The multiple dimensions that make up objects also
make up ourselves, as well as our categories.
Telling the stories of an object therefore begins
unpacking our own cliches, our certainties, our affects.

– Joseph Dumit (2014)
"Writing the Implosion: Teaching the World One Thing at a Time"
Cultural Anthropology 29 (2), 349.

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Editorial collective Meredith Evans, Nadine Ryan, Isabella Chawrun, Divy Puvimanasinghe, and Katie Squires
Faculty advisor Othon Alexandrakis
Journal design and composition Kathe Gray
Cover photography Jordan Hodgins

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ABOUT *CONTINGENT HORIZONS*

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CONTACT INFO:
contingenthorizons@yorku.ca
Attention: Contingent Horizons
Department of Anthropology, 2054 Vari Hall
4700 Keele St., Toronto, ON, Canada, M3J 1P3

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PHOTO: NADINE RYAN

Editorial Note: Objects

In this issue of *Contingent Horizons* we explore the theme of Objects, taking inspiration from what Joe Dumit (2014) calls the Implosion Project. Approaching object constitution generously—as things, artifacts, facts, people, actions, processes, and so on—we ask, what is an object? What objects are central in fieldwork, ethnographies, and imaginaries? How can we trouble the boundaries of an object? And, following Dumit, the articles in this issue connect with the question: how are objects embedded in the world and the world embedded in objects?

We are pleased to publish five original articles and a book review in this issue that trace the interconnected dimensions of variegated objects ranging from ordinary "things" to concepts and processes. Beginning with a technological object (primarily thought to access music) Sebastian Oreamuno's article "Plugging into Infrastructures with Happy Plugs Headphones" tracks a nexus of infrastructures that connect across stories of production and capitalist-consumerism, privileges of access and excess, identity construction, social norms, individualism, and the senses. In "Imploding the Diagnostic Statistical Manual: Mental Illness and Beyond" Leslie Vesely considers the DSM as an object and an active agent that participates in the construction and identification of mental illnesses. Recognizing that the DSM is shaped by its socio-political context and informs individual realities, Vesely traces the DSM's socio-institutional entanglements, its dialectic renderings and implications. Jordan Hodgins delves into the object world of an opioid reversal drug in "Infrastructures of Naloxone: Exploring Issues of Distribution and Access," by exploring health infrastructures with a focus on economic and social aspects.

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Shifting from tangible objects to processes and concepts, Michelle Johnson's article "'Not That You're a Savage': The Indigenous Body as Animated Palimpsest" implodes the animated movement of Walt Disney's Pocahontas (among other Indigenous characters) through Laban Movement Analysis. Approaching animated movement as an object and palimpsest, Johnson considers how the character's movement reveals and reinscribes particular perceptions and representations of Indigeneity. In "*Rotten Spring*: An Auto-Ethnography of Power Dynamics in a Performance Art Collective," Sophie Traub unfolds the process of a collective performance as the object of emergent power dynamics, their negotiation and larger social connections. And finally, in "Shackles and Strength: Accessing Healthcare in Carceral Institutions," Hannah Katz details the complexity of the carceral system with a review of anthropologist Carolyn Sufrin's (2017) recent book titled *Jailcare: Funding the Safety Net for Women Behind Bars.*

Plugging into Infrastructures with Happy Plugs Headphones

SEBASTIAN IGNACIO OREAMUNO
PHD STUDENT, DANCE STUDIES
YORK UNIVERSITY, TORONTO, CANADA

Happy Plugs headphones are a global object—they are designed in Sweden, manufactured in China, and exported to various countries the world over. Through the slogan "What color are you today?®" the Swedish company Happy Plugs frames the headphones within an economic infrastructure that is centred on ideologies about individualism and practices of constructing one's identity. Through this marketing strategy, vision becomes the primary sense that provokes the product's purchase and over-consumption; sound becomes secondary to style, function becomes eclipsed by fashion. As such, the headphones shift from being a means to an end (accessibility to music/sound) to becoming an end in itself (a visual commodity). Furthermore, potential growth for the company is tied up with their ability to produce a piece of technology that heavily depends on its allure as an accessory. Yet, alongside being an accessory, headphones are also protective prosthetics. As a kind of "Do Not Disturb" sign, headphones can offer some people, often women, a sense of temporary security in public. Happy Plugs headphones are not just an object with which we can access the music in MP3 players and smartphones, they also help us plug into myriad infrastructures.

KEY WORDS Infrastructures, Happy Plugs headphones, protective prosthetics, accessory, commodity, salvageable materials

Beginnings and Backgrounds

After my Apple earbuds stopped working, I had no choice but to go and buy new headphones. I say that I had "no choice" because how else was I to access the music on my android phone? How else was I going to be able to access my tunes, and think about choreography and movement, while using transit? How else was I going to plug in but with another pair of headphones. I went to Data Integrity, the electronics store at the York University Keele campus in Toronto, Ontario (Canada) and found a pair of earphones that were just the right price, and more importantly, the right colour: black. My earbuds had been white, and I thought black would be a nice, subtle change—after all, don't they say in the fashion industry that "black is the new black"? Little did I know that my new, black Happy Plugs headphones with silicone in-ear tips would one day be "waking [me] up to connections" (Dumit 2014, 345), transporting me into a lesson of intolerability,

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and transforming from an "innocent" prosthetic technology to a global object situated in numerous infrastructures.

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This article situates headphones from a Swedish company, Happy Plugs, in the world and also the world in the object (Dumit 2014, 350)—an exercise that requires a sort of "promiscuous knowledge" (345). I interpret this as the engagement of numerous platforms and sources, and I therefore bring together personal experience, information on websites, YouTube videos, internet comments on products, news articles, blogs and more to highlight the various networks and links to which this object is connected. It is through what Joseph Dumit (2014) calls an implosion project that I am able to learn and relay the embeddedness of headphones and explore the various dimensions of this object which are always intertwined and messily spilling into each other. Nonetheless, I begin with the historical dimension by providing a backstory for Happy Plugs headphones and revealing the various stories that surround the Happy Plugs brand. Then, I move to the economic dimension by focusing on the marketing and consumption of the product. From there, I delve into the material and labour dimensions by concentrating on and attempting to track the materials and places involved in the manufacturing, production and distribution of headphones. Next, I consider the relationships between headphones and (non)people, or the bodily and educational dimensions. I finish off with a mytho-material dimension that considers the consequences of over-consuming technologies and ideas of replaceability.

In this project I use the concept of infrastructures to think about the stories of which Happy Plugs headphones are a part of and to which they connect. Susan Leigh Star (1999) states, "Infrastructure is both relational and ecological—it means different things to different groups and it is part of the balance of action, tools, and the built environment, inseparable from them" (377). Star (1999) couples this open-ended statement by defining infrastructure through demarcated dimensions created by herself and her colleague, Karen Ruhleder. For example, one of the properties of infrastructure, "embeddedness," situates infrastructure as "sunk into and inside of other structures, social arrangements, and technologies" (Star 1999, 381). With this in mind, I wonder within which infrastructural design(s) Happy Plugs headphones are embedded or active? As the anecdote above suggests, headphones exist within a technological structure that requires them. Without headphones there is an inability to access music and sound on digital devices on a personal level. Without headphones individual music choices and sounds from preferred moving images are imposed on others because inclusive aural experiences in public are not necessarily the norm. The technological structure is one example, and the most obvious example at that, since Happy Plugs headphones are also embedded in manufacturing processes and consumerism.

Star's (1999) ecological dimension in the definition of infrastructure not only infuses the concept with ideas of complex relationships but also with multi-dimensionality. Explicitly, the ecological aspect highlights the relationality between foreground and background, visibility and invisibility, respectively. As Star (1999) mentions, "The normally invisible quality of working infrastructure becomes visible when it breaks" (382). Although she pairs invisibility with background, I propose that Star (1999) intends to make

us aware of how the background, the "working infrastructure," becomes foregrounded when it breaks. As such, I will focus on background and not visibility because, perceptually, backgrounds are not necessarily invisible. Furthermore, as one background becomes foregrounded another appears on the horizon ready to be perceived (somewhat reminiscent of the eternal edges of the implosion project). In fact, Brian Larkin (2013) recognizes that infrastructures "are present to the senses, yet they are also displaced in the focus on the matter they move around" (329). In other words, infrastructures foreground the objects they are in relation to and in so doing they become background. In thinking with backgrounds, I will discuss how headphones bring to the forefront and are entangled in narratives of sociability, sharing, and safety. This is not unlike Star's (1999) "idea that people make meanings based on their circumstances" when thinking about data collection and analysis (383). In this case, however, these backstories emerge when headphones are unplugged from their basic functions and imbued with different purposes based on experiences and situations. The stories that follow in the next section position my Happy Plugs headphones within ideas of corporate success, global consumerism, and transparency.

Stories of Success, Excess, and Access

Happy Plugs is a Swedish company that manufactures headphones, as well as other accessories. The company is quite young, as the following origin story of the company relates:

> It Started with a Love Story…
> Happy Plugs was born at the end of 2011 when the founder Andreas Vural was looking for a pair of colorful headphones for his girlfriend. When he didn't have any luck, he finally took the matter in his own hands – and painted a pair of headphones himself. And she and her friends loved them! He then realised there was room for well-designed and affordable quality headphones that went beyond functionality within the tech space. From this belief, the brand Happy Plugs was born. (Happy Plugs 2018a)

Underneath this short story the words "turning tech into fashion must-haves" (Happy Plugs 2018a) signals the individuating infrastructure that this piece of technology lies within.

Vural's vision is "to build a brand that allows consumers fashion freedom, where they can enjoy a wardrobe of headphones that can vary by style, mood and of course, music" (Happy Plugs 2018b). It may come as no surprise, then, that Happy Plugs' tagline is "What color are you today?®" This tagline frames the headphones within capitalist and consumerist ideologies that endorse individualism. These are ideologies that are imposed on practices of constructing identity or identities. "What color are you today?®" does not evoke a verbal reply, rather, it elicits a behavioural response in which one must pick and put on one's daily colour, implying that individuals should have more than one set of headphones from which to choose. By placing colour as the focus, the question primes personal choice mostly through the visual characteristics of the object not its acoustic quality. The Happy Plugs company, a self-proclaimed lifestyle brand, transparently communicates that the product is meant to be a stylish technology, an electronic accessory, a fashion must-have (DOSE 2017; Gustas and Blixt 2016; Hagelbäck 2016; Happy Plugs 2018a; Into Tomorrow 2015).

Transparency appears to be important to Happy Plugs: their website contains a lot of information about their products. Under "Product Material," for example, the company details the technological devices the Happy Plugs earbuds are compatible with, some audio information about the product, and that they are made from ABS and TPE plastics (Happy Plugs n.d.). A quick Google search on ABS and TPE reveals more information with regards to each plastic suggesting that elsewhere this information is readily available. Interestingly, the website also allows its consumers to inquire about where their products are manufactured, which in this case is China. For more information one is instructed to visit the "About Us" section. But following this link takes one back to the company's successful origin story, where there is some evidence to back up their claims of achievement and growth: the 70+ countries to which they have brought happiness; the 10,000+ stockists that carry the product; and the 5 million+ happy people served that are part of the Happy Plugs "fan club" (Happy Plugs 2018a).

Kathleen Pine and Max Liboiron's (2015) politics of measurement seem apparent here as these numbers are socially situated within an infrastructure of economy that values the occupation of space and place. As Pine and Liboiron (2015) indicate, what gets measured or counted, and what does not, is situated within a social or cultural context. Further, it is not just that data gathered and numbers presented are political and intentional, they also get leveraged for action. With regards to Happy Plugs, data (such as 70+ countries, 10,000+ stockists, and 5 million+ "happy fans") indicate to consumers and other companies, such as potential collaborators, the (growing) value of this company and the value of being part of this "fan club"—which I realized I had unknowingly become a part of by virtue of buying a pair of Happy Plugs headphones. These numbers frame the company as global and successful by highlighting the consumption of its products worldwide. Yet, divulging this information is a distraction for numbers or measurements that Happy Plugs does not wish to readily reveal to the general onlooker such as data on profit and production, to name a couple.

In their study of the marketing approaches of international new ventures, Tada Gustas and Caroline Blixt (2016) highlight how transparency is coupled with the idea of information sharing: "One major constructor of a firm's marketing capabilities showed to be the sharing of information with other companies" (22). An interview with Linda Nordlund, the marketing director of Happy Plugs who was part of this study, clearly demonstrates this coupling. Nordlund reveals,

> We are a very transparent company. We want to sell the product but also the story of Happy Plugs, so as we love our brand we want our retailers and distributors to have the same feeling about us and the brand. Therefore we are really transparent about the things we do (…) we share all the reports, everything we know, but also let them tell us all they know. We believe that sharing is the only way. Sharing is caring, if you give, it will come back. (qtd in Gustas and Blixt 2016, 22)

Through sharing the relational comes into play, invoked through both the selling and telling of story and transparency in the hopes of reciprocity.

"Sharing is caring," Nordlund proclaims, but there is only so much that Happy Plugs cares to share. While the company's value—70+ countries, 10,000+ stockists, 5 million+ happy people served—is openly disclosed, the website does not reveal which countries,

retailers, and people it is referring to. Clicking on any of these three sections is futile as the page only refreshes itself. There are no links even though the cursor suggests the opposite. Which countries? Which retailers? Which people? The "About Us" page is meant to have more information, as is suggested by the "Product Information" page when it directs inquirers here. Yet the specific locations of the countries, retailers, and people are ignored or unacknowledged; dislocating the headphones from place by making them a global object that can be found both everywhere and nowhere, emphasizing their excess- and accessibility. In a sense, this un-situatedness (Haraway 1988) involves a capitalist and economic mathematics in which value is created through (numerical) displacement. What Happy Plugs really cares to share is how the company is greater than the sum of its products.

The marketing structure is governed by growth as many business theses stress (Björck, and Thomasson 2014; Gustas and Blixt 2016; Hultman, Nazem, and Razafimandimbison 2015; Johansson and Engström 2016), and market growth provides yet another reason for the company to mention its far and wide tentacular reach, as Donna Haraway might say (2017). Through Happy Plugs' marketing tagline—"What color are you today?®"—sound becomes secondary to style as vision becomes the primary sense that provokes the product's purchase and over-consumption. Through this marketing strategy, the headphones shift from being a means to an end, a technology through which to access music and sound, to becoming an end in itself, a visual commodity. Despite them not being a technology that enhances vision, through this marketing strategy Happy Plugs headphones join the "technological feast" for the all-consuming "cannibaleye" (Haraway 1988, 581) as a technology to be looked at. Therefore, I argue, potential growth for the company is tied up with Happy Plugs producing a piece of technology that heavily depends on its allure as an accessory with the target market being women. As Vural comments, "Happy Plugs is for … the stylish woman who want their tech to be a little more than just tech" (DOSE 2017).

Further, the tagline "What color are you today?®" promotes what Natasha Myers (2017) calls "promiscuous consumerism," as people are encouraged to collect the various colours available. As mentioned by Daniel Björck and Tom Thomasson (2014), the Happy Plugs company's "focus lies on the distribution of retailers since it is easier for the consumer to get a visual experience of the product before purchasing it" (30). It is through the possibility of an impulse purchase from a tactile experience of the product that Happy Plugs hopes to make and increase sales (Björck, and Thomasson 2014, 30–31). As such, the spectra of colours that Happy Plugs offers, coupled with the numerous retailers at which the product is available enable both access and excess. Again, however, particular retailers are not mentioned just alluded to in numerical terms. No locations, no names, just numbers; numbers that are made to tell particular stories.

I begin to rethink Happy Plugs' transparency as I find roundabout directions, broken links, pages that can only be accessed through other means—the FAQ page only pops up when conducting a Google search—and missing information. Something does not add up. And the questions begin to pile up. Which kinds of dye are used to colour the plastics? Why is copper not mentioned as one of the materials used? Why isn't silicone mentioned? From where is the copper extracted? How is the silicone obtained? Where in China have the headphones been manufactured? Which factories are building these products? None of this information is easily found within or outside of the website unlike the information on plastics. Conversely, the actual location of the Happy Plugs headquarters and some of its

employees can be found on their LinkedIn profile (accessed April 19, 2019)—Kungsgatan 4B, Stockholm, 11143 (Sweden)—as well as its Hong Kong, New York and L.A. offices. However, locating the factories and workers that make the headphones is impossible, highlighting who matters and who is valuable. These factory workers are "people whose work goes unnoticed or is not formally recognized" (Star 1999, 386). They are a kind of "non-people," to use Star's (1999) concept, who are part of the background and also necessary for the Happy Plugs company to work.

But, luckily, the Happy Plugs website has a place to submit a request if there are more questions. So, I send them an email:

> Hello,
> I bought a pair of black Happy Plugs headphones and I love them. I am doing a project on them and the history of headphones, and I was wondering where the headphones were manufactured in China, as well as which materials were used.
> Any help would be greatly appreciated.

And I sign off. I begin with a compliment because I figure that the positive feedback might help my chances at receiving more information. And I try to keep my inquiry general so as not to scare them. However, neither manoeuvre has any effect since the response that shows up a few days later feels automated and is not helpful:

> Hi,
> Thank you for reaching out to us!
> The headphones are made in China.
> You can read more about that and the materials if you follow this link:
> https://happyplugs.zendesk.com/hc/en-us
> Let me know if there is anything else I can do.
> Have a happy day,
> Best regards,
> Aros & The Happy Plugs Family
> Customer Care
> (email to author, December 4, 2017)

The link takes me back to the webpages I have already looked at, which means that I need to dig elsewhere for more information. I turn to Google, but I have to carefully craft my search because the first results that show up when typing "Chinese factories that manufacture Happy Plugs" have the words "Chinese" and "factories" omitted. Thus, I am forced to search more broadly and find other avenues for information on the materials for and manufacturing of headphones.

Materials and Manufacturing

Searching on YouTube, video walk-throughs of factories that manufacture headphones pop up and provide some answers to questions about the process and the component parts of headphones. A video posted by USDigitalMedia (2013) called "How Earbuds are Made

– An inside Look at a Headphone Factory" offers exactly that: the opportunity for viewers to virtually "visit" a Chinese factory in which headphones are made in order to take a peek at the production of Audio Spice headphones, another earphone company. Although it is acknowledged that the factory is in China a more specific location is not provided. This response echoes the unnamed personnel ("nonpeople") and machines that the audience encounters during the "walk" through the factory. What Matthew Harris, the narrator, does verbalize and acknowledge are the materials that make up the headphones: copper wiring, coloured PVC cables, iron plates, magnets, copper coils, plugs for connection, earbud caps, and plastic for packaging (USDigitalMedia 2013).

Although I find some more information, I am dissatisfied. Answers lead to more questions, and the occlusion of *who* makes the headphones by *what* they are made with makes me wonder about the people and machines that reside in the background. It becomes clear that the enterprise of manufacturing involves manual and mechanical dimensions: headphones emerge within a cyborgian infrastructure in which people must relate, cooperate and connect with machines to manufacture prosthetic devices that enable other connections (Haraway 1991). But, like the "nonpeople," these non-beings are not formally recognized, they are made to exist in the background since the materials they act upon, and the resulting technologies that manifest through their labour, are given more significance. Additionally, what headphones are made with point to other beings of importance: the people for whom these prosthetic devices are catered.

An unknown contributing writer on Techwalla—a website that offers information on various technologies—addresses how "the first headphones were comprised of handmade materials that were readily available such as rubber, leather, copper, and ceramics" (Techwalla 2019, under "Basic Materials").[1] Nowadays headphones are "made with sophisticated plastics, silicone, artificial leather, rubber, textiles, vinyl and foam materials" (Techwalla 2019, under "Basic Materials"). While the author notes that the type of headphone design—earbud, super-aural, in-ear, circumaural—will dictate which materials are utilized, there are other factors that could be taken into consideration. For example, because in-ear headphones as the name suggests go into the ear canal "there are some types that are made of hypoallergenic and sometimes medical grade silicones" (Techwalla 2019, under "In the Ear"). The foregrounding of allergies and sensitivities in the economic infrastructure imbue materials with more importance, moving people and machines further into the background while also propelling wearers to the forefront as companies cater to these consumers.

