditions of Existence." Writer Alex Levine. BBC. 30 Mar 2013. AmazonPrime. Web 16 Apr 2016

[20] Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, 295.

[21] Ibid., 294.

decisions."[22] The implication is that ignorance is a stronger impetus to docility than the awareness of surveillance.

When the sestras become self-aware, not only of their existence, but of their monitors, the dynamics of the relationships change. When Sarah realizes that Paul is Beth's monitor (and through her assumption of Beth's life, her own) she utilizes that connection to feed him the information she wants him to pass along to his superiors. The same situation occurs for Cosima when she realizes she is being monitored by Delphine. Cosima asserts that knowing she is being watched will situate her in the power position: "If we want to get past our monitors, we have to engage"[23] However, it seems that Foucault does not account for developing affections between the watchers and the watched eventually shifting the loyalties of the overseers. He does not account for the day-to-day interaction creating an emotional bond. On *Orphan Black*, the monitors are not only positioned to engage, but instructed to become romantic interests, ensuring day and night observation. In "Conditions of Existence," Sarah discovers that in Paul and Beth's relationship, she was pushing for a serious commitment, hopefully marriage and children. Paul wouldn't commit to Beth, nor would he terminate the relationship. Paul was only fulfilling the parameters of his mission. On the other hand, Paul develops an emotional attachment to Sarah, which tests his allegiance. Where before with Beth, his loyalties might have remained with the Dyad institute, but with Sarah, his instinct is to keep her protected despite his orders. When the institute learns that Sarah has been impersonating Beth, he is instructed to bring her to them. However, Paul still instructs Sarah that she is in danger and should run.[24] In *Discipline and Punish*, Foucault is quite focused on the system which trains the inmates within the system, but does not account for the concern for each other's safety and security which could manifest by creating these bonds.

While Cosima and Sarah learn to keep the upper hand with their monitors, Alison does not. Instead of growing closer to her monitor and using this information to her advantage, she never determines who exactly is watching her and it causes her to act irrationally. The emotional breakdown of her placement within the Panopticon is clever considering the Panopticon-ic relationship of living in suburbia. The Panopticon is, in Foucault's assertion, a perfect prison. In *Discipline and Punish*, he explains that this style of prison acted as the opposite of the medieval dungeon, "or rather if its three functions – to enclose, to deprive of light and to hide – it preserves only the first and eliminates the other two."[25] The prison was built with a tower in the middle providing the ability to view the inside of each cell while the prisoner can never view who is watching them. It creates this

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[22] Fawcett , John and Graeme Manson, "Variations Under Domestication." Writer Will Pascoe. BBC. 30 Mar 2013.
AmazonPrime. Web 16 Apr 2016
[23] Fawcett , John and Graeme Manson, "Parts Developed in an Unusual Manner." Writer Tony Elliot. BBC. 30 Mar 2013. AmazonPrime. Web 17 Apr 2016
[24] Fawcett , John and Graeme Manson, "Parts Developed in an Unusual Manner." Writer Tony Elliot. BBC. 30 Mar 2013. AmazonPrime. Web 17 Apr 2016
[25] Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, 200.

illusion of being watched at all times, all sins visible: "Full lighting and the eye of a supervisor capture better than darkness, which ultimately protected. Visibility is a trap."[26] The show also utilizes lighting as iconography, filming most of Alison's scenes in the daylight, or under the activation of motion detector security lighting. This character is associated with the security of visibility, but also the prison which that visibility provides.

Alison is most offended by the "betrayal" of being spied upon. Obsessed with the possibility of her monitor being her husband, she searches through his belongings and installs a camera in her bedroom. Here the narrative opens the scope to show the viewer the panoptic nature of Alison's everyday life, and the irony of her irrationality. In "Variations Under Domestication," Alison hosts a potluck, despite keeping her husband tied to a chair in her craft room. She refuses to cancel the event, rationalizing to Sarah, "It's my turn."[27] The concept of cancelling was not an option for her. Her neighbors roam about her home, asking questions and commenting on her nervous behavior. In this episode, she is the center of a judging community, much like Foucault describes when he associates all citizens to the Panopticon watchtower: "The judges of normality are present everywhere. We are in the society of the teacher-judge, the doctor-judge, the educator-judge, the social worker-judge."[28] However, her paranoid and violent reaction against her potential monitors is actually opposite of the system which Foucault observes in the Panopticon. He notes the anxiety of being watched is tied into anonymous observers, and "the more numerous those anonymous and temporary observers are, the greater the risk for the inmate of being surprised and the greater his anxious awareness of being observed."[29] Alison is comfortable with her numerous observers. It's the idea of a singular personal observer which creates her paranoia. Not only does it fuel her paranoia, but it leads her to irrational and violent behavior. First at Donnie, whom she smacks with a golf club, then burns with a hot glue gun, after which she comments, "I wacked him and it felt so good."[30] When Alison suspects her neighbor Aynsley of being her monitor, she seduces Aynsley's husband, then fights her in the street. Eventually, in an attempt to bully a confession from her, Alison watches Aynsley's scarf become caught in a garbage disposal and allows her "monitor" to be strangled to death.[31] This is not a docile body, but a violent body of defiance.

In "Entangled Bank", the character Felix, comments that Alison's irrationality is rooted in a loss of a "fake happiness." Alison was so accustomed to her constant

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[26] Ibid., 200

[27] Fawcett , John and Graeme Manson, "Variations Under Domestication." Writer Will Pascoe. BBC. 30 Mar 2013.
AmazonPrime. Web 16 Apr 2016

[28] Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, 304.

[29] Ibid., 202.

[30] Fawcett , John and Graeme Manson, "Variations Under Domestication." Writer Will Pascoe. BBC. 30 Mar 2013.
AmazonPrime. Web 16 Apr 2016

[31] Fawcett , John and Graeme Manson, "Endless Forms Most Beautiful." Writer Graeme Manson. BBC. 30 Mar 2013. AmazonPrime. Web 17 Apr 2016

observation that she was oblivious to it. Despite her wrath over the idea of being watched, Alison's primary demand though out the series is how she wants her "life back." She wants to go back to her ignorance to her biology, to her surveillance, to her sestras. Alison likes her Panopticon cage, because it is a prison of which she understands the rules. She knows she is being watched by her neighbors, but feels a security in the fact that she can watch as well. Not knowing who watched her and when she was being watched fueled her resistance.

Rachel is another clone who enjoys her cage, but because it provides her the most power. Foucault suggests the system of the Mettray is designed to create "bodies which were both docile and capable."[32] The subjects within the prison were aware of their placement within a penal system, many of them orphans who were given up by their families. Rachel too is an orphan within a system. She has always been aware of her biology, raised by doctors and scientists within the Dyad institute. The intention was to create a child "unfettered by tradition."[33] Rachel rises from scientific subject to program director of the Dyad, never leaving the constraints of her prison. Foucault explains in *Discipline and Punish* that at the Mettray, students are often cycled through the prison systems: "The carceral network does not cast the unassimilable into a confused hell; there is no outside… In this panoptic society of which incarceration is the omnipresent armature, the delinquent is not outside the law; he is, from the very oneset, in the law, at the heart of the law."[34] Rachel was not trained in any other area. She would be incapable of functioning outside of the Dyad, which produced not only her routine, but also her identity.

Rachel, has more power than all the other clones: she holds a prominent position within the Dyad institute, she has money, she chooses her monitor, however, she can never be freed from it. She was created by the Dyad, was raised by the institution under constant surveillance, was educated by them and ultimately worked for them. Foucault notes this institutionalized employment only funnels individuals from one institution to the next. "Careers emerged from [the carceral], as secure, as predictable, as those of public life."[35] She's a domesticated cat in a power suit, explaining to Sarah, "My role is to transition you to self-awareness."[36] Rachel's orders were to offer Sarah an "agreement of mutual disclosure" with the Dyad institute. Sarah is promised protection for Kira and a life unmonitored. However, her assertion of Kira's protection possesses the lingering cadence of a threat, already asserting her dominance over a subject her hopes will conform to her same docile existence. Unlike Helena, who chooses her sestra over dominating a comrade, Rachel can't wait to assert her superiority.

Later, when Sarah decides to accept the Dyad's agreement, after Helena has been shot and she confirms with Rachel that her daughter will be protected, she's met in the

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[32] Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, 294.

[33] Fawcett , John and Graeme Manson, "Unconscious Selection." Writer Alex Levine. BBC. 30 Mar 2013. AmazonPrime. Web 17 Apr 2016

[34] Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, 301.

[35] Ibid., 300.

[36] Fawcett , John and Graeme Manson, "Endless Forms Most Beautiful." Writer Graeme Manson. BBC. 30 Mar 2013. AmazonPrime. Web 17 Apr 2016

elevator by Paul who confesses the evidence the institute can use against him: war crimes in Afghanistan. He will not be free from the demands of the institute as long as they have this information in their possession. He asks Sarah, "If you're born outside of their control, then what do they have on you?"[37] Unfortunately, the essence of Sarah's prison is in her biology. The clones are not only products of science, but they have also been patented by science. "This organism and derivative genetic material is restricted 'intellectual property.'" Any freedom promised by the Dyad institute is a façade. Cosima explains to Sarah, "We're property. Our bodies, our biology, everything we are, everything we become belongs to them. They could claim Kira."[38] This knowledge motivates Sarah to back out of the deal. She runs home, to her daughter, away from the prison which might hold her. However, the prison of biology is inescapable. When she rushes home, she finds Kira gone. The last scene of the season finale is Sarah standing in her daughter's ransacked bedroom screaming, "KIRA!" out the open window.[39] Even if Sarah can manage to fight against her patented existence, as long as Kira can be threated the Dyad will always be able to use the child as leverage. Sarah will never be able to escape.

At the beginning of the series, Sarah had returned to be a mother, but before that moment on the platform, before seeing her double jump in front of a train, Sarah is a free person: unknown, untraceable and untethered. If the ties between Sarah and Kira had not been strong enough to lure her back, she would not have been on that train platform when Beth jumped, creating the chain of events which put the child's life in danger. Sarah and her daughter would have been unassociated and unrevealed. They both would have been safe. Foucault would never attribute all the power of this narrative to the institute which imprisons, but would note that power is actually, "a machine which everyone is caught, those who exercise power just as much as those over whom it is exercised"[40] What Foucault observed in the Mettray was a system which supported an awareness of surveillance, and the awareness of being watched encouraged docility and moral choices. What *Orphan Black* illustrates is that ignorance creates docility and family nurtures morality. Only when the clones became aware of their biology did they want to be free from it. Only when the threat of being separated from their families do they consider surrender. Once the full scope of the narrative is accessible to the characters and the viewer, one can see that the power which the Dyad holds over Sarah and the other clones only binds them as long as there are bound by their small hierarchical power structures.

[37] Ibid.
[38] Ibid.
[39] Ibid.
[40] Foucault, Michel and Colin Gordon, *Power/knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-1977*, (New York: Pantheon Books), 156.

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Surveillance, Control, and Masculine Identity in George Lamming's *In the Castle of My Skin*

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In his coming of age novel, *In the Castle of My Skin*, George Lamming offers insight into the power structure of colonized Barbados and its effects on those who are controlled by it. He also gives readers a guide for how to sidestep this colonial surveillance and the forms of masculinity that are defined by it. Lamming's text provides a means for its narrator to find identity outside of the prescribed forms of the hegemonic masculine identity described by Linden Lewis in his article "Caribbean Masculinity: Unpacking the Narrative." *In the Castle of my Skin* offers a model for male identity in the characters of Pa and Trumper through ancestry and black diasporic connection.

Michel Foucault's "Panopticism" from *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* can be useful to understand the ways that surveillance was utilized to maintain social order in the colonies. He describes J. Bentham's architectural plans for creating schools, prisons, asylums and other institutions that permit the most effective means of surveillance by a few and the control over many. Panopticism explains many aspects of colonial power in Lamming's Barbados. It first demonstrates how a large population can be controlled and subjected seemingly without physical force and how panopticism coerces subjected others to participate in its maintenance. The panoptic system also successfully "others" a segment of the population because of its intent to control criminal, infirm, or juvenile populations. The implication is then that those under the gaze of panopticistic control are corrupt, a threat to themselves or others, and childlike.