While consumers with sensitivities might only want access to their devices—after all, how are they to plug in if their bodies reject these prostheses created with common components?—they are nonetheless a part of the larger world of consumerism, and are often the target. Again, what headphones are made with eclipse who (and what) makes them, even outside of medical scenarios as the figure at the front seems to be the one for whom headphones are made. And sometimes those people are music enthusiasts who want the best sound. It is no surprise, then, that there is a value hierarchy placed on materials. Responding to Veronica176 on an Apple forum, Meatplate (2014) reveals the specific materials used to make the speaker, wire, and plug of the Apple earbuds. Moreover, Meatplate (2014) comments on the way the quality of acoustic experience depends on which materials are utilized for each part. For example, at the point of connection to the

human body, the speaker, Meatplate (2014) points out that neodymium magnets are better than ferrite magnets because their increased magnetism "enhances the acoustics of sound and prevent[s] any loss of sound" (para. 2). The oxygen free copper wire, the component that transfers the signal, is "considered an above average material for headphones, thus ensuring better sound quality" (Meatplate 2014, para. 3).

It is at the plug, the link to the technological body, however, that acoustic quality and cyborgian connection might waver. Meatplate (2014) explains:

> The nickel plated plug used by Apple is a standard connection and joins to a female connection into the iPod (for example) which is also nickel plated. Where gold plated plugs are renowned to transfer more data and superior sound quality when connected to any device. Connecting the same metals during transfer (nickel plated plugs and nickel female connections) ensures optimum sound as the signal will not be jumping different kinds of metal. The lack of gold plating also helps to reduce the cost in manufacturing and to the customer. (para. 4)

Therefore, at the nexus of transference, of going from one medium to another, the problem of connection is made explicit.

Connection is not just a matter of plugging in and quality is not just a matter of utilizing high-value materials. The quality of connection requires bringing (similar) bodies together to maximize transmission. And some bodies are easier to connect than others. There is a significant distance between the 5 million+ people served and "nonpeople" in the background. Which customers? Which workers? Who are these people? It is clear that gain and loss are a part of the infrastructures of production and consumerism. And sometimes it is hard to tell who or what is in the foreground. One might think that the 5 million+ people are central but they are just as much in the background as the factory workers making the product, the "nonpeople." In an economic infrastructure, product appeal is central. With Happy Plugs—What color are you today?®—it is through colour that one is primed to connect with the product (and with the company). In connecting with the Happy Plugs company and its product other (dis)connections are activated. The functional purpose of headphones is ultimately to access the music housed in our technological devices. And while sharing music can serve as a way of bonding, a potential outcome of plugging in is a disconnection from other bodies.

To Plug in, or Not to Plug in?

Often, hearing other people's music feels like an infringement of my personal space, and elicits judgment as I think about how these people are ignoring public music/sound etiquette. What has emerged with headphones is the expectation of the opportunity to detach from others or the chance at a closed-off individual experience. Headphones offer the promise of an individually curated, temporary immersion into the realm of sound.

"I do like function and form. But if I really had to choose, ultimately I prefer function because I like a good bass. And we'll see what Happy Plugs offers me in terms of that," reveals Sabrina Poh (2014) while unboxing her first pair of rose-gold Happy Plugs in-ear headphones on YouTube. Part of the unboxing video is to provide a mini review of the

product which means testing it out in front of the camera. After putting them on and playing some music on her phone, Poh (2014) removes the headphones and recounts, "I'm really impressed with these earphones. I can hear a really good bass, and the reason why I chose the in-ear … is 'cause … I like to listen to [music] entirely and not be distracted by any kind of environment or outside noise. So, this definitely blocks out and cancels out any background sound." Poh (2014) ends her unboxing video with a final endorsement, "I recommend the in-ear if you want to cancel out sound noise and to really hear the music … these fit really well."

Robert Cribb (2005) also speaks to the benefit of noise-cancelling headphones by addressing how "a little noise-cancelling therapy can offer a welcome assistance in the personal immersion process" (C04). A decrease in environmental noise pollution or as Cribb (2005) puts it, "auditory bombardment," is linked to the promise of "purified music or movie dialogue to [the] ears" (C04). Noise-cancelling headphones are connected to peace, reducing the mental distraction from outside noise and removing the unwanted acoustic awareness of one's surrounding (Cribb 2005, C04). Noise-cancelling headphones promote "personal immersion," and the possibility to "really hear the music," as Poh (2014) suggests. And yet, there are also warnings attached to this device and desire. Cribb (2005) comments, "Audio seclusion isn't always good to have. Or safe" (C04). Desires for auditory peace are coupled with scenarios of safety in popular discourse and mainstream media.

But personal auditory immersion or this idea of dissolving into an acoustic environment, as Stefan Helmreich (2009) makes note of, collides with the other senses and the energies of other bodies present. There is no "becoming one" (Helmreich 2009, 219) with the music or sound because "fluid osmosis of environment by [an …] auditor" (230) is an illusion. As a prosthetic device, headphones can only transport and re-locate the listener into an interstitial space between or within the boundary of "part and whole" (Helmreich 2009, 230). As a wearer of in-ear headphones I find that the types of noises I cannot escape or that I am made most aware of are those produced by my own chewing and swallowing. It is hard to listen to music when eating food since masticating masks the music. In these instances, I become aware of my own violations to my aural experience: the noises produced by my mouth and throat that normally and unnoticeably vibrate out into the world. As I shut my ears to the world through headphones internal (head) sounds are magnified while external environmental noises are minimized. Headphones, like other prosthetic devices, raise questions and critiques regarding ideas of parts and wholes by highlighting and co-production not separation and individuation. Yet, the "personal immersion" mentality of headphones provokes conclusions of distance and detachment.

Don Fernandez (2005), a columnist for *Times,* informs, "An ever-growing throng is using headphones as metaphorical 'Do Not Disturb' signs" (D6). Fernandez (2005) acknowledges how the need for headphones has increased as the "prevalence of portable devices" has grown, making "it easier for more and more people to turn a cheap set of earbuds into a portable escape hatch from reality" (D6). The coupling of headphones to devices, a necessity that has arisen from a technological infrastructure that I allude to at the beginning of the paper, has headphones "joining wallet and keys in the ever-growing list of necessities for the office, gym, sidewalk, bus or train" (Fernandez 2005, D6). Departing from the *need* for headphones, Fernandez (2005) presents various case studies in his column in which people reveal their points of view on the pros and cons of

headphones. Some people vocalize the unsocial aspect of plugging in while others affirm the positive consequences of keeping to oneself.

Through headphones, a family can enjoy their personal music choices separately while in a car, and a workplace can be a place to bond (Fernandez 2005).[2] Focusing on the workplace as a space for headphones Fernandez (2005) relates, "At Context, the staff champions the concept of 'alone-together.' People can plug headphones into their computer and sample iTunes music lists from everyone at the office" (D6). Robbie Blinkoff, the managing partner and principal anthropologist at Context, frames this sharing as a kind of bonding… but also as a kind of immersive focusing: "You put them on, and you're in a different place. […] iPods are about focus" (qtd in Fernandez 2005, D6). In this instance, headphones are employed in a paradoxical manner by both helping to establish a sense of togetherness within employees through music sharing and promoting separation by guiding, if not forcing, the workers to keep to themselves. As such, headphones are imagined as a piece of technology that have the potential to increase productivity, and in some cases surveillance. Thomas P. Farley, the senior editor of Town & Country magazine, reveals how plugging in allows workers to be "more sensitive to the people around [them]" (qtd in Fernandez 2005, D6). Farley contextualizes that sentiment by stating, "The workplace is not a place people should be having long, drawn-out conversations" (qtd in Fernandez 2005, D6).

These scenarios are other examples of how headphones can provide entrance into the interstitial space between part and whole, into interconnectivity and co-production. And they provoke other questions: Are headphones becoming another way to generate productivity? Is technology being used to engage a work ethic that keeps people occupied and happy as well as focused on workplace goals? Although these questions are not explicitly answered in the article, they are worth considering since "infrastructure both shapes and is shaped by the conventions of a community practice" (Star 1999, 381). Nonetheless, the article addresses other questions that are more pertinent to the use of headphones in public: Do headphones separate us from others or provide us with much needed personal space in public? Are they a potential risk as people shut off their sense of hearing or do they provide a sense of safety as people signal "Do Not Disturb"? Whatever the reasons, Fernandez (2005) seems to think that "[h]eadphones are now de rigueur for those craving privacy, a wired refuge from the world" (D6). Ultimately, Fernandez (2005) proposes that headphones encourage a particular (anti)social etiquette.

Surprisingly, Fernandez (2005) does not take up the idea of why some people, and particularly women, might seek refuge through headphones when in public. But then again, the interviewees are mostly men: (in order of appearance) Mike, Thomas, Phillip, Robbie, Adam, Lori, Veronica, John, David, Steve, and Matt all provide their two cents as to whether headphones are antisocial or not. Of the men, Mike and Robbie advocate for the use of headphones. Respectively, these men indicate how headphones can provide personal space in public and promote focus in the workplace (Fernandez 2005). Alongside Mike, Lori and Veronica (the two women of the group) are also explicitly framed within the idea of "wired refuge" (Fernandez 2005, D6). This refuge, however, is about re-charging and being alone, not about safety. And yet for some women headphones are a protective prosthetic *because* they signal to others that they want to be left alone.

Helmreich's (2009) transductive ethnography, "a mode of attention that asks how subjects, objects, and field emerge in material relations" (230), is put into action here. Transductive ethnography speaks "to the modulating relations that produce insides and outsides, subjects and objects, sensation and sense data, that produce the very idea of presence itself" (Helmreich 2009, 230). As can be seen with headphones, preoccupations with "immersion" are infused with desires and warnings of environmental dis-attunement, of being acoustically detached from surroundings and other entities. Headphone-use is seen as an antisocial activity because it is a kind of individualistic listening practice. However, in applying "lateral attention" (Helmreich 2009, 230) the choice to plug in signals to other relations and different stories surface: stories of safety.

Protective Prosthetics

Sometime in 2016, *The Modern Man*—a website that provides men with dating and relationship advice—released a blog post by Dan Bacon: "How to Talk to a Woman Who is Wearing Headphones." Bacon's (2016) how-to guide encourages men to give a woman an "easy-going smile," to wave in order to get her attention, to mouth a salutation such as "Hello," and to simulate taking the headphones off—all for the sake of engaging her in conversation. Although Bacon (2016) does state that men should walk away if women show no interest, he only directs men to walk away after *all* these modes of engagement have failed. Importantly, his tactics of persistence are a cause for concern. Particularly because Bacon (2016) is under the impression, and informs his male readers, that women sometimes like to test a guy's confidence by ignoring him and seeing what he does next.[3] This is not an innocent how-to guide because by infringing on women's personal space through the interruption of their individual experience, through the negation of their "Do Not Disturb" sign, Bacon (2016) advocates for assertiveness in a scenario that is meant to socially signal refuge.

Needless to say, the article is controversial, and other authors comment on the problems with Bacon's (2016) tactics. Parker Molloy (2016), writing for the website Upworthy, a website that is a subsidiary of Good Media Company,[4] explicitly enlightens, "The truth is that if a woman is wearing headphones, she probably (OK, pretty much definitely) doesn't want to be interrupted for a chat with a stranger" (para. 2). While Molloy's (2016) statement might seem a little reductionist, it is meant to assertively prime the reader for the forthcoming reasoning. Molloy (2016) writes, "Leaving someone wearing headphones alone is just one of those unwritten rules of polite society" (para. 3)—acknowledging a different side of Fernandez's (2005) comment on how "[h]eadphones are now de rigueur for those craving privacy" (D6).

The problem with Bacon's (2016) strategy, as outlined by Molloy (2016), is that gambling with women's discomfort centres on male privilege because they are the ones that end up putting women in the situation. Further, Molloy (2016) illuminates that this uneasiness is likely the accumulation of the continual bombardment of "unwanted male attention from an early age" (para. 12). Molloy (2016) enlightens and educates, "Approaching strangers wearing headphones is different from most other public interactions because, for many, avoiding social interaction is exactly why the headphones are there in the first

place" (para. 15). Guides such as Bacon's (2016) promote finding ways around social cues, such as headphones signalling "Do Not Disturb," and therefore not respecting other people (Molloy 2016).

Also responding to Bacon's (2016) guide, Patty Affriol (n.d.) informs, "Headphones are usually my sole protection from unwanted attention, my signal to the world that I don't want to be bothered" (para. 7). Affriol (n.d.) affirms that Bacon's (2016) article "advocat[es] for men to violate a woman's personal space and take away her precious alone time" (para. 8). Importantly, Affriol (n.d.) explains that men who pursue women without acknowledging social cues "contribut[e] to a culture that allows and excuses harm to women's bodies in public space" (para. 14). Although the backlash that the article received is difficult to comprehend by some—Bacon (2016) showcases various men and women who are in support of his article—reading it with these women's voices in mind, with the lens of safety in mind, the blog post is clearly not innocent. Bacon (2016) is not promoting a friendly, easy-going conversation, he is encouraging the disrespect of people and their personal space.

The week that Terris Schneider (2013) lost her headphones "was the week where [she] discovered just how bad street harassment was in Vancouver because [her] headphones couldn't protect [her]" (para. 2). Schneider's (2013) encounter, her need for a protective prosthetic that is preventative, and many, *many* other scenarios of street harassment bring to the forefront reasons why some women wish for headphones in order to receive some peace of mind when out on the street: the lack of respect that women are given as people; the support of male entitlement which propagates these encounters; and the societal inclination to advocate for "confidence" at the expense of "safety", to name a few. Street harassment including attempting to engage a woman wearing headphones is not good in any degree.

I need to acknowledge and thank the women that brought this concern to my attention, who made me listen laterally, as Helmreich (2009) suggests. In doing so I was forced to look for stories that thwart conventions, that decentre Fernandez's (2005) comments on etiquette, and that shed light on the harassment that women endure often if not daily. I didn't know that headphones could provide protection or were used for that purpose. As a protective prosthetic, headphones emerge in relation to patriarchal, male entitlement.

Colour-filled Consequences, a Conclusion

It is incredible that the idea of coloured headphones arrived about a hundred years after the first successful set were developed by Nathaniel Baldwin (Newman 2019; Stamp 2013; Thompson 2012), and ten years after Apple introduced its earbuds into the market in 2001 (CNet 2011; Weller 2016). In *What Colour Is the Sacred?*, Michael Taussig proposes that the West is uncomfortable with colour, and, in particular, colours that are bright. Writing about "northern Europe … in the early nineteenth century" Taussig (2009) notes how "people of refinement had a disinclination to colors, women wearing white, the men, black" (3). It is no surprise, then, that when the all-white Apple earbuds first entered the market in response to the ubiquitous black headphone cords they signalled status, style and (an elite) association with Apple products such as the iPod (Weller 2016).

As a marketing tactic, Chris Weller (2016) illuminates, "Apple followed up the iPod's release [in 2001] with a huge advertising campaign highlighting the white headphones" (para. 10). In the advertisements, "[b]lacked-out silhouettes danced over tropical-colored backgrounds, all while listening to the tunes playing through their [white] earbuds" (Weller 2016, para. 10). This campaign ran for five years, from 2003 to 2008, as Apple released new generations of iPods (Weller 2016), some of them in colour—such as the iPod minis in 2004 which came in blue, green, pink, and gold, as well as their original silver colour. It is safe to say that this marketing strategy, as well as the fact that Apple offers customers its all-white earbuds, has imprinted on the public white headphones' connection to Apple products. And, by becoming one of its partners, Apple has managed to dip its toes in the ink of Happy Plugs colours without sacrificing its status or elitist brand "of refinement."

While perhaps not at the same level as Apple, Happy Plugs headphones are encased in socio-economic factors that references status. And headphones in general are a piece of prosthetic technology promoting a different kind of relationship between individuals. Not only are we signalling privacy when putting headphones on in public, with Happy Plugs we are also signalling our identity and participation in a fan club. It is not about what's new, or "what's next," as Yorkdale Mall (in Toronto) promotes, in this case it is about what's now, what you can purchase and put on in the moment, which is a variety of colours. In fact, Happy Plugs offers 22 different solid colours, 4 colours in marble style, 2 different kinds of prints, and their "childhood" pattern which consists of coloured dots; as well as their Co-Labs (or collaboration) lines' colours and patterns. Attempts to animate one's life and palimpsest-like body with colourful markers are reminiscent of the illuminated manuscripts that are enlivened through colour (Taussig 2009). However, these acts do not offer salvation. Submissions to the access of excess, to colourful choices, are tied up with colour-filled consequences.

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I find myself thinking of how my black Happy Plugs headphones are an accessory, a piece of fashion scripture, 3-D marks on my body that speak to identity, to the membership of a fan club, and to an engagement with a different type of social etiquette. Beyond the readily available indicators, headphones are entrenched in relational infrastructures of manufacturing processes, consumerism, sociability, safety and more. And that is while they are still "useful." Wondering about what happened to my white Apple earbuds, because I know I did not recycle them, I bring forth one more background: the Anthropocene, "a geologic epoch determined by the detritus, movement, and actions of humans" (Davis and Todd 2017, 762). The recycling of headphones is possible but not frequently done: "the small components make it hard to separate the materials, and thus it is time consuming and expensive to recycle" (Hough and Cogdell 2016, sec. VII). Further, as Anna Minard and Christina Cogdell (2016) note, "Apple's earbuds specifically are no more environmentally friendly than any other earbud brand" (para. 7). Recognizing that headphones contain salvageable material, such as copper and other metals, I wonder who will collect them? Ultimately, our relationship with materials and the environment is unfriendly and this is

not something that we wear or that overtly marks us. Yet, this relationship marks our surroundings. It is quite possible that our capitalist impulses, as we grab the myriad spectra of headphones available, will end up adorning the Anthropocene in a layer of coloured plastic as we discard as quickly as we excessively consume.

Notes

1 The reason that I have included information from this website, even though the author is unknown, is because Techwalla prides itself on being "the definitive destination on tech for [the] home and family" due to its access to information of various technologies (https://www.techwalla.com/about). While conducting my research, I found that the Techwalla article had the most complete history of headphones that I could find; as well as a comprehensive list of materials for and types of earphones.

2 These situations appear to contrast and coincide with the needs of those who work in the deep submergence vehicle Alvin, which is often likened to a car, and in which comfort is created through the sharing of music (Helmreich 2009, 220).

3 Bacon's blog post has changed since first accessed in December 2017. In the blog accessed at that time, Bacon had a step-by-step guide, which has been removed; and he had explicitly written that "women like to test to see how confident a guy is by ignoring his attempts to converse with her and then seeing what he does next" (2016)—an assumption that has also been retracted. However, Bacon's "advice" can be found in articles that responded to his initial post: such as in Patty Afriol's "Leave Me The F*ck Alone When I'm Wearing Headphones" (https://bust.com/feminism/17035-leave-me-the-f-ck-alone-when-i-m-wearing-headphones.html); Bibi Deitz's "How to Talk to a Woman Wearing Headphones: Don't" (https://stylecaster.com/how-to-talk-to-a-woman-wearing-headphones/); Martha Mill's "How to actually talk to a woman wearing headphones" (https://www.theguardian.com/science/brain-flapping/2016/aug/30/how-to-actually-talk-to-a-woman-wearing-headphones); and Parker Molloy's "Advice for talking to women wearing headphones ignores why women wear headphones" (https://www.upworthy.com/advice-for-talking-to-women-wearing-headphones-ignores-why-women-wear-headphones).

4 Upworthy is a media company that strives "to change what the world pays attention to" (https://www.upworthy.com/). And Good Media Company speaks from the context of Social Science, Social Media and Social Change with the intent to "bring people together, change perceptions, and inspire actions that impact culture for good" (https://goodmediagroup.com/). I note them here because of their efforts to bring multiple voices together in order to inform the public.

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Imploding the Diagnostic Statistical Manual
Mental Illness and Beyond

LESLIE MARIE VESELY
MA STUDENT, SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY
YORK UNIVERSITY, TORONTO, CANADA

The Diagnostic Statistical Manual (DSM) is widely used across North America. Established by the American Psychiatric Association, it was created to help mental health practitioners give clear cut diagnoses of mental illness (Kirk and Kutchins 1992; Mayers and Horwitz 2005). However, the DSM is not merely a tool used for diagnostic purposes. Currently on its fifth volume, the DSM is an active agent that helps legitimize and define psychiatry—a legitimizing force that is exasperated by its entanglement in many social institutions in North America. The DSM influences the boundaries and meanings of mental illness categories (Kirk and Kutchins 1992). It grants some people "legitimate" access to resources, while delegitimizing others (Fassin and Rechtman 2009). It shapes how people exist in the world and understand their reality (Mayers and Horwitz 2005). However, the DSM is also shaped and (re)produced by society. The meanings of mental illness as outlined in the DSM are challenged, resisted, and shaped by the very people placed into these categories. This research paper argues that the DSM is more than an object; it is a dynamic and active agent that exists in the world in many ways.

KEY WORDS Diagnostic Statistical Manual, mental illness, psychodiagnosis, professional legitimacy, boundaries, dialectics

The Diagnostic and Statistical Manual (DSM) is a diagnostic marvel that is used by psychologists, psychiatrists, policy makers, and mental health researchers (Cooper 2015). It was originally released in the United States by the American Psychiatric Association (APA) in 1952, with the most current fifth edition released in 2013. Since its third edition was released in 1980, the DSM has been a staple of mental illness diagnostic practices for psychiatrists and has been described as the "bible of psychiatry" (Schnittker 2017, 20). The DSM is an empirical, symptom-based manual that requires 5 or more symptoms to be met in order for an individual to receive a particular diagnosis (Kirk and Kutchins 1992). Now on its fifth edition, the DSM is still highly regarded, and psychiatrists and psychologists are required to know how to use this manual for diagnosis. The DSM is a document recognized worldwide, however it is mostly used in Canada and the USA, while European countries often opt for the closely related International Classifications of Diseases (ICD) (Whooley 2010). Despite its booming popularity in North America, many professionals, including anthropologists, psychiatrists and psychologists, have noted the

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limitations of the DSM and have critiqued its symptom-based approach to diagnosis, its role in creating boundaries of mental illness, and the accompanying consequences of these boundaries (Kirk and Kutchins 1992; Mayers and Horwitz 2005). While most of these critiques are as old as the manual itself, the DSM continues to be a popular diagnostic tool in psychiatry and psychology.

However, the DSM is more than a sum of its critiques and praises. It is a document that exists in the world in many ways. It can be understood as a tool that works to distinguish and legitimize the profession of psychiatry through its adherence to scientific empiricism, a logic that can be traced back to the Enlightenment. The DSM is also a document that works to identify, validate and allow resources to be given to individuals who are labelled as having a mental disorder, while not addressing those experiences that do not fall within the DSM categories. Thus, it acts as a boundary maker between those who are recognized to be requiring additional resources and support, versus those who are not. The DSM expresses agency in that it not only is shaped by, but also shapes and alters the course of individuals within society. It is a travelling written document that shapes interpretations of life experiences and is consequently shaped by those placed within the DSM diagnoses. Informed by Joseph Dumit's (2014) object implosion methodological approach, in this article I unpack some of the ways the world exists in the DSM as an object and how the DSM exists in the world.

The DSM as Historic and Legitimizing

Before the release of the DSM I in 1952, there was no widely recognized standardized categorization for understanding mental illness. Due to the lack of standardized categorization, more mental health professionals such as social workers and crisis workers began claiming they were able to treat and diagnose mental illnesses just as effectively as psychiatrists (Kirk and Kutchins 1992; Fassin and Rechtman 2009; Mayers and Horwitz 2005). The DSM I and II were the APA's attempt to standardize the professional diagnostic practices of psychiatry and separate themselves from other mental health professionals (Fassin and Rechtman 2009). However, critiques of these manuals soon arose as professionals noted its low reliability, speculative etiology, and use of a psychoanalytic theoretical framework that was not based in scientific empiricism. Diagnosis and treatment mainly relied on psychiatrists' clinical judgements, and many noted that patients regularly received different diagnoses from different practitioners. This made psychiatry questionable as they positioned themselves as a part of medicine, a discipline that prides itself in having high diagnostic reliability (Schnittker 2017).

The APA wanted to establish themselves as experts in the field of mental health, and thus needed to adhere to the scientific concept of reliability. To do so, the DSM III task force was given the duty to create a more usable and reliable manual of mental illnesses and began to move away from etiology to focus on symptoms (Kirk and Kutchins 1992; Carta and Angermeyer 2015). This allowed the manual to be taken up by practitioners with varying theoretical orientations as it did not ascribe to one etiological understanding of mental illness (Schnittker 2017). The DSM III was an attempt to decrease clinical judgement and standardize mental illness categorization, which they believed was their ticket to solidifying their position as a credible part of the broader medical field (Rosenwald 1961).

By adhering to scientific medicalized ways of knowing, psychiatry solidified its professional legitimacy and its claims to expertise of the mind (Wand 1993). Since then, the DSM has been seen as the standard for mental illness diagnosis (George et al. 2011) and praised for its scientific, evidence-based structure (Mayers and Horwitz 2005).

The scientific foundations of the DSM can be traced back to the Enlightenment. The Enlightenment was a philosophical shift that happened in 17th century Europe that changed dominant ways of thinking and knowing about the world. The Enlightenment was a major milestone in current ways of thinking as it established empiricism and rationalism. Knowledge, as defined by the Enlightenment, is produced through systematic experimentation and asserts that facts about the world have observable evidence (Samson 1999). Since understandings of the world were based in systematic, observable, and quantifiable methodologies, science was viewed as being able to uncover ultimate, intrinsic truths about the world; this position assumes that facts are out in the world waiting to be discovered and are not connected to culture or context. Enlightenment science positioned itself on the basis of detached objectivity, which is the belief that scientific researchers can fully detach themselves from their work and find universal truths about the world and its inhabitants (Haraway 1988).

This empirical approach to science is currently embedded in Western medicine. Medicine is based in systematic observation of individuals to uncover traits about the patient that fit into a classification of diseases (Schnittker 2017). Western scientific medicine draws from Enlightenment ideologies by assuming that there is one truth about the body and illness that applies to everyone. Symptoms are understood as signs that there is an underlying disease present within the individual that is waiting to be diagnosed (Manning 2000). Diseases and patient experiences are not situated as practitioners focus on quantifying the physical body to uncover universal diseases (Kleinman 1995). In psychiatry, mental health disorders are rendered measurable and left un-positioned in the DSM. This manual acts as a practical taxonomy of mental illnesses that all psychiatrists could adhere to, creating a standard methodology. Thus, the DSM III portrayed mental illness as bounded, measurable and comprised of universal diseases that can only be uncovered by trained professionals—such as psychiatrists (Whooley 2010). In the introduction of the DSM III, it claimed to be based in nothing but "good, sound knowledge," framing their categorization of mental illness as unbiased and objectively detached (Cooper 2015, 133). This standardized categorization based on scientific medical empiricism helped unify and distinguish psychiatry, legitimizing them to the public and to the government.

In Ontario, the 1991 Regulated Health Professionals Act listed professions that are responsible for particular controlled acts that are deemed to be harmful to the public if used improperly. This sparked the creation of mandatory regulatory colleges that are responsible for registering, disciplining, and monitoring their members' practices. The act of communicating a formal diagnosis is a controlled act that is given to a handful of professions, including psychiatrists and psychologists (RHPA 1991). For making a formal diagnosis, mental health professionals in North America widely rely on the DSM or the closely related International Classification of Diseases (ICD) created by the World Health Organization (Manning 2000). Hence, the controlled act of communicating a formal diagnosis is largely based in the use of the DSM and ICD. Psychiatry is legitimized legally partly through the use of standardized diagnostic manuals like the DSM, which offers a

common language and understanding of mental illness among those in the mental health field (Lafrance and Makenzie-Mohr 2013).

The DSM's classification system and legitimizing force is alive today in part due to its continued adherence to scientific medical empiricism, which is still a valued and dominant way of knowing in Western ontologies. However, the ways in which scientific medical knowledges are used and understood are changing with context. For example, the introduction to the DSM V acknowledges the manuals limitations and notes that practitioners should use the manual as a guide and in tandem with clinical judgement and other sources of information. Additionally, despite using the same scientific medical logic by adhering to the same symptomatic structure of the DSM III, the DSM V includes sections that attempt to address common critiques. For instance, the Cultural Formulation Interview tries to make the DSM more inclusive and sensitive to diverse understandings of lived experiences rather than ignoring the individual's understanding of their lived reality (Cooper 2015). Nevertheless, psychiatry's history of gaining validity through scientific empirical methods is alive and present within the discipline albeit acknowledging of its limitations. The continued but slightly altered use of scientific medical reasoning in psychiatry shows that the past is not separate from the present or future, but these scales are entangled and embodied. Different aspects of the past shape, emerge, and fade in the present (Stoler 2008). Likewise, the past is interpreted differently based on the present context and situatedness (Roseberry 1989). This influences how the past exists and influences current affairs. The emergence of scientific empiricism as the dominant way of knowing during the Enlightenment period still shapes scientific medical knowledges and practices through the DSM today. However, the interpretation of scientific medical empiricism has changed throughout the years as more scholars critique the DSM's foundational assumptions of mental illness and as more professionals aim to address these concerns.

Addressing these critiques helps to ensure that the manual is up-to-date with current hegemonic ways of knowing, thus maintaining and reproducing its legitimacy. In addition to adding sections to the DSM to address common critiques and maintain psychiatry's legitimacy to the public and other professionals, mental health researchers and practitioners actively reinforce DSM categories by using the manual's classification system. Psychiatrists carry on rectifying continued concerns about the DSM's reliability and validity through more rigorous empirical methodology and standards, which further reinforces scientific medical ways of knowing (Kirk and Kutchins 1992; Horwitz and Wakefield 2007). Researchers use DSM categories and DSM based interviews and questionnaires to recruit people with particular psychodiagnoses. They then use these participants to generate more information on that particular psychodiagnostic category. Hence, researchers continue to support and reproduce DSM categories by using it and generating further knowledge, which reinforces the idea that the DSM is scientifically rigorous and empirically based (Cooper 2015). The DSM's continued adherence to scientific medical ways of knowing continues to shape, create and validate its categorical schema, thus adding to the legitimacy of the DSM and of the profession of psychiatry.

Researchers and practitioners are not alone in actively reinforcing the DSM classification system. The DSM is bureaucratically embedded in North America in many ways. Third party payers such as insurance companies rely on DSM diagnoses to determine if a claimant is eligible for disability status, treatment coverage and other financial benefits

(Cooper 2015). These diagnoses play a large role in developing and supporting the continued success of the psycho-pharmaceutical industry by creating and targeting particular medications to individuals with certain diagnoses (Kirk and Kutchins 1992, Horwitz and Wakefield 2007). It is also used heavily in policy making, the justice system, and advocacy. Due to the versatility of the DSM and number of various actors that use this mental illness classification system, the APA has received $5 to $6 million a year since the release of the DSM IV in 1994. Its deep embeddedness in North America continues to legitimize the DSM and the profession of psychiatry (Cooper 2015).

The DSM was originally a classification system meant to unify and legitimize psychiatry's claim to expertise over the mind through the use of scientific medical empiricism; however, today it is used as a dominant and hegemonic discourse legitimizing psychiatry's specific and medicalized ways of knowing. Despite this, the APA uses the DSM as a way of knowing that is not the same as it was 40 years ago. The APA acknowledges the limitations of the DSM and makes revisions in order to address concerns and critiques made by the public and fellow academics. Addressing the DSM's limitations helps to keep the classification system current and valid to the public. Furthermore, the use of the DSM by various industries such as pharmaceutical companies, insurance agencies and researchers, bureaucratically embeds the DSM as a mode of scientific medical classification in North America. Its institutional embeddedness continues to legitimize the DSM by using and reproducing its diagnostic categories and scientific medical logics. Reproducing the DSM also works to support the legitimacy of psychiatry legally (by regulatory bodies) and pedagogically by the use of the DSM.

DSM in Boundary Making

By situating psychiatrists as experts in mental health and encouraging the medicalization of mental illness, new forms of surveillance and state management emerge. Through the open recognition and discourse around mental health, authorities and the public are able to monitor mental wellbeing, creating common understandings of what is "normal" and "ill." This acts as a mode of discipline which decides what constitutes appropriate and "deserving" patients. The unequal power distribution allows authorities to create a "society of control" where bodies are policed by state expectations and the public who adopt and embody these standards (Deleuze 1992). Policing involves the monitoring and scrutiny of individuals and groups to ensure adherence to dominant values, behaviours, and ideologies. In terms of mental illness, the governing body and the public have deeply embodied ideologies of what constitutes a "deserving" patient, which creates and reinforces boundaries of inclusion and exclusion (Fassin and Rechtman 2009). These boundaries are reinforced through the DSM's adherence to scientific medical knowledges that standardize experiences of mental illness, positioning them as universal.

The belief that the DSM is based in universal facts resulted in its use cross-culturally to assess mental illness (Mayes and Horwitz 2005; Kirk and Kutchins 1992). However, the way we understand an object or phenomena—including mental illness—is shaped by a multitude of factors, including cultural systems, technologies, ecologies and social environments. Donna Haraway (1988), one of many scholars, disarticulates 'truth' as one, pure and pristine existence, but rather challenges it by making truth a situated and contextual

experience that can be ascribed to everyone slightly differently. There are different ways of knowing and understanding the world that are each situated in a larger context. Every way of knowing has its limitations, which gives us a partial truth that is influenced by one's positionality and the broader social, historical, economic, temporal and geographic context (Abu-Lughod 2006). For example, Annemarie Jutel (2010) argues that Female Hypoactive Sexual Desire Disorder in the DSM III-Revised, an issue of "abnormally low" female libido, reflects the North American media's increasing hypersexual portrayal of women in the late 20th century. She argues that overall societal conditions create an understanding that women want to be sexy, and if they do not then they are abnormal. This is a significant departure from societal beliefs of female sexuality decades prior, which vehemently opposed women expressing any sexual desire at all. Despite the APA priding themselves on the DSM's scientific and empirical basis, the psychodiagnostic categories of the DSM do not reflect a universal fact about human nature but reflect the societal norms and values of a particular context at a point in time.

Situating humans as the same, and having similar experiences of mental health and illness, allows for the generalization of mental illness across differences and diverse contexts, illuminated and ignoring significant variety in ontologies and knowledge systems. This depoliticizes inequalities created by mental illness categories and the DSM. By taking away the etiology of mental illness and focusing on the symptoms, the individual's unique experience with mental illness is hidden, which further allows for the generalization of mental illness categories (Fassin and Rechtman 2009).

Anthropologist Anna Tsing (2005) argues that generalization can lead to universalization via two interdependent processes. Firstly, there needs to be an "axiom of unity," which is a point where specificities of categories or knowledge converge. For example, bananas and oranges are different when thinking of their specific traits; however, by grouping them both a fruit, they can be seen as two of the same. Second, there needs to be "contingent collaborations among disparate knowledge seekers and their disparate forms of knowledge," which allows for the knowledge to be generalizable (89). Through collaboration, convergences between differences arise, which "bridges over unrecognizable difference" (89). Universals need to be able to travel across differences and be able to successfully converge with that context. The DSM works to create an axiom of unity by situating different people under the umbrella group of "humanity," with the same psychiatric and biological structure (Fassin and Rechtman 2009). This erases differences across groups and belief systems, hides inequalities, and depoliticizes these categories (Fassin and Rechtman 2009). Claiming universality masks who is included and who is excluded from these supposedly all-encompassing categories (Tsing 2005).

The universalization of the DSM and its related categories are very much politicized and create inclusion and exclusion criteria. Illness is quantified through standardized diagnostic tests and the DSM (Fassin and Rechtman 2009). Through measuring one's suffering, it legitimizes or delegitimizes people's claims to requiring assistance. Diagnosis works to confirm people's identity as patients and legitimize their experiences (Nettleton 2006). Individuals claiming to require assistance with their mental health are policed by doctors, insurance companies and the public to ensure that those claiming to be included within the bounded category of "mentally ill" are "authentic" in that they are adhering to the designated categorical boundaries. People who are allowed to lay claim to suffering

through the standards set by the state and embodied by the public are able to gain access to resources, such as treatment and monetary compensation (Lafrance and Makenzie-Mohr 2013).

Sociologist Sarah Nettleton (2006) explores the lives of individuals whose symptoms cannot be medically explained. People falling into this "diagnostic limbo" have trouble legitimizing their experiences and pains to their family, friends, medical institutions and sometimes themselves (1168). Individuals are left feeling not understood, not taken seriously, and disrespected. They are left fighting for useful resources that are denied to them due to a lack of a formal diagnosis. Nettleton's (2006) exploration of unexplained symptoms highlights the importance of formal diagnosis on legitimizing their experiences to themselves and others, thus granting them access to resources.

Even if one does not identify as suffering or having a mental illness, in order to have their voice heard and to get benefits from the state, they need to appeal to the socially appropriate patient narrative. People who cannot adhere to this specific narrative or people who are considered "too different" to help are ignored and excluded from being recognized as "deserving" of help (Fassin and Rechtman 2009). This can lead to members of society blaming individuals with a formal psychodiagnosis for their challenges. People who cannot adhere to a specific narrative of an individual "deserving" of care are blamed for their own misfortune, told that they are suffering not because of systemic inequalities, but because of their own inability to adhere to specific treatment methods or ways of knowing. This is rooted in hegemonic ideas that individuals are responsible for whatever happens to them and that people can do anything if they have the motivation to do so, despite the context and oppressions they face (Biehl 2007). For example, a woman diagnosed with Major Depressive Disorder through the DSM who does not take her medicine can lose her status as "deserving" of help because she is perceived to lack the drive to change her life and lack the discipline to adhere to medication. However, this (hypothetical) woman might not be taking medication for reasons outside her control, including issues such as poverty, inability to access pharmacies, gendered stigma against taking psychopharmaceuticals, negative side effects of the medication, and the list continues. Through generalizing mental health categories, mental health challenges are depoliticized and larger systematic violences are hidden; temporary solutions are applied to deeply rooted political issues (Redfield 2013). The scientific medical underpinnings of the DSM hides how the inclusion and exclusion criteria is made and universalized, and who is left out from these bounded categories.

The importance of the DSM as actively making boundaries of illness legitimacy is clear when noting the various activist groups and individuals who work to have their negative mental experiences recognized by the APA. In the revision of the DSM IV, the APA revision committee suggested grouping Asperger's disorder into a group with autism and pervasive developmental disorder—not otherwise specified (PDD-NOS). They suggested this because the category distinction was not reliably sound, meaning there were significant discrepancies in diagnosis between practitioners. Instead, they wanted to group all three diagnoses into one called autistic spectrum disorder (ASD). This change shifted the symptoms that qualified an individual for a formal diagnosis. Hence, the boundaries of the disorder were set to be slightly modified. This modification meant that some individuals diagnosed with Asperger's disorder from the DSM IV would no longer qualify as having a mental disorder under the new criteria. Consequently, this meant that individuals in

North America who relied on the diagnosis for insurance to cover costly therapies and to receive helpful resources would be at risk to lose their benefits. This sparked a huge push back from the public and Asperger's activist groups. Due to the immense backlash, the APA decided to compromise. While they omitted Asperger's disorder from the DSM V, they made edits to the new ASD criteria and made the exception that anyone previously diagnosed with Asperger's disorder or PDD-NOS from the DSM IV should be given a diagnosis of ASD (Cooper 2015). This case demonstrates the power the DSM has over creating inclusion/exclusion boundaries of those deemed as "legitimately" in need and "rightfully" getting access to resources. Additionally, it demonstrates the fluidity of psychodiagnostic categories and understandings of mental health as they shape and are shaped by various actors such as advocacy groups.

With this, we must also consider those who fight to have their experiences de-medicalized, such as gender dysphoria. Gender Dysphoria is outlined in the DSM V as "conflict between a person's physical or assigned gender and the gender with which he/she/they identify" (American Psychiatric Association 2016). Many transgender rights activists argue that being transgender should not be considered a mental disorder as it locates the "issue" within the individual instead of on societal oppression and discrimination (Grinker 2018). While they argue against its medicalization, having a diagnosis of gender dysphoria grants them access to resources such as hormone therapy, gender reassignment procedures, and counselling (American Psychiatric Association 2016). This diagnosis helps them navigate the bureaucratic system by giving them a billable code legible to insurance companies and professionals that can help them access resources. Unlike the APA, the World Health Organization cited gender incongruence as a physical health concern instead of a mental illness, which has its own billing code (Grinker 2018). This means that transgender individuals in Europe can gain access to resources without it being considered a mental disorder. However, transgender activists in North America that live under the APA system are now faced with the challenge of de-medicalizing their experiences while maintaining adequate access to resources.

Through the universalization and generalization of the DSM, mental illness categories are depoliticized and inequalities are tucked away. This masks the structural violence that shapes the experiences of those requiring further resources. It places immense responsibility on individuals as they are expected to be "good" patients that are responsible for adhering to the practitioner's instructions and fulfill the accepted narratives of having a mental illness. Those who cannot adequately adhere to particular narratives of having a psychological disorder are left unrecognized and do not get access to resources that may be beneficial. While there are activist groups that fight to have their experiences de-medicalized, having a formal diagnosis helps gain access to resources that would otherwise be inaccessible. These groups are now faced with the challenge of negotiating their experiences within the larger bureaucratic system so that their identity is not recognized as a mental disorder, yet they can get adequate access to helpful resources.