Among the colonial institutions described in *In the Castle of My Skin* are the landlord's home and property, the school that the narrator "G" and his friends attend, and the church. In describing the landlord's house, Lamming writes, "From any point of land one could see on a clear day the large brick house hoisted on the hill."[1] The house served as a constant reminder of the landlord's presence and authority, even if the townspeople seldom had any direct interactions with him. The school also serves as a point of colonial institutionalized power. The boys are organized with military precision, and British authority is maintained even though the English school inspector rarely comes but for special occasions. Lastly the church, which shares the same enclosure as the school is also a seat of British authority: the English, Presbyterian supervising minister. Lamming describes

[1] George Lamming, *In The Castle of My Skin* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1954), 18.

the church by writing that "[t]he mystery of the church frightened the boys, and they never entered it."[2] Lamming writes of the school/church property that the buildings were "shrines of enlightenment that looked over the wall and across a benighted wooden tenantry."[3] The British colonial authority is able to maintain control over the population with the omnipresence of the power represented by these institutions.

Foucault writes that "The Panopticon is a machine for dissociating the see/being seen dyad: in the peripheric ring, one is totally seen without ever seeing; in the central tower, one sees everything without ever being seen." [4] This ability to see without being seen enables the British colonizers to exert control. The landlord, the school inspector, and the minister are present just enough to remind the population of their presence. The townspeople and students are never quite sure when they are being observed, but the presence of the institutions ensure the possibility that they could always be observed. Pascah Mungwini, in his article "'Surveillance and Cultural Panopticism': Situation Foucault in African Modernities," explores panopticism in colonized Africa:

> Utilizing the panoptic effect, the exercise of power is further improved by making it easier and more effective in terms of achieving results without always resorting to the use of force and other physical forms of punishment. Power and control would therefore be easily exercised through subtle forms of coercion generated by the consciousness of being constantly under surveillance.[5]

Once the panoptic institutions are in place, the machine practically runs itself because "[it] is an important mechanism, for it automatizes and disindividualizes power. Power has its principle not so much in a person as in a certain concerted distribution of bodies, surfaces, lights, gazes; in an arrangement whose internal mechanism produce the relation in which individuals are caught up."[6] Panopticism becomes a particularly effective means of exerting power in the colonies because "it does not matter who exercises power. Any individual, taken almost at random, can operate the machine: in the absence of the director, his family, his friends, his visitors, even his servants."[7] This is exactly what happens in *In the Castle of My Skin* as the colonized step in to maintain the system and preserve power that has been in British hands.

In each of the aforementioned sites of British institutional authority in Lamming's text, there is at least one figure that while colonized, assumes the role of maintaining the

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[2] Ibid., 28.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: Vintage Books, 1977), 201-202.
[5] Pascah Mungawini. "'Surveillance and Cultural Panopticism': Situating Foucault in African Modernities," *South African Journal of Philosophy* 31, no. 2 (2012): 344-45.
[6] Foucault, *Discipline,* 202.
[7] Ibid.

power of the colonizer. In the case of the landlord, there is the overseer. Lamming writes that "[t]he world of authority existed somewhere along the fringe of the villagers' consciousness. Direct contact with the landlord might have helped towards some understanding of what the others, meaning the white, were like, but the overseer who nominally was a mediator had functioned like a bridge that might be used, but not from crossing from one end to the other."[8] The headmaster governs the school on behalf of the British authority, and like the overseer serves as the bridge between community and the superintendent so that there is seldom any contact between the two. This motivation to self-regulate is one of the most effective aspects of panopticism. Mungwini writes, "Although the ideal prison, the Panopticon, would keep the body entrapped, its real target was not the body but the psyche or mental state of the inmate. Trapped in the Panopticon, people internalize the rules, regulate their own behavior even when it is not necessary and, thus, exercise power over themselves." [9] So while most of the characters of *In the Castle of My Skin* are physically entrapped in the sense that they inhabit an island, the larger control that is exerted over them is actually the psychological state of always being observed. This causes the characters to enforce colonial rule over themselves.

While the overseer and the headmaster are clearly agents who act on behalf of British interests, other characters in Lamming's novel also behave in a manner that suggests that they are regulating their behavior in response to this heightened perception of surveillance. According to Foucault, "Bentham laid down the principle that power should be visible and unverifiable."[10] Within this structure, the characters of Lamming's novel would be accustomed to the idea that colonial rule has access to even the most private spaces in their lives. This is demonstrated in the strict enforcement of conduct in the bathhouses, and even in the town's custom of turning out lights at night on the same schedule as the landlord's house. Colonialism is also taught from parent to child, and then from child to child. A mother and Sunday school teacher teaches her child a colonial version of history with regards to slavery, and the child then passes this same message to his friends. Because the message has come via an authority, who is both a parent and a Sunday school teacher, the children then agree that it would be best to "belong to the empire and in the end get back to the garden."[11] In this way the colonial message is ensured and regulated from within, and from generation to generation.

What then occurs when identity is formed beneath such a vigilant and enforced gaze? In chapter two of Lamming's novel readers witness the first-person narrator as child being shamed by his mother for allowing himself to be seen after his bath. "'You little fool,' she said, 'you don't want a little boy like yourself to see you, and you can stand in the middle of the yard and let the whole world look down on you!'"[12] In addition to an enforced

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[8] Lamming, *In the Castle,* 21.
[9] Mungawini, "'Surveillance and Cultural Panopticism,'" 349.
[10] Foucault, *Discipline*, 201.
[11] Lamming, *In the Castle,* 68.
[12] Ibid., 11.

awareness of gaze, Lamming also shows G's early desire to escape gaze and seek out private spaces. He writes about how G feels when he is "captured" through gaze at school and describes the feeling: "He had been seen by another. He had become part of the other's world, and therefore no longer in complete control of his own. The eye of another was a kind of cage. When it saw you the lid came down, and you were trapped. It was always happening."[13] This same passage also describes seeking refuge in the school lavatory stall: "The darkness brought a strange kind of release, and you wished secretly in your heart that darkness would descend on the whole earth so that you could get a chance to see how much energy was stored in your little self."[14] This statement contains a connection between themes that will be continued in various combinations throughout the novel. Darkness offers a means to escape the power of gaze, and true identity can only be formed outside of this gaze.