DSM as Active and Dialectic

The DSM can be understood as an active object that shapes people's identity. Just as how the DSM is shaped by society, society is shaped by the DSM. This relationship is dialectic

in that the actors involved are never fully independent of each other because they are constantly working together and in-the-making with each other (Clifford 1988). The DSM and identity are involved in a dialectic relationship as the DSM shapes identities, and existing, emerging, and fading identities shape DSM classifications. Alongside the creators of the DSM and the APA as an institution, the physical DSM itself is also an actor within this relationship. Actor network theory (ANT) acknowledges the influence of non-humans actors in shaping reality (Latour 2005). Non-human actors, such as the DSM, have great influence over people's lives and realities. Documents impact people in different ways and their influence changes based on context (Hull 2012). Not only does it act as a boundary enforcer, the DSM also actively shapes identity which is then embodied by the patient and members of society. For example, before the creation and recognition of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) in 1980, people who had psychosomatic symptoms from trauma, especially soldiers who fought in battle, were seen as psychologically weak or morally flawed because they were understood as feigning illness to avoid going back to war. This understanding had serious consequences. For instance, in WWI 1800 soldiers who returned from war and refused to continue fighting for their country were accused of treason by the British Commonwealth military. Of those, 306 were executed. The DSM transformed this phenomenon into one that is medicalized and thus changed their identity to "sick" instead of "weak." This impacted how individuals diagnosed with PTSD were treated in society and understood (Lafrance and Makenzie-Mohr 2013). The diagnosis of PTSD has certainly garnered more sympathy and understanding of soldiers and other victims of trauma. It also changed how victims of trauma understood their experiences and identity. Instead of internalizing an identity of being cowardly or weak, individuals took on the identity of a patient in need of aid (Fassin and Rechtman 2009). Without the DSM the identities embodied by those currently diagnosed with mental illnesses would be drastically different. However, it is important to note that the history of stigmatization continues today as many veterans and traumatized individuals face challenges accessing financial, health, and community supports.

Documents such as the DSM are lively actors that are shaped by those placed within its classifications. As these individuals change, so does the document, and vice versa. People are in a constant state of becoming based on their current situatedness (Mattingly 2012). As times change and as different contextual forces come together to create new knowledges, technologies, and understandings, people's understandings of themselves and the categories they are placed into change. This process of self-creation is called autopoiesis (Faubion 2001). Through autopoiesis people dialectically engage with various forces, such as societal norms, medical classifications, and scientific knowledges, and must try to find meaning through the sometimes unpredictable relationships that emerge (Faubion 2001). People understand themselves through their interpretation of "facts" and their interpretation of the categories placed onto them via experts or societal beliefs (Dumit 2003). People begin to embody categories and work within their parameters as outlined by dominant social understandings (Hacking 1987; Dumit 2003). However, through embodying it, they are also actively working on that category, shifting the meaning of the category itself (Hacking 1987; Dumit 2003). This process is called objective self-fashioning (Dumit 2003).

Autopoiesis and object self-fashioning can be observed in mental illness activists push against psychiatric labelling, for example through the United Kingdom Mental Health

Survivor movement. These activist groups aim to reclaim derogatory words commonly used for people with mental illnesses, such as loonies and madness, redefining them to empower those labelled as mentally ill (Crossley 2004). Additionally, groups such as The Hearing Voices Network (HVN) work to redefine what it means to have reoccurring auditory hallucinations that are not drug induced. This network is comprised of friends, family, and individuals who "hear voices." They view hearing voices as a personal experience that can be interpreted as positively or negatively (Crosslet 2004). HVN encourages members to understand their auditory hallucinations as a positive experience instead of a mental illness or flaw in their being. They encourage individuals to become comfortable with the voices they hear and accept their experiences as a part of who they are instead of something that needs to be managed or fought against (Crossley 2004). The HVN is a prime example of how people placed in mental illness categories can work from within a label to redefine it and resist hegemonic ideologies surrounding its categorization. With that, they are also shifting what it means to be medically diagnosed with auditory hallucinations. Activist groups such as the HVN work within societal contexts to create new ways of being and existing that make sense to them and benefit their wellbeing, thus engaging in the process of self-creation. However, the HVN and associated activist movements emerge in response to the DSM and the power psychiatrists have in prescribing psychodiagnostic labels. Hence, the DSM plays a role in bringing about new forms of resistance, ways of knowing, and ways of being.

Critiques of the DSM and scientific empiricism work to alter this classification system by creating new ways of understanding that are taken up by activists, patients, and practitioners as well as other members of society. For example, Allen Horwitz and Jerome Wakefield (2007) critique the DSM for conflating normal sadness with clinical depression, thus giving rise to the staggering cases of depression in North America. The DSM-IV understands depression through a list of nine symptoms. If the patient meets five of those symptoms and they last for two weeks or longer, they are understood as being clinically depressed (Horwitz and Wakefield 2007). They argue that DSM does not account for the variety of circumstances of sadness and grievance outside of the loss of a love one, for which the grievance period is capped by the DSM at two months and afterwards is considered clinical depression. People experience an immense sense of loss and sadness over broken relationships, lost jobs and lost lifestyles, yet it is not considered by the DSM as a reasonable cause of distress that is outside clinical depression or related diagnoses.

This gives a very specific understanding of sadness and mental health, an understanding that is embodied by individuals. People now shy away from sadness and try to construct their reality upon the goal of being in constant bliss. Sadness's conflation with poor mental health results in people resisting feelings of despair to obtain the societal ideal of "positive mental health," which is understood as being constantly peppy, joyful and calm. People actively aspire to be constantly happy and relaxed by taking medications, doing yoga, adhering to self-help guides, and doing other activities deemed as "self-caring" (Horwitz and Wakefield 2007). While this aim for perpetual happiness is not solely shaped by the DSM's understanding of mental health, it does have an effect on how people understand their realities. As more scholars and mental health professionals recognize and voice the limitations of DSM diagnoses and cite alternatives to this current classification system,

more individuals will be aware of other possibilities for understandings their experiences. Based on which understanding best suits their context and makes sense to them, particular knowledges will be adopted that change their perception of their lived reality. This change in perception influences how they relate to and embody these categories, allowing them to shape the category from within.

However, the possibilities of self-creation and objective self-fashioning are limited by contextual circumstances, such as policies, available technologies, and deeply entrenched bureaucracies. The knowledges and resistance produced from critiques of the DSM not only shape how individuals understand their identity, but it can also have material effects on the manual itself. Homosexuality was listed as a disorder in the first DSM released in 1950s. The time the second DSM was due to be released was a time of revolutionary queer and feminist activism in North America. The APA was openly challenged by activists about their inclusion of homosexuality as a psychological disorder. The overwhelming backlash resulted in the omission of homosexuality in the 1973 DSM II (Kirk and Kutchins 1992). Public critiques and resistance towards the inclusion of homosexuality as a disorder shaped the DSM and consequently, aided in shaping public and professional understandings of homosexuality. It changed perceptions about the identity of being queer and worked to change how being gay was understood and embodied by individuals who identified as such.

Conclusion

Understanding the DSM through different lenses can offer many insights into its multi-faceted influences on society, and each angle allows for the exploration of different questions which further uncovers the complexity of this diagnostic document. The DSM exists in the world as a legitimizing force for the profession of psychiatry. Its adherence to scientific medical knowledges reinforced, and continues to support, psychiatry's legitimacy as a medical profession. While the DSM V acknowledges its limitations and notes that it should be used alongside other sources of client information, it still holds on to the medical scientific roots of the DSM III. The history of scientific medical empiricism still lives on today, albeit in a different form that allows it to exist in the current context. The use of the DSM by various social institutions, such as researchers, pharmaceutical companies, and insurance companies further embeds and legitimizes this classification system and with that, psychiatry's claim to expertise of the mind.

The DSM also exists in the world as a gatekeeper for claims to patient status and accessibility to resources. The DSM is situated and partial, thus it favours and includes certain lives and experiences while excluding others. If people are unable to embody a specific narrative of mental illness, then they are unable to establish themselves as "deserving" of aid. Through the DSM's claims to universality, individual experiences of mental illness or trauma are hidden. The DSM and associated mental illness categories are positioned as apolitical, which hides dominant authorities and ideologies that work in shaping the DSM and inclusivity/exclusivity criteria for aid. It also masks the systematic violence that result in experiences and symptoms that qualify as a mental illness. Through dominant ideologies that assert people are in control of their own fate despite their context, people who are excluded from the mental illness narrative are blamed for their hardship. The DSM's

generalized classification system aids in masking systematic violence that result in a psychodiagnosis, while reinforcing and creating inclusion/exclusion criteria for who should be recognized as "deserving" of aid.

The DSM exists in the world as an active non-human agent that shapes human experiences and identities. The physical document is a major actor in the discourse of mental health as it fuels resistance, and shapes identity possibilities and ways of being in the world. The DSM and identity are involved in a dialectic interaction and are constantly shaping one another. The DSM shapes people through prescribing labels to individuals, each label attached with particular sentiments that become embodied. However, through this categorization individuals who are given a psychodiagnosis work within this label to shape understandings of the diagnosis. Humans are actors in that they can accept, deny or reinterpret the labels place onto them. Hence, people also actively shape the DSM. Critiques of the DSM also work to produce knowledges, resistances, and identities that shape the DSM and people's embodiment of social identities. The DSM exists in the world in many ways that go beyond what is discussed here. The DSM is much more than a diagnostic assessment tool; it's a legitimizing force, it's a gatekeeper, and it shapes lived experiences. It is more than a mere object. It is an agent within the world that is dynamic and alive.

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Infrastructures of Naloxone
Exploring Issues of Distribution and Access

JORDAN HODGINS
MA STUDENT, SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY
YORK UNIVERSITY, TORONTO, CANADA

This paper is an exercise in Joseph Dumit's (2014) implosion project and explores the object world of the opioid reversal drug naloxone. This narrative focuses on naloxone as it distributed in kit form across Canada and situates this kit according to its growing role as an overdose prevention tool within the context of an increase in opioid-related overdose deaths in Canada. Drawing from anthropological literature on the marketization of health and health infrastructures, as well as theories of the psychological stigma surrounding drug use, I focus on two elements of the complex assemblage of factors that lead to barriers in uptake: the economic and the social. Identifying potential barriers in accessing naloxone kits and arguing for the importance of such analysis, I turn to my own ethnographic exploration of the accessibility of state-subsidized naloxone throughout community pharmacies in the City of Toronto and the Greater Toronto Area.

KEY WORDS Naloxone, object implosion, opioids, Canada, public health

Often referred to as a "reversal drug," naloxone (also known by its commercial name, Narcan) can temporarily reverse an opioid overdose if administered within a given time period to the onset of the overdose. Having little effect on the body if opioids are not present, naloxone has no addictive properties (Campbell and Lovell 2012). In use for forty years (Lenton et al. 2015), naloxone's potential has primed it as one of the fastest growing harm reduction interventions in North America (Faulkner-Gurstein 2016). Within the last decade, naloxone has become politically salient as opioid related deaths in North America have risen to 72,000 in the United States (Sanger-Katz 2018), and 3,987 in Canada in 2017 (Health Canada 2018). In response, the Canadian federal government has implemented overdose prevention efforts, such as the 2016 rescheduling of naloxone from prescription access only to free over-the-counter kits available upon request (Health Canada 2018). Yet, despite such policy changes, naloxone provision is emerging within complex and dynamic assemblages of social, legal, political and economic forces which together produce impediments and barriers to its uptake (Farrugia et al. 2017).

In this paper I explore the object world of the opioid reversal drug naloxone, as an exercise in Joseph Dumit's implosion project (2014). Inspired by Donna Haraway, the

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implosion project incites one to "wake up to" and think critically about the worldly connections embedded within everyday materials—to ask: "how is it in the world and how is the world in it?" (Dumit, 2014, 351). Following Dumit (2014), this paper maps my knowledge of naloxone: my common sense, what I have felt worth knowing, and of what I have learned to attend to in my life, every day and academically. Through this reflexive praxis, I aim to disrupt my own tolerance, as well as that of the reader. By intimately questioning how to see the intolerable and unbearable worlds that are encased in the everyday world of naloxone (Dumit 2014, 347), the particular threads I have chosen to follow reflect my own analytical, imaginative, physical, and political choices (Dumit 2014, 360). My ultimate goal is for this level of attunement that I cultivate through this implosion project to extend both to the reader, as well as beyond academia and into the world.

To begin, I weave in and out of news media stories to walk the reader through the popular historical understandings of the rise in the novel forms of opioid-related overdose deaths, currently on the rise in Canada. Drawing from anthropological literature on the marketization of health and health infrastructures, as well as theories of the psychological stigma surrounding drug use, I focus on two elements of the complex assemblage of factors that lead to barriers in uptake: the economic and the social. Identifying potential barriers to access for naloxone and arguing for the importance of their identification, I turn to my own ethnographic exploration of the accessibility of state-subsidized naloxone throughout community pharmacies in the City of Toronto and the Greater Toronto Area. Making sense of these findings through Susan Star's (1999) infrastructural analysis provided the intellectual space to identify and theorize barriers to accessing naloxone. To conclude, I offer my own findings on the accessibility of naloxone within this region, arguing for the need for more qualitative studies on take-home naloxone programs in Canada so as to continue to identify and mitigate barriers to its access. As such, this paper blends an anthropological framework with activist driven, investigative journalism, and my own continued journey as a Canadian citizen tracing the path of this drug.

Three Object Worlds in One: OxyContin, Fentanyl and Naloxone

As extremely potent opioids such as fentanyl and its analogues have become ubiquitous within the illicit supply of drugs in Canada[1] the number of opioid-related overdose deaths continues to rise; with the latest national studies confirming 2,066 deaths from January to June of 2018 (Health Canada 2019). At the time of writing, there are more than 11 Canadians dying daily from opioid-related overdoses (Weeks 2018), and opioids are now responsible for bringing down the average life expectancy of Canadians, particularly those in British Columbia (Ireland 2018).

The increase in opioid-related overdose deaths in Canada is often traced back to the aggressive and fraudulent marketing of pharmaceutical companies such as Purdue Canada.[2] While the Purdue's OxyContin, aka. patent '738, is not the sole culprit, its trajectory in the Canadian landscape is exemplary of the ways in which Canadians are heavily effected by the marketization of health. With the advent of Patent '738 in 1992, Canadians were introduced to a new kind of pain-killing medication. Intentionally understating its addictive potential to physicians, Purdue's OxyContin was not merely a commercial success because of its effectiveness at killing pain but also due to its highly addictive quality.

The company went to extreme lengths to persuade a new generation of doctors that OxyContin was more effective and less powerful than other pain medication, by advertising it as safer and less addictive for patients. According to the Globe and Mail, Purdue used Key Opinion Leaders[3] at institutions such as the University of Toronto, where physicians taught classes using textbooks paid for by Purdue (Howlett and Robertson 2016).

Yet, ironically, some of the biggest concerns about OxyContin were raised by the drug industry itself, within numerous patent battles from 2005 to 2012 that did not attract any publicity (Howlett and Robertson 2016). As these patent battles continued to dog Purdue, the company's profit margins continued to soar, reaching hundreds of millions of dollars—quantifying the success of an aggressive faulty advertising campaign. Purdue was eventually accused of conscious faulty advertising, testifying that they were aware of the inaccuracy of their statements on the safety of OxyContin. Despite this controversy, in the fall of 2008, the former premier of Ontario, Dalton McGuinty, pledged 4.9 million dollars of tax-payer money towards the company's 32-million-dollar expansion of the Pickering facility (Howlett and Robertson 2016). In 2012, months before Purdue's patent was set to expire, the company took OxyContin off the market and replaced it with OxyNeo, a similar opioid that was thought to be more tamper proof, and therefore less easy to abuse.[4]

Recognizing the unethical corporate practices of Purdue, many harm reduction advocates argue that the media has highly over emphasized the correlation between physician prescription patterns and susceptibility to opioid overdose, arguing that this overemphasis has resulted in physicians increasingly withdrawing legitimate and necessary prescriptions, thereby diverting individuals to the illicit market wherein they are more likely to consume substances poisoned by stronger opioids such as fentanyl (Siegal 2018). However, despite this critique, the timing of the removal of OxyContin from the market, and the first appearance of fentanyl in Canada, is often constructed as not only coincidental but also directly related (Howlett and Woo 2018). For example, Health Canada's Federal Government's Action on Opioids described the introduction of fentanyl and its analogues as such:

> Fentanyl, which is fifty to one hundred times more potent than morphine, is a legitimate pharmaceutical used to treat severe pain. However, illegally produced fentanyl and fentanyl analogues, are now being found in Canada. These toxic drugs, many of which are coming from overseas, are making their way to the street in a pure form, pressed into counterfeit drugs or mixed into other illegal drugs, given their comparatively low cost. These drugs have significantly contributed to the overdose epidemic. The number of times fentanyl or an analogue has been identified in samples submitted by law enforcement to Health Canada laboratories has increased by than 2000% since fentanyl was first encountered in Canada in 2012… While the proportion of overdose deaths associated with fentanyl continues to grow, Canada is now seeing carfentanil, an even more deadly opioid, enter the illegal market (2018, 2).

Interestingly, Health Canada cites the first appearance of fentanyl in Canada as 2012—precisely the year OxyContin was removed from the market.

Remaining perhaps purposefully naïve of the geopolitical factors through which fentanyl and its analogues have been introduced to the illicit supply of drugs in Canada, it is

this presence—this poisoning—that has driven the federal government to introduce state-subsidized naloxone which can temporarily reverse an overdose. However, before I turn to a discussion of the economic and social barriers to access of publicly funded naloxone, it is necessary to understand how naloxone functions as a reversal drug.

Opiates are natural derivatives of the Persian poppy, the narcotic effects of which are the work of three chemical compounds in the plant—morphine, codeine and thebaine. *Opioids,* on the other hand contain synthetic components designed in a laboratory (an example being carfentanil which is 100 times more potent than its synthetic analogue of fentanyl). While all opiates are opioids, not all opioids are opiates. Despite this, both opiates and opioids such as heroin, methadone, oxycodone, hydrocodone, morphine, and codeine, bind to the brain's opioid receptors which are responsible both for controlling pain, as well as the instinct to breathe. Overdose occurs when the brain's opioid receptors become oversaturated with opioids from the drugs taken, stimulating respiratory depression which came become fatal in three to five minutes.[5] Often described as a "hat", or more provocatively as a "brain condom against an opioid" at an overdose prevention workshop I attended, naloxone acts as a narcotic antagonist to the opioids. By knocking opioids off the brain's opioid receptors, upon administration, naloxone opens up the neurological pathways to notify the brain to begin breathing again (Faulkner-Gurstein 2017). However, given that naloxone temporarily strips the body of opioids it can also catapult the chronic opioid user into immediate withdrawal, making its administration often incredibly unpleasant for the recipient.[6] Furthermore, more often one dosage of naloxone—paired with rescue breathing—is needed to stave off the potential of a recurrent overdose.

Identifying Barriers to Access: Marketization and the Deservingness Heuristic

Not surprisingly, naloxone has become just as profitable as OxyContin. While there is little data as to its price within Canada, according to Truc (2016), in the United States its price has risen from only 1 dollar as recently as a decade ago to over 40 dollars. During the 1990s—a decade which saw naloxone being used primarily by emergency rooms and ambulances—the drug was not as profitable, however, since harm reduction organizations have rightly pushed for an increase in its accessibility, the demand—and thus the price—has gone up exponentially (Jacobs 2016). In the United States, a popular injectable version of the drug has gone from 92 cents a dose to more than 15 dollars a dose over the last decade. As of 2016, an auto-injector version of naloxone is up to more than 2,000 dollars a dose in some areas (Jacobs 2016). Those hit the hardest by the increase of price are often smaller harm reduction organizations or community programs (Jacobs 2016), as well as regions in which naloxone is not subsidized by the state. In this vein Truc (2016) reminds us that:

> for all the life-saving benefits of naloxone, it's important to remember that, at best, it's just a stop-gap solution to treat a symptom—albeit an incredibly significant one—rather than a cure for a condition. Critics of wider naloxone availability point to the possibility that expanded access creates a moral hazard and doesn't address the crux of the problem—which is the actual opioid addiction. But again, that is a systemic problem that will take years, if not decades, to resolve … pharma

> companies know they have yet another life-saving drug in their pipeline and the means to leverage it for more dollars from willing buyers (1).

While take-home naloxone programs are subsidized country-wide in Canada, it is imperative to recognize the importance of it remaining as so, especially as its price continues to soar, which makes it extremely inaccessible for individual purchase.

According to anthropologist Joseph Dumit (2014), the substantial profits garnered from pharmaceuticals such as OxyContin and its counterweight, naloxone, are a common, if not fundamental feature of the marketization of pharmaceuticals. Thus, opioids that lead to overdose, and the naloxone that reverses it, rely on a particular understanding of health that fits into corporate research agendas. This kind of conceptualization of health is what Dumit (2014, 17) calls *surplus health*. Based on capitalist logic of accumulation, surplus health refers to the maximizing of treatment populations for corporate profits. In this framework, health is valued in terms of potential treatment growth, as this is seen as the only way to translate into corporate growth, and thus capitalist profits (Dumit 2012, 197). Within this context, facts about health become highly contestable things (Dumit 2012, 158). To the extent that "pharma companies design clinical trials and therefore the facts we have about risk and health" (Dumit 2012, 204), are thusly designed and informed by these trials, begging us to question the discourses and the knowledge of health. The question of ethics today thus becomes not about what decision to make, but *how* to make a decision within financialized medicine (Dumit 2012, 210). It is this marketization of health and the prioritization of profit that permits the same pharmaceutical companies to profit from both the licit opioids causing overdose, and the overdose antidote.[7]

In addition to economic factors, deeply social notions regarding drug use act as a barrier for availability of, and access to, naloxone. Jensen and Petersen's (2017) sociological study on the influence of subconscious bias on citizens' views on public policy demonstrates that citizens views on "deservingness" of state-subsidized support depends on deeply psychological and political notions of responsibility. The authors contend that support for subsidized health care (rather than unemployment or disability) cross-cuts political and ideological beliefs such that they play on psychological intuitions of the proper relationship between illness and government responsibility. It is interesting to note that "obesity and smoking related problems are viewed less as diseases and also less as deserving of help—presumably because people feel that these problems are under an individual's control to some extent, which clashes with their intuitive understanding of 'disease'" (Jensen and Petersen 2016, 80). Implicit in this idea is the assumption that if a "disease" or illness is out of an individual's control, they are seen as deserving of care; however, if an individual's illness is seen as the result of their actions, they are seen as no longer worthy of social support financed by precious tax dollars. From this perspective, even subconscious psychology is heavily stigmatized wherein citizens justify subsidies for those they perceive as victims of uncontrollable events, yet they cannot justify subsidies for those who are to "blame for their own plight" (Jensen and Petersen 2016, 69). Jensen and Peterson's "deservingness heuristic" prompts individuals to oppose basic health care and social assistance when the need reflects a lack of motivation, but support subsidies when the need is believed to be beyond an individual's control (Jensen and Petersen 2016, 71). Given that the enduring classificatory scheme that consigns nonmedical drug users to

the category of "criminals," while designating medical users as "patients" suffering from a "disease," the legitimacy of harm reduction practices, particularly those with public funding, are constantly questioned along ideological lines. The deservingness heuristic continually constructs people who use drugs as personally responsible for the harms related to drug use, and therefore undeserving of subsidized health care. In this way, stigma effectively produces gross social barriers to access within the infrastructures of naloxone.

In an interview with the CBC's Metro Morning, Zoë Dodd (2017), a frontline harm reduction worker, emphasizes the need for low barriers for people who use drugs to access harm reduction services, such as take-home naloxone. Taking this contention seriously and thinking with Susan Star's (1999, 389) critique that some infrastructures contain gross barriers which require large scale social movements to upheave, this object implosion leads me to consider how particular economic and social barriers to naloxone access exist within take-home naloxone programs in the city of Toronto and the Greater Toronto Area. To do so, I first address the distribution of naloxone within the Canadian and provincial landscape in order to narrow in on the particular region I identify and discuss my own findings.

Federal and Provincial Approaches to Take-Home Naloxone

In March 2016 the national pharmaceutical regulating body, Health Canada moved naloxone to the status of a non-prescription drug making its over-the-counter access available to anyone who requests naloxone *without cost* (Health Canada 2018, 8). However the Canadian Agency for Drugs and Technologies in Health report entitled "Funding and Management of Take-Home Naloxone Programs in Canada" notes that "jurisdictional legislation may align in some provinces and territories but may be more restrictive in others" citing that as of November 2017, British Columbia and Alberta have changed the status of non-hospital use of naloxone to the "Unscheduled" category, while elsewhere in Canada naloxone is a Schedule II category. Such variance in the scheduling of naloxone leads to provincial discrepancies in its accessibility, making it more difficult to obtain in certain regions (Canadian Agency for Drugs and Technologies in Health 2018, 8). In addition, Health Canada's Actions on Opioids Report identifies its approach to First Nations and Inuit communities as one that seeks to provide community-based and culturally appropriate health programs and services, providing naloxone access through nursing stations in remote and isolated locations via its provincial partners (Government of Canada 2018, 12). While beyond the scope of this paper, it is imperative to recognize that First Nations and Inuit communities' vulnerability to opioid use and overdose stems from the very colonial health care system that is responsible for ensuring their well-being (Webster 2013).

Within the province of Ontario, publicly funded naloxone is distributed through three of the provincial Ministry of Health and Long-Term Care's (MOHLTC) programs: the Ontario Naloxone Program (ONP), the Ontario Naloxone Program for Pharmacies (ONPP), and the Provincial Correctional Facilities Take Home Naloxone Program (Canadian Agency for Drugs and Technologies in Health 2018, 8). Actors involved in each respective program then distribute the naloxone to those deemed "eligible," such as: "a current user, or a past user at risk of opioid overdose, friends and families of persons at risk, a person in a position to assist a person at risk of an overdose from opioids, newly released inmates at

risk of an opioid overdose" or any organization/persons whose clients may fall under these categories (Canadian Agency for Drugs and Technologies in Health 2018, 8). Naloxone is available in two forms: injection and nasal spray, each of which come in a small, portable kit form. The injection kit contains: two vials or ampoules of naloxone injection (0.4mg/mL), two ampoule breakers per kit for opening ampoules safely (only for kits containing ampoules; kits containing vials do *not* require ampoule breakers), two safety-engineered syringes with 25g one-inch needles attached, one pair of non-latex gloves, one card that identifies the person who is trained to give the naloxone, and one hard case (Canadian Agency for Drugs and Technologies in Health 2018, 9). While the nasal spray kit contains: two dosages of nasal naloxone spray (4 mg/0.1mL), one pair of non-latex gloves, one card that identifies the person who is trained to give the naloxone, one insert with instructions in English and French, and one hard case (Canadian Agency for Drugs and Technologies in Health 2018, 9).

In operation since June 2016, the ONPP makes both forms of naloxone available at pharmacies, at no charge; however, participation is voluntary meaning that not all pharmacies carry naloxone. While at the time of launch of the ONPP the ministry provided a one-time drop shipment of pre-assembled injectable kits to pharmacies that ran methadone/suboxone programs, currently participating pharmacies primarily receive naloxone via a wholesale distributor, such as McKesson Canada,[8] and the remaining supplies come from various suppliers and are put together in house to form the kit (Ontario Ministry of Health, 2019). In turn, pharmacies bill the provincial government for fees: 120 dollars for intra-nasal and 70 dollars for initial injectable kit (Ministry of Health 2019, 3). Unless an individual has received previous training in the administration of naloxone, upon request of the kit, individuals are given a brief one-on-one instruction on its use. Information regarding locating participating pharmacies is available via the Ministry's website (Government of Ontario). In March 2018, the ministry made two key amendments to the ONPP policy making available both the injection and previously unavailable intranasal forms of naloxone, now allowing individuals to request one of each kit and without a health card (Ministry of Health 2019).[9]

Accessing Take-Home Naloxone via the ONPP in the city of Toronto and the Greater Toronto Area

When I initially began visiting pharmacies in November 2017 conducting research for a graduate course paper, I was under the auspices that naloxone kits were extremely hard to come by and that it was only possible to obtain one kit. I began visiting pharmacies across the city of Toronto and the Greater Toronto Area (GTA) to gauge the availability and accessibility of naloxone kits. While I did not find the kits difficult to come by per se, I found the experience to be fraught with both economic and social barriers which were mediated in varying degrees by my positionality as a privileged racially unmarked woman (Haraway 1988, 586). For me, locating a pharmacy that distributes naloxone was not difficult. I have access to the internet to look up the nearest pharmacy, access to a vehicle to get there, and the time to go to the pharmacy—although I often experienced confused reactions from pharmacists when requesting a kit. At a Shoppers Drug Mart pharmacy close to my home, neither employee knew how to bill the kit through the system, nor how to give the

PHOTOS: JORDAN HODGINS

The injection naloxone kit (left) and the nasal spray naloxone kit (right) available for free at participating pharmacies in the Province of Ontario via the Ontario Naloxone Program for Pharmacies (ONPP).

short training speech. I was asked to return later on that day. At a Walmart pharmacy I was given a kit without any inquiry after mentioning that I was hoping to obtain a kit for a research project. Here, none of my information was collected. At a pharmacy in a budget grocery store, I was given a kit with considerable apprehension, quizzical (and frankly judgemental) looks. At this pharmacy, I was asked to jot down my phone number and name and received a call once I had made it back to my car wherein, I was asked for my Ontario Health Insurance Plan number, and my address. At another pharmacy in the bottom floor of a major GTA hospital, the pharmacists were reluctant to give me a kit. When I finally convinced them, the one kit they did have did not contain any naloxone and they could not locate it anywhere. Recognizing that I was attempting to access a program that had been in operation for under six months, I needlessly felt access to this life-saving drug to be fraught with social and economic barriers. How, I wondered, would anyone in need ever feel comfortable walking into a pharmacy to obtain a naloxone kit, especially with prior experience of stigma against drug use?

While my initial experiences visiting pharmacies were less than encouraging, in the spring of 2018 my continued visits began to morph with a program that was beginning to find its feet. With some time to spare one chilly afternoon, I decided to visit a major grocery store pharmacy in the downtown core. After requesting a naloxone kit, the head pharmacist offered a brief training seminar, so as to teach me how to administer the injectable naloxone (something I had not yet once been offered). The training session lasted roughly 10 minutes, in the private room to the side of the pharmacy designed for

consultations regarding somewhat more private prescriptions. The pharmacist—from whom I refreshingly received no air of judgement—carefully walked me through the process of administering naloxone (recognizing the signs of an overdose, making sure you call 911, trying to wake them up, and, if they are unresponsive, administering naloxone in the thigh, the arm, the buttock, or in the nose for the nasal spray). Upon confirming that I was indeed comfortable to administer it, I was given an injectable naloxone kit, to be used in any opioid-related emergency I should find myself in.

Conclusion

Tracing the object world of the opioid-reversal drug, naloxone, I have aimed to situate the drug within the context of a marked rise in opioid-related overdose deaths in Canada, tracing its shifted role as a state-subsidized overdose prevention tool responding to the ubiquity of fentanyl and its analogues within the illicit supply of drugs in Canada since the early 2010s. Arguing for the importance of identifying and rectifying barriers to access within the infrastructures of naloxone, I identify and explore economic and social factors which impede its uptake, particularly within pharmacy-based take-home naloxone provision in the City of Toronto and the Greater Toronto Area. Through an ethnographic narrative, which explores my own experiences requesting a naloxone kit at various pharmacies, I aim to highlight the ways in which broader economic and social issues such as the marketization of health and stigma surrounding drug use impede the uptake of naloxone at the pharmacy level. Recognizing my own positionality, I seek to make sense of the ways in which social barriers such as stigma surrounding drug use impedes access for more vulnerable individuals. In conclusion, I argue for the need for more qualitative studies on take-home naloxone programs in Canada, with the goal of improving its distribution at all levels.

Notes

1 For example, Woo (2018) writes that according to the B.C. Centre for Substance Use, nearly 80 per cent of street drugs being sold as heroin in Vancouver do not contain any heroin at all, while nearly all contain fentanyl.

2 Indeed, the province of British Columbia has launched a lawsuit against Purdue (among other pharmaceutical companies) alleging "misinformation and deception," claiming that the distributors knew the drugs were addictive and "seeping into the illicit market" (Howlett and Woo 2018).

3 "Key Opinion Leaders" (KOLs) are physicians targeted by Purdue to ease anxieties surrounding OxyContin, and to encourage its prescription throughout the medical community. These KOLs were often hosted by Purdue at as many as five annual lavish conferences designed to convince physicians that OxyContin was safe and non-addictive (Howlett and Robertson 2018).

4 OxyNeo was thought to be more "tamper proof" in that is more difficult to alter it by, for example crushing it, thereby releasing the entire dosage at once rather than periodically over time as it is designed to do (Howlett and Robertson 2018).

5 For more information on the difference between opiates and opioids as well as their effects on the brain, please see Brownstein (1993).

6 Hence why it took time to become a popular overdose prevention strategy among people who use drugs, as it was often used as a tool of punishment by law enforcement who administered naloxone with the intention of inducing painful withdrawal symptoms (Neale and Strang 2015).

7 Interestingly, the pharmaceutical industry also stands to substantially benefit from further harm reduction strategies such as opioid-maintenance programs, and the provision of a safe supply of opioids (so as to provide an alternative to the illicit supply which is poisoned with unknown substances).

8 Which, in the spirit of Purdue, is also in the midst of its own legal troubles. Currently, McKesson Canada is being investigated for offering "kickbacks" or "rebates" to pharmacies who stock its products—a process that is illegal in the province of Ontario (although, kickbacks continue to remain legal for physicians) (Sawa et al. 2019).

9 Previous to this amendment, an Ontario Health Insurance Plan card was needed to obtain a naloxone kit for billing purposes.

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"Not That You're a Savage"
The Indigenous Body as Animated Palimpsest

MICHELLE JOHNSON
PHD CANDIDATE, DANCE STUDIES
YORK UNIVERSITY, TORONTO, CANADA

In 1995, Disney Studios released *Pocahontas,* its first animated feature based on a historical figure and featuring Indigenous characters. Amongst mixed reviews, the film provoked criticism regarding historical inaccuracy, cultural disrespect, and the sexualization of the titular Pocahontas as a Native American woman. Over the following years the studio has released a handful of films centered around Indigenous cultures, rooted in varying degrees of reality and fantasy. The metanarrative of these films suggests the company's struggle with how to approach Indigenous storylines, with attempts that often read as appropriation more than representation. In response to overt and frequently hostile criticism, Disney over-compensates by creating fictional hybridized cultures that cannot definitively be attributed to any one people, so as to avoid backlash that tarnishes their reputation. Focusing on *Pocahontas* but also considering other Disney representations of Indigenous peoples, this paper incorporates Laban Movement Analysis to explore how the characters in these films serve as palimpsests for Disney ideologies of race and gender. The studio inscribes meanings onto animated bodies and movement, erasing and rewriting (or drawing) history to create a story with just enough Disney "sparkle." Spanning the fields of popular culture, visual anthropology, and dance studies, this paper examines how Pocahontas and other characters are animated to absorb and embody popular understandings and misunderstandings of Indigeneity, native history, and transcultural exchange, and how subsequent films continue to add new layers to Disney's attempts at negotiating diversity.

KEY WORDS Disney animation, Indigenous representation, movement analysis

In 1995, Disney Studios released the film *Pocahontas* (Gabriel and Goldberg 1995), its first animated feature based on a historical figure and featuring an Indigenous main character. Reviews of the time reflected mixed reactions, by turns praising the film's "thoughtful" representation of real issues (Ebert 1995; Siskel 1995), observing that the studio "played it safe" and gave "new meaning to the phrase 'politically correct'" (Dutka 1995), and criticizing the film for historical inaccuracy (Dutka 1995) or "propagating the 'Good Indian/Bad Indian' theme" (Gilbert 2015).

Comments in behind-the-scenes promotional materials from *Pocahontas*'s production staff suggest that the company felt confident in not only their choice of story material, but

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their "authentic" representation of the seventeenth-century Powhatan people (Gabriel and Goldberg 2005, "Audio Commentary"). In supplemental DVD materials discussing the making of the film, producer James Pentecost and directors Eric Goldberg and Mike Gabriel discuss the reliance on Indigenous consultants—including Shirley Little Dove Custalow McGowan and activist Russell Means, who voices Pocahontas's father, Chief Powhatan, in the film—throughout production for such elements as Algonquian language, dress, and other aspects of daily life. Interestingly, while discussions of the accuracy of these elements are somewhat general and vague, much more enthusiasm is expressed about the amount of research and detail that went into several of the film's European elements, such as the colours of the ship that carries Captain John Smith to the New World, the types of cannons used by the English settlers, and even the ruff and bell adorning the English Governor Radcliffe's dog Percy (Gabriel and Goldberg 2005, "Audio Commentary").

Though significant as the first film in the studio's animated canon to feature a story focusing on Indigenous characters and storylines, *Pocahontas* is not Disney's first animated film to include representations of Indigenous cultures, nor is it their last. In this article I examine the metanarrative of Disney's attempts at Indigenous representation, beginning by analyzing two Disney-produced images of North American Indigenous groups: the Blackfoot (Siksika) in *Peter Pan* (Geronimi et al. 1953) and the Powhatan in *Pocahontas.* I approach this task through the lens of Laban Movement Analysis, a method of movement observation which I will introduce in greater detail in the following section.

In the spirit of anthropologist Joseph Dumit's Implosion Project, which provides a framework for investigating "the embeddedness of objects, facts, actions, and people in the world and the world in them" (Dumit 2014, 350), I look at the animated movement of these characters as an object. The animated gestures and postures of the films' characters are informed by particular white, settler-colonial constructions of Indigenous people, constructions which are then echoed by the white, settler-colonial characters present in the films. The representations in these films in turn contribute to the reinscribing of popular perceptions of Indigeneity over time, including those beyond Turtle Island/Canada and the continental United States, with the characters' movement contributing to different images of Indigeneity that are informed by and contribute to these various mythologies. Through movement analysis I engage with Indigenous scholarship to investigate how Disney replaces old settler-colonial mythologies with new ones, reinforcing the conflict between their attempts at inclusivity and social consciousness with their white, Eurocentric lens.

I then briefly track Disney's presentation of Indigenous characters in the decades following *Pocahontas,* concluding with their recent film *Moana* (Clements and Musker 2016), as I consider how popular and critical reception of *Pocahontas* may have influenced the studio's decisions regarding how to approach Indigenous storylines. Tracing this journey, I argue that the animated bodies of the characters created in each of Disney's attempts at Indigenous representation function as palimpsests, as the company's continued efforts to "get it right" manifest in both trends and alterations in the characters' movement.

Methodology

Laban Movement Analysis, often referred to as LMA, is a system of movement observation and analysis developed out of the work of Austro-Hungarian choreographer and theorist

Rudolf von Laban in the early and mid 1900s. The system provides a descriptive vocabulary for analyzing movement that aims not to assign value or judgment to the qualities observed, but rather to identify patterns or shifts in movement. LMA has become quite detailed as those who studied under Laban have continued to expand and refine it after his death. For the sake of brevity, I will keep my explanations and usages fairly surface level, explaining terminology as necessary throughout my analysis and providing additional notes where needed. While many of the terms' meanings can be generally understood based on the word's English-language definition, detailed explanations in the notes provide further insight.

One convention of note for the reader is that LMA terminology is usually capitalized in order to distinguish its specific meanings from broader usages of the same words. For example, in LMA, the word "Space" with a capital S refers to Space Mode, which focuses on "the spatial architecture of human movement" (Fernandes 2015, 195). "Space" includes elements such as levels, direction, and distance of gestures from the center of the body, while "space" with a lowercase S may be used more generally to refer to the space one occupies (such as a room) or any other common definition. Likewise, the term "Quick" in LMA describes the acceleration of movement, and not necessarily the speed of its completion if it were to be timed.

Though LMA can be applied to a wide variety of movement contexts, it is important to acknowledge that it comes out of a distinctly white, European perspective and is therefore no more universal or objective than the many other methodologies and perspectives of the same heritage employed in the academic institution. As observed by dance scholars Ann Dils and Jill Flanders Crosby (2001), "like all analysis systems, the Laban system reflects the movement experiences and preferences of its makers" (67). Anthropologist Brenda Farnell (2011) identifies the latent ethnocentricity of LMA, citing Alan Lomax's Choreometrics project[1] of the 1960s and 70s. Dance ethnographer and Certified Laban Movement Analyst (CMA) Joan D. Frosch (1999) likewise notes that while "the tidy categories reducing the dancer to a relatively neat object of study may have seemed an attractive systematic approach to some at the time" (256), the Choreometrics project is highly reductionist and neglects to consider the subjectivity of LMA as a system—its context and situatedness, to borrow from Dumit (2014). Frosch observes, however, that LMA can be a useful tool in ethnographic and cultural studies "when tied to a contextual approach" (1999, 274), and a number of dance ethnographers have been known to incorporate aspects of LMA in their own fieldwork (see, for example, Dils and Crosby 2001; Hanna 1987; Ness 1992).