Another space where young characters in *In the Castle of My Skin* use darkness to seek identity is when they attempt to subvert the "see/being seen dyad" by sneaking onto the landlord's property at night to watch the party given for the sailors. Being the seers instead of the ones seen briefly permits the boys an opportunity to resist the power exercised by both the overseer and the British landlord. The boys hide in the dark watching and "the novelty of this place admitted no other emotion but curiosity and excitement."[15] As they sit mesmerized by the music and the dancing, the boys contrast this "other world," where the sailors are well behaved, to their own.[16] Their conversation sharply ends when a sailor, attempting to seduce the landlord's daughter draws her away from the party and brings her closer to where the boys are hiding. As the boys try to sneak away, Trumper screams out after finding himself in an ant hill. This behavior, however, later becomes framed as criminal when, although the boys escape, the landlord lets it be known in the community that someone attempted to assault his daughter, or as "Ma" later recounts "the vagabonds [tried] to force rudeness" on her.[17] The landlord reclaims the narrative, casting his daughter as victim, later to be described by "Ma" as a "poor child" who was "takin' little fresh air," the boys become "three wicked brutes [desiring] to tear her to pieces," and the white sailor becomes the hero.[18] In this way the subversion of the power of surveillance is criminalized and British colonial control is restored, again with the assistance and complicity of the colonized.

As Lamming's central character comes of age in *In the Castle of My Skin,* he is exposed to a range of male role models. Linden Lewis writes in "Caribbean Masculinity: Unpacking the Narrative" that "[w]hat is of central importance to the concept of

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[13] Ibid., 69.
[14] Ibid., 70.
[15] Ibid., 174.
[16] Ibid.
[17] Ibid., 190.
[18] Ibid.

masculinity however, remains the exercise of power and the issue of control."[19] Central then to forming a masculine identity, is learning to negotiate power and control from within the colonized space. The overseer and the headmaster represent one model of black male identity that functions within the colonized system. Lewis writes that "[g]iven the asymmetry of power relationships within slavery, indentureship, and colonialism, it is not difficult to understand how colonialism would have imposed its patriarchal rule on Caribbean society and economies."[20] The overseer and headmaster find their roles within the "European system of patriarchy," effectively ensuring their positions by maintaining the status quo.[21] This simultaneously keeps them trapped below the British patriarchy and above other males in the community. Lamming offers an explanation of this precarious space for colonized males working within the system by writing "the enemy was My People. My people are low-down nigger people. My people don't like to see their people get on."[22] The frustration of this position can be seen in Lamming's generally negative portrayal of these characters and the way they subject others and self-identify as "other" at the same time. The overseer is consistently at odds with the townspeople, in what Lamming describes as "a tense relationship between the overseer and the ordinary villager."[23] The head teacher also finds his authority and identity within the patriarchy of the colonial system. He clearly serves below the British inspector, but enforces this hierarchy with his strict control over the teachers and students within the school. His frustration within this system is evidenced by his brutal beating of a student who giggled at the reference to the Queen during the inspector's visit, undermining the head teacher's role before the British inspector, the teachers, and the students.[24]

Lamming also offers an example of a male character who attempts to circumvent the hegemonic masculine power structure created by colonialism. Mr. Slime first asserts his masculine identity by cuckolding the head teacher. In doing this, Mr. Slime both affirms his own dominant masculine role through performativity as defined by Lewis, but also destabilizes the head teacher's position. Lewis writes that "[a]t the level of performativity, masculinity has to do with seeking the approval of men just as much as the approval of women… Few acts are more threatening to men than a public interrogation or ridicule of their masculinity by a woman."[25] The photographs that the head teacher procures of Mr. Slime with the head teacher's wife serve as an extreme form of public ridicule by both men and women. Mr. Slime then leaves the school to define himself through political and economic power. Lewis writes that "[black men in the Caribbean] are … ultimately beholden to those who control the economic resources of the society, who are largely

[19] Linden Lewis, "Caribbean Masculinity: Unpacking the Narrative," *The Culture of Gender and Sexuality in the Caribbean*, ed. Linden Lewis (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003), 97.
[20] Ibid., 103.
[21] Ibid.
[22] Lamming, *In the Castle*, 19.
[23] Ibid.
[24] Ibid., 35-36.
[25] Lewis, "Caribbean Masculinity," 95.

nonblack" and because of this "it is important to distinguish those men who exercise control… from those who own no resources."[26] Masculine power then resides with those who exert economic control and Mr. Slime uses various means to acquire both capital and property, firmly placing himself in the hierarchy above colonized government officials such as the overseer and head teacher. Ultimately, Mr. Slime uses his economic power to only further subjugate the community and replicate the same colonial system, serving once again to maintain the status quo.

In *In the Castle of My Skin*, George Lamming also presents characters who seem able to sidestep the prescribed forms of male identity within the colonial Caribbean. The characters of Pa and Trumper appear to represent a continuum between the past and ancestry and a future, new racially conscious identity. Pa is drawn to the night, using the time after the landlord's lights are extinguished for contemplation and reflection. Sylvia Wynter writes of Caliban that "at night he became a man once more"[27] and Lamming seems to give night the same meaning for Pa. Ma conveys that "in the night she gave [Pa] a kind of freedom."[28] Even further outside of the scope of the colonial gaze, Pa's dreams connect him to the past and to experience an identity not taught in British colonial history. As Wynter describes Caliban's songs and dances as "a nightly revolution against the reality to which he was condemned,"[29] so seem Pa's reflections in the night and even further beyond the gaze, the collective memory of an African past and the middle passage that arrive in his dreams and permit an identity outside of British control. While by day Pa's character may be weakened through the course of the novel when he is ultimately condemned as old, infirm and destined, through Slime's actions, to live at the Alm's House, Lamming appears to privilege Pa by having him be the final character to speak to "G" before his departure and the end of the novel.

The character of Trumper presents another model of how to create masculine identity outside of the colonial gaze. By leaving Barbados, even though he arguably goes to the even more violently racially repressed United States, he is able to subvert the seen/being seen dyad by becoming an outsider looking back in at the colonial system. Lewis writes that "[t]o be a man is to decide where you want to be, what you want to do, how you want to dress and how you want to look in the eyes of women but also in relation to other men."[30] Trumper certainly brings back from the United States the outward trappings of male identity through both his mobility and his "thin brown suit with a bright tie and suede shoes," his "silver chain round his wrist," and "small badge with stars and stripes" on his jacket lapel.[31] He also brings with him a new consciousness of self-definition through race.

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[26] Ibid., 108.
[27] Sylvia Wynter, "We Must Learn to Sit Down Together and Talk about a Little Culture: Reflections on West Indian Writing and Criticism, Part One," *Caribbean Women: An Anthology of Non-Fiction Writing 1890-1980,* ed. Veronica Marie Gregg (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2005), 340.
[28] Lamming, *In the Castle*, 80.
[29] Wynter, "We Must Learn," 340.
[30] Lewis, "Caribbean Masculinity," 97.
[31] Lamming, *In the Castle,* 291.

As the narrator and Trumper sit in the small back room of a rum shop, the lights are being turned out as the shop closes and "it turns dark in the room" (302). Again, night and darkness provide a space outside of the colonizers' gaze, this time for Trumper and "G" to discuss politics. Interestingly, the lights come back on as the bartender announces closing time and as the conversation turns to Negro spirituals and "my people," a somewhat symbolic "light bulb" moment for "G" as Trumper begins to explain his observations about British colonial power from his new vantage point as an outsider (302-03). The narrator recounts, "I had nothing to say because I wasn't prepared for what had happened. Trumper made his own experience, the discovery of a race, a people, seem like a revelation. It was nothing I had known, and it didn't seem like I could know it till I had lived it" (306-07). Once again outside of the shop, the narrator observes, "It was a long time since I had seen such a black night" as he begins to ponder his friend's identity as "a different kind of creature" (307-08).

Through the characters of Pa and Trumper, Lamming offers his narrator and readers examples of male identity beyond the colonizer's gaze and prescribed definition. Lamming's text provides a means for its character to find identity outside of the forms of hegemonic masculine identity identified by Lewis. Using night and blackness as a metaphor for both racial identity and avoiding panoptic surveillance, Lamming's narrator approaches manhood at the end of the novel poised to leave Barbados but with a desire to define himself through his connection to ancestry and a larger black diaspora. The novel ends with the narrator reflecting that "[t]he earth where I walked was a marvel of blackness" (312).

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ABSTRACTS

ABBES MAAZAOUI, Introduction
The editorial discusses the theme of this issue, i.e. the interrelated phenomena of fear, surveillance and suspicion in the context of our modern, on-steroids surveillance world. It questions whether surveillance can create anything but an illusion of safety. It also briefly summarizes the contributions of the authors.

J.K. VAN DOVER, The Panopticon, the Pinkertons, and the Private Eye
Jeremy Bentham's *Panopticon* (1791) describes a structure which has become the paradigm of the surveillance state in which everyone is conscious that he or she is *always* being observed by a central authority—by what Bentham called the Head Inspector. Bentham saw his project as a benevolent one, but as the methods of observation which can enforce that consciousness have been enhanced over the centuries since Panopticon, the benevolence has been questioned. In the second half of the 19th century Alan Pinkerton developed a business—his detective agency—that replaced Bentham's enclosed structure with a flexible scientific system of observation and classification. His agency was celebrated for its success in capturing criminals and criticized for its deployment against workers, and the methods of his agents were often disparaged immoral. The popular genre of the detective story addresses the moral problem by replacing surveillance with super-vision: the fictional detective is *not* always watching. Rather, he acts only after a crime has been committed, and then—using his power of analysis (or ratiocination, or deduction, or little grey cells) to notice and to interpret the detritus that crime always leaves behind. Sherlock Holmes applies his lens only when he is called upon, and clarifies only the situation he has been asked to investigate. He infallibly identifies the villain, and equally important, infallibly identifies the falsely suspected. Later detectives in the Hard-boiled Tradition will use different methods, but under the same limitations and with the same infallible success. The fictional private eye represents an entirely safe version of the Head Inspector.

ANTONIA DAPENA-TRETTER, Paintings as Propaganda: Blending Patriotism with Art
It is widely acknowledged that the Central Intelligence Agency utilized Abstract Expressionist art as a cultural weapon during the Cold War. The loose gestures of this nonfigurative art served as a perfect aesthetic foil to Socialist Realism and represented the supposed freedom of a Western lifestyle. Now a quarter century beyond the end of the Cold War, contemporary, Portland-based artist Johanna Barron investigates a potentially similar

role played by a smaller Washington-based group of artists, whose work, thanks to notorious collector Vincent Melzac, hangs in the halls of the CIA headquarters in Langely, Virgina. Attempting to gain information on the collection through the proper channels, Barron repeatedly filed official requests with the Agency through the Freedom of Information Act. With a characteristic lack of transparency, each FOIA request has been denied. The last living artist in the collection, Robert W. Newmann, confirmed Barron's suspicions when he claimed "I would never have sold or approved a painting being given to the CIA." With this validation, Barron aims to set these paintings free, exposing them to a greater public through the scaled recreations of her *Acres of Walls* installation.Exploring the differences between the Abstract Expressionist movement and the following Post-Painterly Abstract tradition reveals the tight-edged fields of color common to the canvases of the various Washington Color School artists to be a better fit toward promoting Americanism at home and abroad.

ZACH MANN, The Big Guy with the Remote Control: *Person of Interest* and Television Preemption Fantasies

Television crime dramas and surveillance technologies both feed into a public desire to stop tragedy before it happens. Fear of crime and terrorism is a reason why certain TV shows are so popular, and it is also why we allow for the ubiquity of CCTV, NSA wiretapping, and other forms of surveillance without proportional outrage. Especially since the Patriot Act and the Bush Doctrine, the fantasy of "preemption" has conditioned us to abide losses of freedom, and mainstream television has played a role in representing surveillance technologies as infallible and trustworthy. This essay discusses how preemption in 1990s television—specifically the fantasy and science-fiction shows *Quantum Leap*, *Early Edition*, and *Angel*—set the tone for post-9/11 preemption apologia TV by mystifying surveillance and placing access to such power in idealized hands, limiting its possible uses (and abuses). These shows are compared to recent network dramas, *Minority Report* and *Person of Interest*, to prove that not much has changed, even in a world where preemption is becoming less science-fiction and more plausible—or indeed, applicable. Television is making us more comfortable in our encroaching surveillance society, even in the case of *Person of Interest*, which prepares us for the horrors of our brave new world while also valorizing its security capabilities.