Recognizing this position, the application of LMA in this study has the potential to serve as a valuable tool for identifying patterns in how white, Western animators imagine, perceive, and reproduce views of Indigeneity, and not for drawing conclusions about the actual cultural groups being represented on the screen in the films I have chosen to discuss. LMA is used here to attend, in the words of anthropologist Sarah Pink (2003), "not only to the internal 'meanings' of an image, but also to how the image was produced and how it is made meaningful by viewers" (186). It allows us to see what is actually going on underneath the layers of culturally-ascribed meanings that are placed onto the body and its ways of moving, and to question why we might make those connections between movement and meaning, based on our own cultural situatedness.

Indigenous literature scholar Daniel Heath Justice (2018), a citizen of the Cherokee Nation, writes of the "burdensome representational weight" that non-Indigenous language carries in stories about Indigenous peoples, and how the words used carry "layers of colonialist misunderstandings" (6). In this article I aim to identify how these colonialist misunderstandings are conveyed in the movement patterns of the films' Indigenous characters, which are created by non-Indigenous animators. Rather than simply providing a summary of my movement observations, I have attempted to bring LMA as an analytical methodology into conversation with scholarship from the fields of Indigenous studies, anthropology, dance studies, and Disney and animation studies. In this way, I use LMA as a tool for critical reflection of the white, settler-colonial culture not only in which these films are situated, but in which their creators are situated as well.

Tiger Lily: Peter Pan's "Indian Princess"

Pocahontas may have been met with mixed reactions regarding historical and cultural accuracy, but the treatment of the Powhatan people in the 1995 film is generally considered an improvement over Disney's previous animated portrayal of North American Indigenous characters in 1953's *Peter Pan*. True to mainstream priorities of the early twentieth century, accurate details of what is presumably meant to be pre-colonization Blackfoot people (so identified in a visual gag by John Darling based on a large set of black footprints) along with non-offensive, non-stereotyped portrayals, were deemed unnecessary. The animated film was released nearly fifty years after J.M. Barrie's original play of the same name, which opened in 1904; however, it does not appear to have strayed far from the spirit of its source material, which, according to Victorian literature scholar Anne Hiebert Alton, presented many "popular fantasy tropes" of the early 1900s as caricatured, childlike interpretations, befitting the premise and setting of the story (Laskow 2014).

Daniel Heath Justice discusses the "representational burdens" present in the fantasy genre, and the "savagism-versus-civilization binary" in particular (2018, 149). He argues that Western fantasy fiction is built around this ideology,

> Wherein largely white heroes possessed of courage and, sometimes, strange talents struggle to challenge evil and reaffirm the values of social conservatism and right order—namely, might is right. Civilization is bad or good; savages are noble or brutish—yet in either case, the conflict between a simplistic primitivism rooted or trapped in the past and a contemporary progressivism of technological complexity is the superstructure undergirding the narrative content of most genre fantasy (2018, 150).

In *Peter Pan,* John Darling plays the role of the white hero as he leads the Lost Boys on an expedition to "capture a few Indians," a regular pastime in Neverland. John wears several signifiers of civilization, including a top hat and glasses, and readily sets himself in charge despite having only just arrived on the island. He demonstrates his superior knowledge as he reminds everyone that "the Indian is cunning, but not intelligent," apparently proven first by the underhanded manner in which they capture the Lost Boys, and then

by their difficulty in understanding that it was Captain Hook and not the Lost Boys who captured their princess, Tiger Lily.

As the representative of European settler-colonial ideology, John Darling's movement qualities also serve to set him apart, both from the Lost Boys and the Blackfoot men (and later, a few women) they encounter. John demonstrates a Pin Body Attitude,[2] his verticality further emphasized by a lifted chin, puffed-out chest, and pulled-back shoulders. He leads the Lost Boys through the terrain of Neverland as if he is a military officer, beginning by saluting Peter Pan as he pledges to "try to be worthy of [his] post" before commanding the Lost Boys to fall in line behind him with a "Forward march!" as a military drum tattoo begins to play in the background. He marches with Mid-Limb Initiation,[3] pulling his elbows back to swing his arms and lifting his knees high with each step. John tends toward Advancing Shaping,[4] led in this scene by his chest, though he often Advances with his head in other scenes.

When they eventually come upon the Blackfoot warriors and are immediately captured by them, the two elements in John Darling's characterization of Indigenous peoples as "cunning, but not intelligent" are each presented through different means. "Cunning" is demonstrated through the characters' actions, as they have devised a plan to distract the children with their footprints and then hide in the trees to surround and capture them. In contrast, "not intelligent" is shown less explicitly through their movements, relying on the viewer's cultural situatedness to read the embedded meanings.

The primary example of this signification appears in the posture and stride of the Blackfoot men as they carry the captured Lost Boys to their camp (Geronimi et al. 1953, 35:04-21): their Ball Body Attitudes,[5] with rounded shoulders and necks/heads protruding forward rather than upward, contrast sharply with John Darling's Pin Body Attitude and exaggerated verticality. Their steps are Initiated Distally,[6] lifting the foot/ankle rather than the knee, and Heavy Passive Weight[7] results in a downward emphasis on each footfall, rather than the upward emphasis of the marching seen from John and the Lost Boys. These characteristics create the sense of a slow, plodding walk as they lead their captives away in a single-file line. A childlike mentality seems to be suggested too in the image of the final Blackfoot member dragging along Michael Darling's teddy bear, which in the following scene has been tied up as a prisoner along with John, Michael, and the Lost Boys—as if these Indigenous characters do not understand that the bear is an inanimate object and not a threat. The composition of this final image of the scene both echoes and contrasts the earlier one of the Lost Boys following John Darling, but it also bears a striking resemblance to images often used to demonstrate human evolution, featuring a line of walking profiles of Australopithecus, Homo Habilis, Homo Erectus, and so on.[8]

This imagery suggests what Cherokee writer Thomas King observes in James Fenimore Cooper's 1841 novel *The Deerslayer*, that "Cooper was implying…that Whites had a prefrontal cortex and Indians did not…Whites were human, while Indians were still working their way up the evolutionary ladder" (King 2012, 29). King's observation is supported by the work of critical race theorist Sylvia Wynter, who argues that as Western society came to embrace science over religion, race became the preferred method by which to answer the question of what it is to be human (Wynter 2003, 264). In this race-based human/

subhuman dichotomy, North American Indigenous populations were "portrayed as the very acme of the savage, irrational Other" (2003, 266).

Postcolonial philosopher Edward Said's *Orientalism* (1978) explores at length the tradition of Western society viewing itself as superior to others. He addresses the historical culpability of anthropology and other forms of scholarship that are situated within an imperialist society, arguing that in the nineteenth century "the Aryan myth dominated historical and cultural anthropology at the expense of the 'lesser' peoples" (1978, 99). In *Peter Pan,* the intellectual and inquisitive John Darling serves as a stand-in for a Western anthropologist. He leads the Lost Boys in their quest to find Neverland's "Aborigines," but his interest is more academic than his hosts', given Peter Pan's suggestion that the group "capture a few Indians" on their adventure. Daniel Heath Justice's discussion of "Indigenous deficiency" further develops the picture being presented. According to Justice, the narrative of deficiency positions Indigenous peoples as being "in a state of constant lack: in morals, laws, culture, restraint, language, ambition, hygiene, desire, love" (2018, 2). They suffer from "constitutional absences in…character, or biology, or intellect" (2018, 3), characterizations which can be seen in *Peter Pan*.

The mid-century representations of Indigenous characters in *Peter Pan* are clearly meant to be humourous caricatures of fantastical "others," and not thoughtful, well-rounded renderings of real groups of people, historical or contemporary. Animation scholar Paul Wells states that, due to the "tradition of caricature" which is central to the history of cartoon animation, "issues of representation are complicated, first, by the purpose of the representation, and second, by its expression" (188). The purpose seems to be to fulfil a fantasy trope alongside pirates, mermaids, and a land where children never have to grow up; and the expression is to present these characters as simpler, sillier, and more exaggerated than the main characters.

Though the use of caricature is obvious in the majority of the Blackfoot characters, there is one exception—Tiger Lily. As Disney's first "Indian Princess," Tiger Lily is introduced separately from and presented quite differently than the other Indigenous characters in *Peter Pan*. Literature scholar Clare Bradford observes a common trope from historical fiction in which "exceptional Indigenous characters are depicted as 'more advanced' than other members of their clans or nations, more apt to befriend white protagonists and to value European culture and practices" (2015, 178). Bradford cites *Pocahontas* as a prime example of this trope (which I will address below), but Tiger Lily also fits this description. She is demonstrated to be "exceptional" in her friendship with Peter Pan, her stalwart demeanor in the face of Captain Hook, and the ways in which her movement patterns more closely resemble those of the Darlings than the other Blackfoot characters, aligning her with "European culture and practices." Tiger Lily's skin is even a different shade than the film's other Indigenous characters, lighter with less of a red undertone—a significant distinction, considering the protagonists' primary interaction with the rest of the Blackfoot characters (and only interaction that occurs with Tiger Lily and her people together) features a song entitled "What Makes the Red Man Red."

Both Tiger Lily and her father, the Chief, stand and sit with an upright posture, setting them apart as the leaders—or perhaps, in the Darlings' European perspective, royalty—of their people. Tiger Lily's Pin Body Attitude resembles that of John and Wendy Darling, while the Chief's Wall Body Attitude,[9] combined with his impressive height and stern

demeanour, lends him a somewhat more imposing air. Here we see a different representation of the white European imaginary, as the Chief appears to be modeled after the taxonomies of eighteenth-century physical anthropologist Carl Linnaeus. Linnaeus is noted by Said as a prominent figure in the "impulse to classify nature and man into types" (1978, 119), with his racial classification of American Indigenous peoples being that of "upright" and "choleric" (Linnaeus quoted in Farnell 2011, 140).[10] These two characteristics are in fact so exaggerated that even when the Chief dances during the celebration of Tiger Lily's return (and honouring of Peter Pan as her rescuer), his face remains impassive and his upper body stays rigid and upright while his feet move rapidly below him.

Pocahontas and Changing Imaginaries

While *Peter Pan* employs movement and body carriage to caricaturize the racial difference between the film's white protagonists and the Indigenous "other," *Pocahontas* uses these elements in an attempt at creating a sensitive and nuanced representation of the Powhatan people. Forty-two years later, *Pocahontas* rewrites the story of how Disney handles Indigenous characters—but retains a trace of what came before. The lineage traced between the characters of Tiger Lily and Pocahontas in particular suggests that the Indigenous body serves as a palimpsest for Disney ideologies of race and gender.

A palimpsest is, by its most fundamental definition, a writing surface on which the original text has been erased and the surface reused, and the term is frequently used to refer to anything which is, to quote the Oxford English Dictionary, "reused or altered while still retaining traces of its earlier form." With *Pocahontas,* Disney rewrites their image of Indigeneity, reflecting shifting social views of race, culture, and history. However, just as a palimpsest may still retain traces of the original writing as it is overwritten, so traces of the physicality attributed to Tiger Lily can be seen in Pocahontas's movement signature, such as her upright posture with prominently lifted chest and chin.

Pocahontas is first seen perched on a rocky outcropping, alone with nature. She stands with her feet further apart than the typical Disney Princess and her chin lifted high; her chest is lifted up and out, highlighted by pulling back her arms and shoulders. This stance is highly reminiscent of Tiger Lily, though Pocahontas's Body Attitude is more Wall-like than Pin-like. Most of the film's other Powhatan characters also exhibit a Wall Body Attitude, along with a held torso and little Passive Weight. When moving the upper body, the torso Sequences Simultaneously[11] from the hips, rather than Successively[12] up or down through the shoulders. Arm gestures are often Sustained[13] and tend to occur in Far Reach,[14] usually mobilizing from the shoulder or elbow in an Arcing[15] pattern—a frequent habit in Pocahontas's father, Chief Powhatan, especially. All of these elements contribute to a preference for Stability over Mobility[16] in the Powhatan characters. As I will explore in the following paragraph, the film's European characters engage in movement patterns that suggest a preference for Mobility, establishing a contrast between the two groups. This juxtaposition seems to be symbolic of each group's position: on the one hand, the Stable Powhatan who already inhabited the land; on the other, the Mobile English traveling across the ocean.

The English settlers appear Quick and Free in their use of Effort as well as more indulgent in Shape Flow,[17] with more small, incidental movements accompanying their

actions and speech. Whereas Pocahontas dismisses her potential suitor Kocoum as "so serious"[18] when embodying the film's established movement qualities for Indigenous characters, John Smith, her actual love interest, is shown to be relaxed and mobile through his Freer Flow[19] and inability to stand still. While Powhatan men such as Kocoum and Chief Powhatan tend to stand in a neutral position, with little Shaping to suggest Advancing or Retreating, John Smith and the nefarious Governor Radcliffe both tend to Advance, often while interacting with objects around them, such as leaning on furniture or fiddling with whatever is at hand. This shared quality between the film's male hero and its villain is noteworthy. Though we are meant to see one man as good-hearted and the other as greedy, the film establishes in the song "Mine, Mine, Mine" that they do share something in common: a desire to possess the land to which they have journeyed. While Radcliffe covets the land for its potential to provide him with gold and status, Smith is eager to "tame" its wilderness. Both men wish to claim dominion over the land, and perhaps their shared movement tendencies signify this impulse to disrupt and control the nature around them.

Pocahontas exudes a sense of tranquility and nobility when standing still, but she seems to revel in movement: running, diving, climbing, rolling, and frequently demonstrating her adventurous, free spirit in movements reminiscent not of the European ballet tradition, as seen in her Disney princess ancestors Snow White, Cinderella, and Aurora, but that of early modern dance pioneers such as Isadora Duncan and Martha Graham—a dance tradition associated with North America, but not Native America.[20] Her athleticism and dexterity are reflected in her Free Flow and Shaping as she moves through nature, dexterously maneuvering herself around trees, rocks, and rivers, in contrast with John Smith's tendency (before meeting Pocahontas, anyway) to clear such obstacles from his path. We see traces of Tiger Lily, whose love of movement manifests in dancing (perhaps the only time she is not still and composed), rewritten in Pocahontas's more nature-centered activity, in a film attempting to share a message of respect and harmony not only between people, but with nature as well.

This approach to the interactions and attitudes of the two different cultures represented in *Pocahontas* suggests the "romantic portrayal" of pre-colonization Indigenous cultures discussed by visual anthropologist Harald Prins (2002, 62). Combined with the overall shift in Indigenous characters to a more upright posture and controlled carriage as compared to those in *Peter Pan, Pocahontas* appears to signify a shift in presentation from "cunning but not intelligent" toward "noble savage," a literary and artistic trope dating back to the seventeenth century (Prins 2002). Although the mythology of the "noble savage" and other romantic portrayals of Indigenous peoples have existed for centuries, this change represents Disney's attempts to replace the fantastical image from *Peter Pan* with updated settler-colonial ideologies surrounding Indigenous bodies—in this case, the mythology of the "Ecological Indian" (Krech 199, 216).

Theorized by anthropologist Shepard Krech III[21] just four years after *Pocahontas* was released, the Ecological Indian myth underlies the image of Indigenous peoples as "friend[s], steward[s], and defender[s] of nature" (Krech 1999, 216). Contemporary theology scholar Daniel G. Deffenbaugh argues that this "mythic image [is] propagated to mollify the spiritual cravings of our own culture" (2000, 483). Deffenbaugh provides as an example the Keep America Beautiful public service announcement of the 1970s (Marstellar Inc. 1971), which features "what would become one of the most poignant symbols of the

American environmental movement" (Deffenbaugh 2000, 477): the "Crying Indian," an image of an Indigenous man, at peace with nature, shedding a single tear as he comes upon pollution, litter and other trappings of colonialism and industrialization. Disney attempts with *Pocahontas* to erase and rewrite their previous antiquated, overtly racist portrayals of Indigenous peoples, but they cannot avoid leaving an indelible trace of this history due to the ideologies in which they are culturally situated.

When compared to other Indigenous characters in the film, Pocahontas does not stand out from her people as dramatically as her "Indian Princess" predecessor, Tiger Lily—in terms of movement, anyway. Because the animated tradition of caricature is limited in *Pocahontas* to animal sidekicks and white villains, Pocahontas herself is distinguished as an "exceptional Indigenous character" by other means: not through exaggerated differences in appearance and movement, but via characterization. Pocahontas stands out from her people—both to her settler love interest John Smith and to the film's audience—first for her adventurous spirit and curiosity regarding the newly-arrived English settlers, and then for her capacity for empathy toward them. It seems to be this empathy, combined with the kindred imagination and curiosity she shares with John Smith (and perhaps her beauty as well), that prompts Smith to distinguish her from the rest of her people when he says, "We've improved the lives of savages all over the world…Not that *you're* a savage."

Daniel Heath Justice emphasizes the important role that empathy plays in Indigenous stories: "Imagination and curiosity are essential to the empathy required for healthy, respectful, and sustainable relationships with a whole host of beings and peoples, from cedar trees and magpies to thunderstorms and moss-blanketed boulders…The more expansive our imaginations, the deeper our capacity for empathy" (2018, 77). Interestingly, most of Disney's Indigenous narratives feature empathy as the main goal, starting with *Pocahontas*, which emphasizes the curiosity of its two romantic leads and how that shared curiosity brings about empathy for both environment and people. A number of the films mentioned in the following section, including *The Emperor's New Groove* (Dindal 2000), *Brother Bear* (Walker 2003), and *Moana* all resolve due to empathy and understanding rather than (or in addition to) simply defeating a villain.

White Flight: Fear of Backlash and the Avoidance of Indigenous Storylines

Disney producers may have felt that with *Pocahontas* they respectfully transformed an important historical narrative into a compelling piece of entertainment through careful research and consultation (Gabriel and Goldberg 2005, "Audio Commentary"), yet the film's release provoked criticism regarding historical inaccuracy, cultural disrespect, and the sexualization of Pocahontas as a Native American woman. Cree scholar and performer Michael Greyeyes has addressed the pitfalls of settler-colonial efforts at celebrating or representing Indigeneity, arguing their inevitable colonial nature despite (presumably) good intentions. In the example he provides, involving a university assignment about world cultures,[22] Greyeyes observes that such attempts are "completely in line with the larger colonial movement, in which the West 'mines' world cultures for their ideas, symbols, stories, natural resources and even people for the West's economic, political and cultural benefit" (Greyeyes 2017, 39). The Disney-fication of Pocahontas's story in 1995 sugar-coated the brutal mistreatment and genocide that came with American colonization, turned the

pre-teen Pocahontas into a sexualized "babe" (this aging up of the main character referred to by producers as "condensing the story" in order to incorporate a romance with John Smith) (Gabriel and Goldberg 2005, "Audio Commentary"), and disappointed audience members who had looked forward to finally being represented on the Disney screen.

With the exception of *Mulan* (Bancroft and Cook 1998), Disney followed *Pocahontas* with a string of white, Western-European narratives, carefully avoiding if not racial and cultural diversity, then at the least representations of Indigeneity. In 2000 they released *The Emperor's New Groove*, a buddy comedy about a young, spoiled emperor who learns empathy and generosity when he is turned into a llama and forced to work with a peasant to save himself. While scholars such as archeologist Helaine Silverman have identified the setting of the film as Inca Peru both from the film's visuals and from Disney-released information about production, influences, and research trips taken by artists, the film carefully avoids explicit identification with any one, real cultural representation (Silverman 2002, 305). In audio commentary available on the film's DVD release, director Mark Dindal and producer Randy Fullmer mention that they chose to locate the story in a non-existent, fantastical South-American country in order to avoid offending anyone with the comedic anachronisms, inconsistencies, and lack of historical or cultural accuracy present in the film (Dindal 2005, "Audio Commentary"). Silverman frames Dindal and Fullmer's reason for avoiding any sort of geographical or cultural specificity not as a courtesy but as a method of skirting issues of authenticity while still engaging in "cultural plundering," adding that the vagueness was likely a response to criticism about how *Pocahontas* presented a real culture and time period (Silverman 2002, 298).

While subsequent films, such as *Brother Bear* and *Lilo and Stitch* (DeBlois and Sanders 2002), make tentative steps toward representation of real-life Indigenous cultures both past and present, the trajectory created by *The Emperor's New Groove* and continued in films such as *Atlantis: The Lost Empire* (Trousdale and Wise 2001) suggests the metanarrative of Disney's struggle with how to approach Indigenous storylines as follows: attempts, whether well-intentioned or not, often read as appropriation more than representation. Following criticism, Disney attempts to change course, "fixing" their mistakes not by exploring how to improve these and other minority portrayals, but by creating fictional hybridized cultures that cannot definitively be attributed to any one people, so as to avoid backlash that tarnishes their reputation.

Even the 2013 commercial juggernaut *Frozen* (Buck and Lee 2013), taking place in the fictional, all-white land of Arendelle, features an opening sequence that alludes to musical styles of Native America, Pacific Islands, and Eastern Europe. These cultural mash-ups are incorporated by competing studios as well, such as the Scottish-accented Vikings living in Polynesian-styled huts in Dreamworks's *How to Train Your Dragon* (DeBlois and Sanders 2010). It is unclear whether Disney's goal is to increase representation despite a hesitance to commit to any particular culture for fear of offense or public criticism, or simply to expand their playground of stories to tell without having to pay due diligence to accuracy and nuance. Likely both elements are at play.

Turning to the continuing popularity of live-action film and television adaptations of Disney animation, *Pocahontas* remains one of the few Disney Princess films not to be explored in the popular television show *Once Upon a Time* (Horowitz and Kitsis 2011–2018),

an ABC/Disney production that combines and reimagines stories made famous as Disney films. A significant arc in the show's third season dedicated to *Peter Pan* erases any elements of Tiger Lily or Indigenous people. Several seasons later Tiger Lily does make an appearance (played by Indigenous actress Sara Tomko), though she is reimagined as a fairy godmother to the white Rumplestiltskin and thus removed from any real-world cultural context. Once again, it is deemed safer or easier to avoid such representation than to put effort into a positive portrayal and risk "getting it wrong."

It is worth noting that this tendency of erasure is not limited to Disney alone. Warner Brothers' 2015 film *Pan* (Wright 2015) opts to eliminate any representational responsibility by erasing the story's Indigenous characters and casting white actress Rooney Mara in the role of Tiger Lily. Generous readings suggest that this change is intended to replace an Indigenous tribe with one "fantastic enough that no one would ever confuse [it] with an American Indian tribe" (Laskow 2014) in order to avoid cultural misrepresentation, a move not unlike Disney's avoidance of direct reference to real Indigenous peoples in *The Emperor's New Groove* and *Once Upon a Time*.

Expanding Horizons: A Cautious Return to Indigenous Storylines

Continuing to add new layers to their efforts to negotiate diversity, in 2016 Disney introduced another animated Indigenous heroine into its lineup with *Moana*. The film tells the story of a Polynesian teen, Moana, whose father is the Chieftain of her village. Though prepared to take on the responsibility as next in line, Moana longs to explore what lies beyond her small island home. Like Pocahontas, Moana is established as curious and adventurous to the point of being a bit of a troublemaker. She also appears to incorporate remnants of Pocahontas's posture and athleticism, as well as her relationship with nature, while introducing her own unique qualities as well.

Moana's Wall Body Attitude is not as exaggerated as Pocahontas's, and she holds less tension in her torso, engaging in more Shaping and allowing for Passive Weight. When walking, her arms move Successively between wrist and shoulder (as opposed to Simultaneously) and have a broader swing, and her legs also have a slightly longer stride. All of these elements suggest a greater preference for Mobility over Stability, though some of these differences are representative of a broader shift in Disney's representation of their heroines in the twenty-first century, and not isolated to representations of Indigeneity.

Moana frequently Initiates movements with her head and Advances with her head when walking, creating a sense of forward intention. She moves her hips significantly more than Pocahontas (perhaps not a surprising animation choice given the role of hip movements in several Polynesian dance forms): standing with her weight shifted over one leg, as opposed to the Stability conveyed in Pocahontas's evenly-distributed weight; isolating her hips to move them out of the way of passing children; or dancing on the beach with her grandmother.

Though reactions to *Moana* have varied,[23] many popular media reviews and articles reflect a pleasant surprise at Disney's attention to cultural and historical accuracy. Popular response online also suggests the willingness of Pacific Islander audience members to engage positively with the film, sharing their favourite or most relatable moments

alongside facts and perspectives that they feel are important for non-Polynesian audiences to know (Varner 2016). While some have criticized the blurring of cultural lines in the film (Varner 2016), the significant overlap that exists between Hawaiian, Samoan, Tahitian, and other Polynesian mythos has perhaps provided Disney with the perfect opportunity to test the waters, so to speak, of returning to representations of real Indigenous cultures by allowing them to continue their trend of combining elements from multiple cultural sources.

Disney appears to have taken great care to approach *Moana* with respect through everything from research and consultation to casting choices. However, the film still struggles to find its equilibrium between cultural accuracy and storylines that are palatable to contemporary North American audiences. *Moana* reflects the Polynesian tradition of a "close relationship to and deep love for the *ʻāina* [the land]" and its connection to the "continuity between ancestors and future generations" (Justice 2018, 117). However, the film acknowledges the importance of succession by showing Moana's father prepare her to take over as chieftain after him, in spite of the inaccuracy in many Polynesian cultures of a woman taking on the role of chieftain. Given Disney's larger narrative of "girl power" following third-wave feminism in the 1990s and the trajectory of their female characters toward ever more empowering storylines, such a change feels inevitable.

Despite these missteps and complications, is *Moana* Disney's attempt to tell an Indigenous story rather than a story about Indigenous people? Rather than the story of Indigenous deficiency (Justice 2018), which "displaces [Indigenous peoples'] stories…of complexity, hope, and possibility" (2018, 4), perhaps *Moana* endeavours to approach these more "nourishing" stories (Justice 2018, 4). Given the cultural situatedness of its creators in white, settler-colonial ideology, this may be an impossible feat. However, they are perhaps navigating in the right direction.

Conclusion

Daniel Heath Justice prefaces his book *Why Indigenous Literatures Matter* (2018) by stating that it is a book about stories—both those told by Indigenous peoples and those told about them by others—and the impact of those stories. He argues for the significant impact these stories can have on Indigenous peoples, stating that "these diverse stories can strengthen, wound, or utterly erase our humanity and connections" (2018, xvii). Tracing the metanarrative of Disney's history of Indigenous representation suggests that the company has worked its way backwards through this list: in *Peter Pan,* erasing humanity by the caricatured, fantasy-trope representation of the Blackfoot peoples and connections by removing this representation to a nonexistent fantasy island; in *Pocahontas,* wounding by altering the real history of the Powhatan peoples to create a more appealing romance story; and perhaps, strengthening by their efforts in *Moana* and, hopefully, by continuing and improving those efforts in future projects.

Focusing on the animated representation of Indigenous bodies, I have explored this trajectory, engaging Laban Movement Analysis with Indigenous and anthropological scholarship to investigate how these bodies and their movements are embedded in various settler-colonial imaginaries, representing and reinscribing popular perceptions of

Indigeneity over more than six decades of animated storytelling. The Indigenous body has become a palimpsest for Disney on which to write and rewrite their attitudes toward its representation—each new era provides an updated ideology within which to create new characters and storylines, yet these ideologies inevitably are informed by and carry traces of those that came before.

In *Peter Pan,* Disney presents Indigenous characters under a colonial imaginary "predicated on a fiction of Indigenous deficiency" (Justice 2018, 152). Caricatured, offensive portrayals are seen as harmless due to their manifestation as childhood fantasies, yet Justice points out the fantasy genre's enmeshment in "settler colonial logics" (2018, 152). Forty-two years later, they have updated their representation to the "Ecological Indian" (Krech 199, 216), reflecting both the growing social and environmental consciousness of the later twentieth century and the romanticized "noble savage" image that has existed for centuries, as historical narratives of colonisation are used to teach heavy-handed lessons about setting aside our differences and caring for our planet. In following years, Disney approaches representation much more hesitantly, with a handful of vaguely Indigenous stories in which ancient cultures become blank canvasses for comedy as long as there is plausible deniability. This period in Disney's larger narrative speaks just as heavily for Indigenous representation, however: "Stories are bigger than the texts and the bodies that carry them. When absent, they leave gaps that communicate as surely as the presences" (Justice 2018, 184). And finally, in the latter half of the 2010s, Disney takes tentative steps back toward handling culturally-specific material. Despite the care taken with *Moana,* the film did not avoid the mixed reception of previous Indigenous storylines like *Pocahontas,* and plenty of viewers have struggled with the impact of this most recent portrayal.

As Daniel Heath Justice says, "Settler colonialism…[is] woven into all aspects of our experience, and those strangling threads are too often invisible and all the more wounding as a result" (2018, 48). *Pocahontas* and even *Moana* are included among Justice's examples of popular media that have functioned for many consumers, both Indigenous and non-Indigenous, as falsely presenting a sense of "autobiographical authenticity" (2018, 207). Justice argues that Indigenous storylines are "too often grossly simplified in popular culture and mainstream media" (2018, 48), and that these and other popular Indigenous storylines have in fact "skilfully manipulated stereotypes in the broader culture that reinforced what most people knew—or more accurately, *thought* they knew—about Indians" (2018, 207). He continues that the "erasure of consciousness" that leads audiences to take these narratives as accurate representations is "by social design, the corrosive consequence of a settler colonial education system, popular media, and political culture that always figured Indians through absence, ignorance, misrepresentation, degradation, and diminishment" (2018, 207). While Disney may attempt both cultural accuracy and respectful tribute with *Moana,* it is important to remember that their goal is to create, above all, a film that will entertain and earn money. As consumers have pointed out (Varner 2016), Disney has created a fun film that brings awareness of Polynesian culture and mythology to broader audiences, but it is not an "authentic" representation of Pacific Islander history or mythos.

Reviews suggest that a significant portion of viewers and critics found *Pocahontas* to be fairly progressive in 1995, but now we more readily acknowledge its problematic elements. Similarly, *Moana* has proven to be hugely successful, having a similar mix of

primarily positive reviews with a decently-sized handful of negative criticism. How will we view *Moana* after a few decades have passed? And what will be the next layer to be rewritten on Disney's palimpsest of the Indigenous body? After all, "It's only in the looking backward *and* forward—and in the imagining of different possibilities than the ones we've inherited—that a viable future is made possible" (Justice 2018, 140).

Notes

1 The Choreometrics project gathers footage of both dance forms and functional, daily movements from a wide sampling of cultures throughout the world, observing patterns and drawing connections between a given culture's performative movements and their productive ones. For more on the Choreometrics project, Bishop 2002 offers a positive review, while Farnell 2011 provides a critical one. Most critical reactions to the Choreometrics project take care to separate Lomax's application of LMA from the system as a whole (see Daly 1988; Dils and Crosby 2001; Williams 2007).

2 Body Attitude describes an individual's basic underlying shape and the tensions involved to maintain it. It is important to note that "shape" here does not refer to a person's height or weight. A Pin Body Attitude, therefore, is a narrow, vertical shape.

3 Mid-Limb Initiation: Movement is led from the middle of the limb, i.e. elbow or knee

4 Shaping, unlike Body Attitude/Shape, has to do with three-dimensional dynamic expressivity and how the body interacts with and adapts to space. Shaping in the Sagittal (forward/backward) Dimension consists of Advancing (forward) and Retreating (backward).

5 Ball Body Attitude: Rounding of the spine, resulting in three-dimensional volume

6 Distal Initiation: Movement is led from the outer extremities, e.g. head, hands/fingers, feet

7 Passive Weight describes weight that drops or gives in to gravity, rather than actively mobilizing, and can be either Heavy or Limp. Weight in LMA terms has nothing to do with an individual's measurements in pounds or kilograms.

8 A Google search for "stages of human evolution" brings up countless results of this image.

9 Wall Body Attitude: Flat and wide (unlike Pin) in the vertical plane

10 A further description of this period of physical anthropology, including Linnaeus's full racial classification system, can be found in Farnell 2011.

11 Sequencing refers to how movement flows through the body parts in question; in Simultaneous Sequencing all body parts move at the same time.

12 Successive Sequencing: Movement flows from one body part to an adjacent body part

13 Sustained Time Effort: Time Effort is about the dynamic quality of time, not how many seconds, minutes, or hours an action takes. A movement is Sustained when it gradually becomes slower, and Quick when it gradually becomes faster.

14 Reach Space has to do with where in one's Kinesphere (that is, the space around the body that can be accessed without shifting one's weight) a gesture takes place, with Far Reach being the furthest away, Near Reach the closest, and Mid Reach in between.

15 Arcing Directional Shape: A two-dimensional rounded pathway in space.

16 Mobility/Stability: All movement contains both mobility and stability. Stability is dynamic and does not necessarily suggest a lack of movement, just as mobility does not necessarily indicate extreme activity.

17 Shape Flow: Movement that is oriented around the body in relation to itself, rather than having environmental purpose

18 Of all the Indigenous characters in *Pocahontas*, Kocoum is the closest to an antagonist. He is also the most fitting of Linnaeus's eighteenth-century characterization of American Indigenous peoples as "upright" and "choleric." It is interesting that the animators have

distinguished the most negatively-portrayed (and identified by Pocahontas as undesireable) Indigenous character as the most representative of settler-colonial imaginaries.

19 Flow Effort relates to muscular tension, with the relationship between tensed muscles determining fluidity (Free) or restraint (Bound). Free and Bound Flow are not used to associate values of good or bad to movement, such as "relaxed" or "tense," though as with all LMA observations, the cultural situatedness of the observer or the subjectivity of their own movement preferences may bring such associations.

20 In fact, several pioneers of modern dance in the United States are known to have borrowed heavily from Indigenous dance forms. Some, including Martha Graham, Ted Shawn, and Lester Horton, have spoken of this influence to varying degrees (see Martin 1998, 152-3; Shea Murphy 2007).

21 For a deeper discussion of and response to Krech's polarizing argument see Harkin 2007.

22 Greyeyes addresses this issue through the example of the "Origins Project," an educational initiative within the theatre department of his home institution, York University, in which students research the origins mythology of a selected world culture in order to create a devised piece (see Greyeyes 2017, 38-39).

23 See, for example, Chinen 2016; Constante 2016; Herman 2016; Moore 2016; Robinson, J. 2016; and Robinson, T. 2016.

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Rotten Spring
An Auto-Ethnography of Power Dynamics in a Performance Art Collective

SOPHIE TRAUB
MA STUDENT, THEATRE AND PERFORMANCE STUDIES
YORK UNIVERSITY, TORONTO, CANADA

From an auto-ethnographic perspective, this article describes the power dynamics that played out in a process-focused collaboration between five artists. Working with an attempted non-hierarchical model of collaboration, various strategies for negotiation emerged in the absence of a focused leader, and this article focuses on three instances of acutely potent power dynamics as they emerged within the negotiation processes. Contributing to the discourse surrounding performance ethnography—which at once frames group dynamics as a performance to support fieldwork analysis, as well as examines performance creation as a method of fieldwork (among other methods and frameworks)–this paper presents a non-hierarchical collaborative process as a performance ethnography in which all participants were ethnographers, as the emphasis of the process and the attention of the collaborators was placed on the group dynamics rather than the creation of the final performance. This article frames the aesthetic of the social as emergent through instances of shifting power in the group.

KEY WORDS Performance ethnography, social aesthetics, non-hierarchical collaboration

> In early February, the five of us came together feeling urgent about creating models for intimate and/or rigorous collaboration. *Rotten Spring* is an experiment in horizontal leadership. We attempt to enact a shared political and social paradigm among five artists holding different understandings of what constitutes work in a creative process. We hold that the well being of the group is predicated on the care of each individual, even when this means taking an indirect path toward our goal. Our line of questioning addresses citizenship, utopian ideals, dystopian wisdom, meaningful presence, potent absence, and cycles of fertility and rot. For This Is Not Normal Festival, we offer the evidence of our processes of negotiation. We present our own dynamics as a mirror for the culture in which we participate. – *Rotten Spring* Press Release (Alena et al. 2017)[1]

Rotten Spring—the name connoting the performance, the collaborative group, and the rehearsal process—was a process-oriented performance-creation collective I called together in the winter of 2017 to create a collaborative performance for the "This Is Not Normal" Festival in July 2017 at the Brick Theater in Brooklyn, NY. The

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***Rotten Spring* collaborative performance collective.** PHOTO: JANE FELDMAN

festival was a performance and theatre festival for works that addressed the political climate. I applied to the festival with a proposal to explore ethics in the process of collaboration. Though we (the collaborators) weren't sure what would emerge going into rehearsal, the final performance of *Rotten Spring* eventually looked something like an experimental dance-theatre piece. The emphasis on process within our collaboration subverted a traditional performance-focused orientation on creation and challenged the primacy of performance as the desired object in a process. That said, despite our luxurious six-month creation period, the urgency of deadlines eventually loomed, and the impending performance made demands on our process as channeled by each artist's unique personal stakes in performing. In this article, I examine how power—in terms of leadership, cultural capital, race and gender—was negotiated in relation to *Rotten Spring*'s extensive contract writing process, which aimed to define our terms of engagement for the project. In a sense, the contract was the object that defined our process. I am ultimately invested in the relationship between building contracts and the processes the agreements facilitate more broadly beyond *Rotten Spring*; however, the scope of this article will focus on my revelations through the lens of this collaboration. To give context, I will delineate the process of bringing the group together and the early ethics surrounding invitations and participation. I will describe the contract writing itself, delineating how we came to build the document. Finally, I will examine an instance of conflict that breached elements of our contract while we were exploring an exercise that staged the inherent relationship dynamics amongst us, thus reflecting on what the writing of the contract facilitated and limited.

As a participant and collaborator, I am implicated and included in the power dynamics that emerged in *Rotten Spring*, a reality marked by the tensions, love, obsessions, heartbreak, and gratitude I continue to hold for the project. This project is in me, alive in me still; writing about it is writing about myself. I hope that by speaking from a personal voice I can highlight my implication in the group and my perspective, rather than pose as an objective authority (which I am not). Further, by sharing my perspective on the happenings of *Rotten Spring*, I hope to invite the reader into dialogue with the broader social contexts and implications that the process reflects. Anthropologist Ruth Behar defends vulnerable ethnographic writing by stating that, "a personal voice, if creatively used, can

lead the reader not into miniature bubbles of navel-gazing, but into the enormous sea of serious social issues" (1996, 14). I am deeply interested in how "serious social issues" show up in the personal and intimate moments of life and I believe that unpacking personal experience can contribute meaningfully to the project of understanding mechanisms of oppression and socialization. The process of *Rotten Spring* continues to be a part of my lens on the world, and I hope to share the questions and curiosities it has left me with.

Performance ethnographic theory will frame my analysis, as a way of inviting my performance skills to inform my approach to framing power within the group. As exemplified in the above epigraph from the *Rotten Spring* press release, at the culmination of our work together we saw the performance as an expression of the dynamics amongst us and a reflection of the larger cultural contexts in which we all participate. In other words, participating in *Rotten Spring* constituted ethnographic fieldwork, with our culminating performance replacing a formal ethnographic report.

Performance ethnography brings together the growing field of performance theory—which Dwight Conquergood (2013) praises as a "rallying point for scholars who want to privilege action, agency, and transformation" (47)—with ethnographic analysis. Conquergood argues that performance theory is extremely important for the field of anthropology as it moves away from logo-centrism and thus the elite and imperial methods of knowledge production within anthropology's legacy (2013, 48). He suggests that: "Performance-sensitive ways of knowing hold forth the promise of contributing to an epistemological pluralism that will unsettle valorized paradigms and thereby extend understanding of multiple dimensions and a wider range of meaningful action" (Conquergood 2013, 48). Simply put, we communicate through action, emotion, silence, tension in the body, relationships, behavior—and what is spoken or written is not the only way we produce knowledge. It is from this standpoint that I will examine the *Rotten Spring* rehearsal process.

Performance ethnographer Johannes Fabian argues that the creation process of any work of performance holds a dynamic negotiation of power among the people involved. "Fascination with the communicative, esthetically creative, inspiring, and entertaining qualities of cultural performances all too easily make us overlook that the people who perform relate to each other and their society at large in terms of power" (Fabian 1990, 17). Fabian's work in performance ethnography frames fieldwork itself as performance, bringing into relief the ways in which all participants including the ethnographer are equal contributors to the cultural and power dynamics that emerge (1990, 12). He argues that the specific presence of the ethnographer affects the events during their fieldwork, and the ethnographer's perspective is always only one lens as shaped by their positionality. Subsequently, Fabian (1990) suggests that the ethnographer becomes "a provider of occasions, a catalyst in the weakest sense, and a producer (in analogy to a theatrical producer) in the strongest" (7). For Fabian, the dynamics within the performance of fieldwork are a metonym for the larger cultural contexts from which they emerge. In other words, the power dynamics that played out in *Rotten Spring* at once reflected and were shaped by larger social frameworks; the performance was a metonym for the process, and the process was a metonym for the larger cultural dynamics in which we were participating.