NEHA KHURANA, Celebrity Sting Operations in India: An Analysis of Technologies of Surveillance in 'Public Interest'

This paper is an exploration of the modalities of the act of surveillance in the technology of sting operations targeting celebrities (in this case Aman Verma and Shakti Kapoor) in India that have been aired on television news channels from time to time. Through a careful analysis of the elements of morality, human agency and technology involved in sting operation, this paper tries to show how sting operations become a case in point to understand how neither clear binaries of morally good and bad can be sustained nor the

wielder of power and control be clearly fixed in the model of surveillance that renders itself visible in such operations. Using Martin Heidegger's ideas on the effect of the use of technology on what it produces and Jacques Rancière's notion of the emancipated spectator, this paper moves towards an understanding of participatory surveillance in which not only the citizens involved but also the technology participates.

ANN LUPPI VON MEHREN, Publicizing Suspicions of Espionage on the News: The Leak of the Felix S. Bloch Case

The U.S. government has never resolved the espionage allegations against a U.S. Foreign Service Officer named Felix S. Bloch that were made through a leak that was broadcast by ABC Nightly News on July 21, 1989. In the anonymous leak, Bloch was accused of passing secrets to a Soviet agent. The media circulated the allegations for several weeks, but Bloch was never indicted by the U.S. government. This article draws on the public-sphere and media theories of Jürgen Habermas, Michael Warner, Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann, Nancy Fraser, Susan Wells, Timothy Melley, Benjamin Lee, Edward LiPuma, Michael Lynch and David Bogen to explain how the negative publicity given Felix S. Bloch was enough to destroy his career but at the same time shut down public discussion about whether Bloch deserved to be considered guilty in the public mind. The Bloch story as currently rendered in numerous popularizations of U.S. espionage cases is full of misleading, inaccurate and incomplete information about what the diplomat actually did to earn the accusation of espionage. The U.S. government never indicted him; instead he was fired for unspecified personnel infractions. The conclusion is that a rhetorical situation, as defined by Lloyd F. Bitzer and Richard E. Vatz, exists for the Bloch case to be returned to the public sphere for renewed consideration, with the goal of resolving and closing the case for the sake of an accurate historical record about twentieth-century U.S. espionage cases.

ANYA L. HAMRICK, Psychic Surveillance: Punitive Psychiatry in Sokolov's *A School for Fools*

The article explores the authorial poetics of rebellion in Sasha Sokolov's novel *A School for Fools* (1976) and investigates the work's creative response to the socialist realist literary restrictions and to the Soviet usage of punitive psychiatry to discipline and punish the dissident artist. The article first surveys the historical landscape of the Soviet mental sciences and their usage for control of the "undesirable dissident elements." In particular, the work focuses on the depersonalization of the Soviet patient; the radically positivist outlook of Soviet psychiatry, with its views of the patient as a "faulty mechanism" whose malfunction betrays itself through "incorrect thinking"; and the usage of highly subjective diagnostic criteria like "sluggish schizophrenia" to label and contain the patient's "malfunction." The article then proceeds to investigate the role of said elements in the novel. Ultimately, the author argues that reading Sokolov's novel within the historical context of the Soviet usage of psychiatry to control the dissident artist's psyche reveals an important symbolic layer of the work that has not been explored within previous criticism.

Situating the novel within this historical legacy, for example, reveals Sokolov's commentary on and symbolic testimony about the plight of the dissident writer in the 1960 and 1970s, represented by the physical and psychological tortures of the protagonist and his mentor Paul/Saul. In addition, this reading sheds light on the so-called "schizophrenic state" of the Soviet writer, who manages to retain his creative freedom, despite the external controls of the environment he lives in. Finally, the analysis reveals Sokolov's placement of his protagonist within a long line of Russian political and religious dissidents, whose "truth," as well as power as authors and creators, was preserved through their works of authorship.

PIA DEAS, Elegy and Resistance: Danez Smith's *Black Movie*

As a poet, Danez Smith successfully masters both the page and the stage. Smith built his career in the world of slam poetry and was the World Champion Slam finalist in 2011. Since then, he has published three consecutive chapbooks including *Black Movie* (2015), [*insert] Boy* (2014), and *hands on ya knees* (2013). In his most recent collection, *Black Movie*, Smith, through his poem cycle, "Short Film," resists the gaze of the panopticon—or pervasive surveillance through societal institutions—as conceptualized in Foucault's *Discipline and Punish*. Smith reinvigorates the African American elegiac form in a poetic cycle dedicated to African American victims of violence. Smith enacts what Steven Mann identifies as "sousveillance" or counter surveillance in which minority groups, often through the use of digital technology, record violence they witness. Kinsley Dennis identifies the Rodney King case "as a key moment in modern social history when the civil power of the mobile recorded image became recognized in the minds of the general public" (348). So, while the dominant culture has the power through security cameras and by extension institutions such as the government and the legal and judicial systems to surveil minority populations, minorities have also gained access to technology and means that allows them, in some instances, to create counter surveillance to expose unjust tactics and practices. In "Short Film," Smith uses the poem as a digital recording device of the contemporary African American experience to voice sorrow over Black deaths and to resist oppressive tactics.

BINCY ABDUL SAMAD, CNN and Al Jazeera, and their versions of James Foley Story

The video posted on Internet on August 19, 2014 went viral—A man is kneeling next to a masked man, dressed in all black and carrying a knife in his hand, which is pointed at the throat of an American, James Foley. The scene continues with the severing of the victim's head. The world seems to many a less safe place to live in—the 9/11 attacks, the post 9/11 situation, the rise of the extremist groups like Al-Qaeda, ISIS, and Boko Haram all echo this world view and perilous geography. Exploring these realities, I trace how the social media reacted to the news of Foley's murder through a comparative analysis of two diverse and representative international news agencies from the West and the East: CNN and Al

Jazeera. My guiding research question is: How have CNN and Al Jazeera responded to the murder of James Foley? I employ a broader contextual and rhetorical analysis of the featured news articles on Foley's murder coverage in CNN and Al Jazeera to argue that these two media sources have adopted their own methods to portray the same event—the decapitation of Foley by ISIS. I incorporate Michael Taussig's theory of "terror's talk always talks back," from his "Terror as Usual: Walter Benjamin's Theory of History as a State of Siege," to understand how CNN and Al Jazeera as international media sources contribute to ISIS' propaganda mission by circulating "terror talks" about the deadliness and dangers of ISIS.

NEHA KHURANA, Surveillance and the Metropolis: Individuals, Collectivities and Resistance in Delhi/NCR

This paper is an exploration of the representations of different modes and aspects of surveillance that have come into being in Delhi/NCR (in some instances like other Indian cities) due to the project of 'modernity' and the process of 'modernization'. This paper bases its comments upon the effects of surveillance observed in the inhabitants of the city, their interactions with the spaces around them and their interactions with each other. Thinking about the participatory mode of surveillance prevalent today and commenting upon how agency (to control what is 'seen' and how) shifts between various parties involved (with no consolidated idea of the 'state' being one of them), an attempt is made at a comparison between the city and the work of art. It is suggested that a analogous relationship exists between the art-work (where agency shifts between the artist, assistant and the viewer) and a city (where agency shifts between the master-planner, architects and inhabitants). Commenting upon how surveillance technologies hinder the formation of collectivities between individuals, this paper will also comment upon the possibilities of resistance and subversion in the master-planned metropolis. The paper uses examples of certain specific markers of modernity in the city for the analysis: the Delhi metro being the prime example.

EDWARD EGBO IMO, Of Terror, Fear and Insecurity in the Drama on the Niger Delta: A Critical Evaluation of Esiaba Irobi's *Hangmen Also Die*

The agitation for resource control by the youths and environmental activists of the oil-rich Niger Delta Region in Nigeria has translated into a harvest of youth restiveness and militant activities such as incessant kidnappings, assassinations, vandalization of oil pipelines and oil bunkering among others . It has also provided raw materials for literary expression. The paper therefore, examines the spate of terror, fear, and insecurity unleashed on the Nigerian society as a result of intermittent restive and militant activities by the Niger Delta agitators as portrayed in Esiaba Irobi's *Hangmen Also Die*- a play on youth restiveness and criminality. The study is both analytical and qualitative in approach and literary in methodology. The paper observes that the Niger Delta agitation is fuelled by the insincerity and political subterfuges deployed by the federal and state governments in their dealings

with the host communities in the Niger Delta Region and also that personal interests and internal wrangling amongst the indigenes of the Niger Delta region are also factors that militate against the Niger Delta struggle. The argument raised in the paper is that the criminal and terrorist dispositions of the Niger Delta youths, which pose serious security threat to the Nigerian nation at large, is a revolt against the accumulated negligence of the host communities by the government on one hand and the multinationals on the other. It is for the foregoing that the paper advocates for government's genuine concern in alleviating the living conditions of Niger Delta communities. The paper also admonishes Niger Delta indigenes to be guided by the spirit of "collective bargain" in going about the struggle. The need for Niger Delta scholars to intellectualize the struggle through theatre and drama is highly canvassed. It is the opinion of the researcher that the intellectual approach would create long lasting consciousness in the minds of both Niger Delta indigenes and sympathizers to the Niger Delta struggle.

ABEER ALOUSH, Re-Islamization as a counter-panopticon

Following the GIA movement in the 1995, Islamists from North Africa and especially Algeria are most visible in France prisons. Their presence causes the resurgence of Islam among prisoners as well as conversions in favor of Islam. However, prison discriminated against them as elsewhere; Islam suffers from ignorance of prison authorities who, following the principle of secularism, does not deal with the spiritual needs of a growing minority of Muslims in prison. As a reaction of self-definition, French youth to parent immigrants indifferent to the faith of their ancestors re-Islamize to impose their visibility in the society. On one shift to another, young people react in a deep grudge. Some of them radicalize as a reaction to what they consider marginalization in prisons. I hypothesize that the Islamic revival as well as the radicalization of re-Islamized in prison is only a process of self-definition as under discrimination everyone has to create a new identity. In the case of the detainee, the body as the mind is in complete dispossession of state in an unequal power relationship in favor of the jailer. As Gauffman notes: "They must recover a form of social identity as protection against the impact of the degradation, mortification, desecration and mutilation that may be the fate of people confined in total institutions" (see bibliography). In this paper I will argue about the type of invisible panopticon that incarcerates detainees in the French prisons located in the French difficult suburbs where they constitute 80% of the population (Khosrokhavar 67) and what role does it play in the development of their internal confinement and may be later in their deviation.

SWAN KIM, Ethnic Espionage Fiction and Impossible Subjects in Chang-Rae Lee's *Native Speaker*

Chang-Rae Lee's 1995 fiction, *Native Speaker*, takes the form of an espionage fiction but is thematically at odds with the genre. With highly questionable plot and subjects, the novel paradoxically attempts to present the unrepresentable. The paper argues that *Native Speaker*

speaks about impossible subjects to articulate the representation of what cannot be through a new genre of ethnic espionage fiction.

BRANDI BRADLEY, BBC's *Orphan Black*'s Slow Narrative Reveals a Foucauldian Prison Structure

Orphan Black, which premiered its fourth season in April 2016, uses a biopunk plot and a neopunk narrator to take the viewer through the different aspects of a power structure which resembles The Mettray, the prison system Michel Foucault analyzes in *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison.* Through their choice of narrative structure, the series creators, John Fawcett and Graeme Manson, slowly introduce the viewer to the inescapable structures of power which molds and forms individuals. This slow progression widens the scope of the viewers' awareness, and the characters' reality, revealing a futility of resistance. Foucault observed a structure which utilized constant awareness of surveillance and small group bonding to ensure passive prisoners. In opposition to Foucault's observations, *Orphan Black* shows characters whose passivity is nurtured in ignorance of surveillance, only resisting when discovering their overseers. The subjects only fight their captors once they realize they are under their control. What eventually thwarts resistance is when the small group bonds are threatened.

Season 1 of *Orphan Black*, which held a viewership of 369,000, utilized the serialized format to reveal a structure of immense power, a system which created the characters as much as it observed them. This self-awareness of being monitored by this power-structure incites instant rebellion. In most real life public spaces, surveillance cameras are as common as light-fixtures, which go unnoticed until one develops an awareness of being watched. Foucault might observe that this custom should lead to a reduction in crime and better behavior of citizens: however, the ubiquitous nature of observers, in conjunction with social media outlets encouraging people to live private lives publically, has not changed behavior for the better. Instead, as the modern narrative of Orphan Black implies, constant surveillance only encourages resistance and improved strategies of secrecy.

ADRIENNE VIVIAN, Surveillance, Control, and Masculine Identity in George Lamming's *In the Castle of My Skin*

George Lamming's 1953 autobiographical novel, *In the Castle of My Skin*, depicts the author's experiences growing up in colonial Barbados. The novel explores how British colonial power is exerted and the effects on those who are controlled by it. This article examines Lamming's representations of the power structures that existed during British Imperial rule in early twentieth-century Barbados. Michel Foucault's "Panopticism" offers a means to study how control is exerted and maintained in a colonial setting. Panopticism creates a system of surveillance that uses gaze to subject a population. This colonial gaze that sees without always being seen becomes self-supporting as the colonized step in to maintain the role of the colonizer. Power is linked to masculine identity in the novel, with

characters who find their roles through identification with and support of the British patriarchy. Lamming's novel also offers examples of characters who are able to, at least temporarily, escape the colonial gaze and step outside of the state of perpetual observation. It is within these spaces, represented through themes of darkness and light, that characters find freedom from colonial surveillance and begin to shape masculine identities connected to a larger black diaspora.

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

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Neha Khurana is particularly invested in researching the various facets of surveillance and censorship imposed upon citizens and the counter activity of resistance offered by the ‘citizens’ in their own ways. With this theme running as a common thread, Khurana’s interests range from looking at the use of satire in political cartoons as a tool of resistance to analysing visual representations of virtual and spatial manifestations of surveillance and censorship that characterize 'modernities' in urban spaces. Neha Khurana has completed her M.Phil (2013), MA (2011) and BA (2009) in English from the University of Delhi (Delhi, India) and currently teaches in the Department of English, Gargi College (University of Delhi).

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Zach Mann is a PhD student in English at the University of Southern California, where he studies American fictions across media. Previously he served as the noir & mystery editor

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Ann Luppi von Mehren was the Editor of the Foreign Service Journal, a publication of the American Foreign Service Association, at the time the Felix S. Bloch story was leaked to ABC Nightly News in July 1989. She earned her bachelor's degree from Harvard University in anthropology. She is currently studying political communication in the graduate program in Communication, Culture & Media at Drexel University in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

SUBMISSION GUIDELINES

Articles that do not conform to the following guidelines are automatically returned. They will be rejected from any further consideration if they are returned twice for incompleteness of information or formatting issues.

Submission Requirements

1. Include name, professional affiliation, phone number, and email address in the cover e-mail.
2. Include the following statement in the cover e-mail: *"I solemnly confirm that the attached manuscript has never been published elsewhere, under this, or another title."*
3. Include an abstract of 200-300 words.
4. Include a biographical note of 50-250 words
5. The article should be 3500-6000 words, including the abstract, the footnotes and the works cited.
6. Obtain written permission(s) from the copyright holder(s) to reproduce any copyright images, visuals or materials quoted beyond the fair use as defined by the Copyright Law of the United States.
7. Purge the article of all kinds of inflammatory, discriminatory and unlawful statements.

Formatting Guidelines

8. Manuscripts should conform to MLA-style guidelines as detailed in recent editions of *MLA Style Manual and Guide to Scholarly Publishing*.
9. Do not number pages.
10. Use auto-numbered footnotes (instead of using endnotes as recommended by MLA).
11. Use font Georgia # 12 (not Times New Roman).
12. The entire article, including the abstract and the indented quotations, should be double-spaced.

For more formatting information, see the journal's website at http://staging.lincoln.edu/node/5404

Deadlines

Articles should be submitted electronically to Abbes Maazaoui, Editor (*maazaoui@lincoln.edu*).

- The deadline for submitting manuscripts is June 1.
- The online version is published in October-November; the paper version is published in December-January.

Review Process

Articles submitted for consideration for the *Lincoln Humanities Journal* undergo a (double) blind review process.

Acceptance and Publication:

Once a submission is accepted for publication, the author will be asked to provide the following to the Editor by e-mail to maazaoui@lincoln.edu.

- A final, fully revised version of the article; font Georgia # 12; no spacing.
- A final, fully revised abstract (in English).
- A final, fully revised biographical note of 50-250 words.

Copyright

It reverts to the author after one year provided that acknowledgement is made to the article's publication in *The Lincoln Humanities Journal.*

Call for Papers

Making Strangers: Outsiders, Aliens and Foreigners

Saturday, April 1, 2017
Lincoln University of Pennsylvania, USA

The College of Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences at Lincoln University of Pennsylvania is requesting proposals/abstracts for its fifth international conference, to be held on **Saturday, April 1, 2017**. The conference theme is **"*Making Strangers: Outsiders, Aliens and Foreigners.*"**

The recent refugee crisis in Europe and the growing political fallout in western democracies of widespread anti-immigrant sentiment have put the issue of otherness on the front burner as a cultural, political, social, human, and existential drama. Coinciding with the 75th anniversary of Albert Camus' famous novel, *The Stranger*, this conference will examine the reality and representations of strangers, outsiders, aliens and foreigners across all academic disciplines and in particular the humanities and the social sciences. Topics may include but are not limited to:

Refugees, migrants, asylum seekers, outsiders, aliens, foreigners, travelers, bohemians, exiles, nomads
Representations of foreigners in literature, cinema, television, social media, political speech
Marketing fear of foreigners and t**he rise of nationalism and xenophobia**
Politics of immigration, state law, international law
Ethical depictions of strangers in world religions
Melting pot, assimilation, segregation, exclusion, Apartheid
Social and economic impact of immigration in host countries
Experience and concept of strangeness

Abstract Submission Deadline: December 24, 2016

The following submissions in MS Word are required: (a) Name; (b) Affiliation as you would like it to appear in the conference program; (c) Title of the proposal; (d) Body of the proposal/abstract, which should not exceed 300 words;(e) Brief bio (job title or status if any, publications, etc.); (f) Contact information: e-mail, work (or home) address and phone number.

Please send your proposal to Abbes Maazaoui, at maazaoui@lincoln.edu on or before **December 24, 2016**.

All submissions are subject to double-blind review. Authors will be notified of the status of their proposals on an ongoing basis (3-4 weeks after submission).

A revised version of selected papers will be considered for publication in the fifth issue of the refereed *Lincoln Humanities Journal (LHJ).* For more information, see
http://www.lincoln.edu/college-arts-humanities-and-social-sciences-conference

Note: Lincoln University is a not-for-profit organization and cannot assist with conference travel and expenses.

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To contact the editor, send an email to: maazaoui@lincoln.edu.