To further contextualize the choice to see the collaboration as fieldwork, the work of performance ethnographer and anthropologist Magda Kazubowski-Houston is useful. She

advocates for performance creation as an ethnographic methodology, claiming that, "it has enormous potential as a means of studying the complex relations of power that unwittingly bind ethnographers to their research participants in the field" (Kazubowski-Houston 2010, 192). I extend "ethnographers" and "their research participants" to collaborators in a devised process, and find myself aligned with Kazubowski-Houston, eager to include the complicated relations of power in an analysis of what took place within the group, and a consideration of how these events reflect broader social structures.

Additionally, I will draw on Avery Gordon's (2011) work to explore how violent histories of oppression are present absences in modern contexts of cultural production. I will also reference Shannon Jackson (2011) to understand the social implications of collaborative groups, and Diana Taylor (2013) to frame the politics of body-based versus text-based knowledge production. Finally, I will draw on Maria Lind (2009), who writes about artistic agency in collaborations and how this agency enables or hinders the success of collaborative groups to respond and resist the wider social situations from which they emerge.

Rotten Spring was not intended initially as performance ethnography; it is only in retrospect that I find performance ethnography a useful lens that gives language for how the process and group dynamics reflect the broader culture. *Rotten Spring* was a kind of collective performance ethnography; all of the collaborators were performing fieldwork within the group, doing personal research about the group from their unique perspective. I am defining research in this case as the act of scrutinizing the creative process in order to make as informed decisions as possible about how to move forward collaboratively with personal integrity. We were each researching what it was to be in personal integrity (acting according to our values) while collaborating within the group. This meant that the creation process was guided by an inherent reflexivity in order to assess what to do next and to glean what was happening in any given moment. In the beginning, we knew very little about what we would make—only the performance venue, the timeline, who the collaborators were, and otherwise very little about theme or content—and so we were making up what we would create through a process of exploration. Just as an ethnographer enters fieldwork with only hypotheses of what they will find, each member of *Rotten Spring* entered the open-ended process with only guesswork of what the process would entail (Fabian 1990, 12). I called together a group of people I felt shared my passion for group process and pedagogy, and so all of us were interested in the group's emergent dynamics as fodder for what we would create and how we would organize ourselves, even as we intersected with this interest differently. We eventually came to think of the final performance as a reflection of our process, less because it reflected critically on the process explicitly, and more because it was the exact evidence of our negotiations—what we performed was what we could agree on. The open-endedness of the project thrust us into the task of grappling with our interpersonal dynamics in order to accomplish composition and decisions.

The Beginning

> *Paul, Kendra, and Jade had arrived at my house and we sat in my kitchen and snacked. Aisha was coming from her house in Washington Heights—in other words*

> *the trek to Brooklyn was the farthest for her. I clocked this, realizing that we would have to change up the location of our meetings so that she would not always be the one traveling the farthest. We gathered in the living room once everyone was present. I shared that I hoped we would all take equal ownership over this project but that I was aware that as the social glue I would facilitate this first rehearsal to get the ball rolling. I asked if they had any questions for me. Paul asked, "Why us? Why did you bring us together?" I responded, "Well I have a crush on all of you." We laughed in delight of this admiration, and the others eyed one another with curiosity.*[2]
> (Author's field notes, January 2017)

From the very start we were thrust into the negotiation of power, particularly in terms of social capital, accessibility, and privileged identities. I had pre-existing intimate relationships with some of the collaborators and not others; some of us had more established or active creative careers which informed our initial approach and comfort level; our geographic proximity informed the ease with which we were able to attend rehearsal; and I intentionally brought together a mixed-race, gender-diverse group; however the ways in which this was handled in some cases was neglectful, or risked tokenization. I'll give some context for how the project came together to elaborate. I will explore the crevices of desire, aversion, apprehension, and attraction that often accompany beginnings, as they did in *Rotten Spring*.

I was interested in working non-hierarchically after a year of studying with a theatre company, SITI Company, in New York City and creating performance compositions non-hierarchically with assigned collaborators, rather than chosen. In December of 2016, I saw the call for submissions for the "This Is Not Normal Festival" at The Brick Theater in Williamsburg, Brooklyn. I had a relationship with the theater already: I had put up two shows in the space the year prior, and I co-taught a children's theater class with one of the co-op theater's organizers. "This is Not Normal Festival" seemed like an appropriate platform for an experimental, process-oriented performance piece, since the festival was interested in curating pieces that investigated radical structural change after the 2016 American election. In the theater world, devising alternative power and leadership structures is an emerging trend. Born from post-modernism and the blurring lines of dance, visual art, and performance art, collaborative processes are sites for enacting alternative power-structures. According to Shannon Jackson:

> Performance's historic place as a cross-disciplinary, time-based, group-art form also means that it requires a degree of systemic coordination, a brand of stage management that must think deliberately but also speculatively about what it means to sustain human contact spatially and temporally. When a political art discourse too often celebrates social disruption at the expense of social coordination, we lose a more complex sense of how art practices contribute to inter-dependent social imaginings. (Jackson 2011, 14)

Jackson argues that the politics of performance creation are not sequestered to overt political messaging; she offers a framework in which social coordination within a group is a political and progressive act, if the coordination is arranged in ways counter to dominant

organizational structures. This lens affirms the political intent of the process-orientation in *Rotten Spring*. Even though *Rotten Spring* was not structurally designed to intervene in a political context, the methods of social coordination within our group were meant to coax social imaginings through enacting a non-hierarchical power structure, counter to the efficient and individualist values of dominant capitalist and neo-liberal methods of production and organization. However, as Maria Lind (2009) writes, "collaborations often constitute a response to a specific, sometimes local situation, and they run a constant risk of becoming incorporated into the system they are reacting against" (53). Though collaborating created the opportunity to enact alternative social realities within a productive framework, white, cis, class, and male privilege inevitably informed how our collaboration played out, even though the desire for a "non-hierarchical" collaboration was originally intended to subvert some of these oppressive power structures.

I was nervous while writing the email proposal to reach out to collaborators, afraid that people wouldn't want to work with me, insecurity creeping in that this wasn't a meaningful enough project for these artists whose work I so admired. Paul is a University of Chicago graduate, and had a deeply thoughtful collaborative performance practice with his then partner, Sam. I had worked with Paul and Sam earlier in 2016 on two performance projects they directed, and I loved working with them, really appreciating how they thought about the interplay of collaborative dynamics and production, as well as the politics of the work they were making. I chose to reach out to Paul and not Sam since by the time I was sending invitations, Sam and Paul were going through a break up, and Paul had a more extensive background as a performer. I spoke with Sam about this and we expressed a desire to collaborate more in the future but agreed that both of them coming onto this project was too much. For identity politics clarity, Paul is a white, cis-man of European descent. Since their breakup, Sam has changed his name and come out as trans-masculine.

Kendra is an extremely powerful performer and experimental dance choreographer without traditional dance training. I met Kendra in person when we ran into each other at an art event after we had already had an email exchange. Mutual friends introduced us and when we met, we clicked immediately: her eccentric style and edgy, goofy intimacy along with a sharp sense of humor enchanted me. When we met for coffee and saw a performance a few weeks later, we found we had a lot of shared fascinations, deeply interested in the intersections of spirituality, philosophy, collaboration, intimacy, and performance. Mutual friends later shared that they wanted to connect us in part because we reminded them of one another. Beyond us both being tall, white, blonde, middle-class, cis-female identifying people of Anglo-European settler-descent, we share a similar aesthetic and sense of humor.

I had met Jade in the spring of 2016 in a class I had taught at the Abrons Art Center in New York that harnessed performance practices, Jungian depth psychology theory, and somatic practices to explore the unconscious. In the class, Jade's reflections about the group dynamics, pedagogical practices, and leadership styles struck me as remarkably insightful. I found her understandings of attention, the enactment of built agreements, and accountability profound. Jade had a background in dance and radical politics and was training to be a Feldenkrais[3] practitioner at the time. She was offering free Feldenkrais sessions to fulfill the requirements of her training, and I took sessions with her, which we would couch in conversation about performance, love, sex, leadership, cults, and groups.

The insights always shepherded profoundly new perspectives for me. Jade is a queer, polyamorous, mixed person of colour (POC) with Black and white heritage, and reports that her Eurocentric features play a big role in her social interactions.

When I reached out, Drea had recently left a performance troop they were a part of for years, a company that performed alternative spirituality through holiday farces. Drea shared that some of the dynamics that had emerged in the company were really troubling for them, and upon leaving they were feeling drained and disenchanted with the power dynamics of the theater and performance world. I had reached out to Drea—who is white, of European settler descent, and identifies as gender-nonconforming—to be a collaborator on *Rotten Spring*, and we spoke of this history on the phone. I shared with them that our process was intended to be non-hierarchical and could take any shape, and that they should also not feel any pressure to come to all the rehearsals if they weren't up for it. I had the sense that absences would be an important presence within the group; that the inclusion of an absent person signaled the invitation for everyone to participate at the pace of their desire and capacity. With the political climate as it is/was, radical care of oneself and one another within community was part of the politic that I wished to enact and hold in the process. Further, care politics within creative ensembles are an extremely important aspect of what can and cannot happen within a group. Jackson (2011) reminds us that: "Whether cast in aesthetic or social terms, freedom and expression are not opposed to obligation and care, but in fact depend upon each other; this is the daily lesson of any theatrical ensemble" (14). Drea ultimately decided not to be a part of the process at all based on burn out from this previous project, however they remained a present absence for the first few weeks. The ethic of care that their absent presence introduced became a defining social principle amongst our group, which is reflected in the press release epigraph.

With our collaborative background, Paul and I were eager to put our heads together about what the project could be before the first meeting. On the phone, he asked about the other people I had invited to be involved. I told him I didn't think he knew any of them and listed everyone's name and what their practice was. He described that he had resistance to working on an open-ended project in a homogenous group of white, cis-gendered people, not wanting to reproduce the white supremacy of the art and performance worlds nor the trend among white artists to neglect to address white supremacy in their work. I had already considered the dynamics of diversity in the group, however his comment prompted me to think of someone I hadn't originally considered. "Yes, I totally hear you." I told Paul. "I might reach out to someone else, actually."

I hadn't originally thought of Aisha because I didn't know her as well as the others. Aisha is Black Trinidadian-American and works largely with arts and cultural organizations invested in equity and POC advocacy. We had met only once at a party in Brooklyn and she had spoken briefly about her writing practice. She described her writing as creative essays, which she sometimes performed live. She also had a sound art practice. After the party, we agreed to follow up over Facebook, and we'd had a bit of back and forth in which she'd sent some of her writing. I was enchanted by her and her work, and eager to have the chance to connect more.

When I reached out, Aisha responded with interest, curiosity, and an air of formality. She congratulated me for getting into the "This Is Not Normal" Festival, sent along some

work samples, and then we had a phone call to talk through the project. She shared that the invitation came at a poignant moment as she had been thinking about new outlets for her writing and performance after collaborating with some mentors and wanting to move away from the dynamics emerging in those relationships. I shared that I was hoping for the group to function non-hierarchically, or at least with fluid leadership, all of us taking ownership over the piece, and all having equal weight in decision making processes. With past experience organizing a Black advocacy group in her university with a non-hierarchical organizing structure, Aisha agreed to participate.

Avery Gordon argues that unaddressed social violences exist as "seething presences" that haunt modern contexts, which I will consider in an examination of how the invitations to participate in *Rotten Spring* were extended and received. Gordon (2011) states: "The (haunting) ghost is not simply a dead or missing person, but a social figure, and investigating it can lead to that dense site where history and subjectivity make social life" (8). Through Gordon's lens, cultural production, particularly within the Western world, is always haunted by the legacy of slavery, white supremacy, misogyny, and colonialism, and nothing produced within North America escapes this paradigm. When these histories remain unaddressed, they exist as social tensions, differences of understanding, and neglect to care for one another. Repeatedly, unpacking my white privilege means noticing the moments where I unconsciously center my own comfort as a white settler and cis-female presenting person without questioning the impact on those around me. Ultimately it was the proposal to intimately collaborate and the respect we had for one another's work that brought the group together; however, my white privilege informed my invitations to a majority of white, cis collaborators. And though I invited a minority of people of colour and gender non-conforming people to participate, I failed to explicitly check in on their comfort levels with the dominant white and cis demographic or ask how I might best support them in the process. Of course, everyone in the group likely clocked the demographics and still made the decision to take part (or not) on their own terms; however, my not second guessing this arrangement and not addressing it directly exemplified racialized and gendered power dynamics, which likely implicated the comfort level of group participants. The "seething" absent presence—as represented by my unchecked white privilege supported by white supremacy—of the violent history of enslavement and systemic oppression haunted the invitations to collaborate. In my case, this haunting eventually brought about enormous revelations about the possibilities for advocacy through building mutually constructed agreements. For *Rotten Spring*, this manifested in the writing of our contract.

The Contract

> *I notice in myself some fear and nervousness mounting without any roadmap—and I feel I share this feeling with others based on what is being said and proposed in rehearsals. And at the same time, your words last night re-ignited the fascination with what's possible when the process and the not knowing are the score for making—as we started out. At the same time, I wish for further skills to trust this unknown.* (Author's email to Jade and other collaborators, May 2017)

To describe the context from which the contract emerged in more detail, I wish to rewind to track how politics were understood amongst us from the beginning of the project. The "This Is Not Normal Festival" applications included a loose call for critical political theater and performance. Like for many cultural organizations after Donald Trump was elected in the 2016 American presidential elections, the necessity to respond and offer platforms for political dialogue felt urgent. The festival call had somewhat vague language about responding to the "abnormal" circumstances we were in as marked by the political situation. In conversations with the *Rotten Spring* collaborators, Paul voiced that he felt it was unproductive to frame what was happening as abnormal. Forces of oppression were hyper-activated by Trump's explicit misogyny and racism, however Trump's campaign made explicit what was already alive. White supremacy and misogyny have been the fuel for production within North America since its founding (hooks 1992, 1-40). The country is rotten. This is in part where the name for the collective and the show later came from. "*Rotten Spring*" was at once a reference to revolution—Arab Spring, Prague Spring—and the rot of utopian dreams, for instance the "American Dream" and the way it keeps an invested public patriotic and aspirational even while living with endangered rights and resources. That said the name was a treasure chest of interpretations within our group throughout the process.

Nonetheless, we had all expressed a desire for the show to be politically contextualized, partly in response to the festival call, and partly because of each individual holding this value in our own art making practices in different ways. How this political agenda would play out in our process and performance was hard to clarify in the early stages because the project's content was still so open ended.

By the second or third rehearsal, Jade, Paul and Aisha voiced a need to have a frank conversation about our politics. I was unclear what this meant or what this would look like—were we hoping to come to a political consensus or simply decide on the political content to inform the project? Further I was nervous to speak about my politics, afraid that I would not be able to articulate them in clear and concise terms in a go-around-the-table kind of way. I deeply value anti-oppression and hold socialist-informed ideals—infrastructural care of the individual by the state—but I did not have the jargon available to say what this meant to me, or how this value might be informed by my positionality. Ultimately, we did all name something of our political leanings during the "politics" conversation but struggled to clarify how this naming might implicate our time together. We weren't sure how to demand clarity of the uncertainty that was our process. How were these politics going to play out amongst us? Jade, seeing the risk of leaving this indeterminate, proposed that we write a contract.

In the classic article "The Tyranny of Structurelessness", Jo Freeman (1972) reflects on the power structures within groups in the women's liberation movement in the 1960s, asserting that the prevailing concept of "structurelessness" as a radical group organizational model was in fact a "smokescreen for the strong or the lucky to establish unquestioned hegemony over others" (152). She calls for establishing explicit governing structures and offers techniques for democratic group organization (Freeman 1972, 163). Freeman's work provides an important framework on the necessity of building agreements to work against hegemonic power structures entering a group process. Explicit agreements on governing structures were what Jade was after.

The contract-writing process went beyond governance or operational aspects and focused on our terms of engagement. Prior to writing the document, we had already agreed on a method of splitting administrative tasks amongst us and aiming to work with non-hierarchical leadership, which to us meant taking turns "captaining" and aiming for consensus decision-making. The contract, as I see it now, aimed to clarify the mechanisms of intimacy amongst us; the necessary intimacy that is required for collaboration and performing with one another. We defined what aspects of our body we were open to having touched in improvisation, we made a hard line that none of us would be pushed into performing our identity onstage without explicit and agreed upon reasoning for it, and we built protocol for conflict, absence and the possibility of deciding to leaving the group. The contract aimed to clarify our work together by naming the bounds of what we were willing to do, make explicit the power dynamics amongst us, and limit certain actions between us.

We ended up taking a number of meetings to draft the document. Jade provided a rubric, drawing on agreements she had built for a business collaboration. After the second or third rehearsal we had devoted to writing the contract, Kendra was restless and expressed the desire to get on our feet and be negotiating our dynamics through doing embodied work together rather than sitting and talking. We were doing a very thorough job, writing collectively through verbal negotiation and, as the process played out, we were all daunted by how long the contract was taking. Jade maintained, however, that creating this contract was extremely important to her—in fact her participation in the project hinged on it. I asked her about it one day on the subway on the way home from a rehearsal at Aisha's. I said something along the lines of, "I completely trust you and that this process is a necessity for you. I also am not completely clear why it is a necessity – could you say more about that?" She thought for a moment. "I am always moving through contexts in the world that don't have my best interests at heart. I have to work to build contexts for myself, so that I can trust my circumstances."

This struck home. This I understood. Jade was a queer, polyamorous person of colour. Every aspect of her identity risked being ostracized, overlooked, misunderstood, oppressed, or penalized by mainstream culture. Creating agreements with the people around her, even if tedious, was an effective way to protect herself in unknown contexts. This was kink politics. This was the way to have polyamorous relationships. When normative structures don't serve the kinds of relationships you want to have, you need to build new ones. When echoes of systemic oppression inevitably show up in a mixed raced, mixed gender group, agreements need to be in place to protect the more vulnerable. The necessity to build common agreements and be patient with this process was a way of collectively protecting and being an ally to those of colour and gender non-conformity in the group. We were creating a rubric for being together that we could all trust—and thus we were building trust with one another.

The culture of our group took shape while composing the contract, at once because we were writing about our terms of engagement as well as working through the textures of our negotiations. The scale of the project of writing the document deepened our commitment to one another and to the process. This commitment was reflected in an ethics written into the contract; a commitment to sticking with challenging aspects of the process, even if that meant taking time to cool off and returning when we were ready, as well as methods for asking for the kinds of support or intervention any of us might need.

Though we all felt our bonds and rapport deepened through writing the contract, there were some arguments against it as a method of entering collaboration. A year after the final performance of *Rotten Spring*, while at an unrelated artist residency with Aisha and reflecting on the project with her, we both were commenting on how useful we found the contract-writing process to be; how it promoted self-protection within the group, allowed for greater freedom within the bounds of the contract once set, and developed wholehearted consent amongst individuals collaborating. She also shared that she had brought the practice of contract building to a musical collaboration she was taking part in after *Rotten Spring*, and her collaborator was extremely resistant to the prospect, particularly the word "contract." Her collaborator saw contracts as a mechanism through which Black musicians in a moneyed, white-dominated music industry had been consistently exploited. As an artist very interested in how group process supports or hinders creative production, I so valued the contract writing as a tool to collectively construct terms that we could all agree on, protecting the most vulnerable parts of ourselves within the unknowable process. However, violent legacies of exploitation trouble the binding practice of contract building.

Further, some members were frustrated with how much time was allocated to sitting and talking rather than moving and developing content for our performance. This was true particularly for Kendra, whose extensive collaborative and performing background has trained her with incredible skills for negotiating through doing and performing rather than writing. There are ample arguments in performance theory to support embodied negotiation rather than written or spoken negotiation. Performance theorist Diana Taylor's work is critical for unpacking the different politics of writing and documenting as compared to embodiment and enactment. Taylor states:

> By taking performance seriously as a system of learning, storing, and transmitting knowledge, performance studies allows us to expand what we understand by "knowledge." This move, for starters, might prepare us to challenge the preponderance of writing in Western epistemologies. As I suggest in this study, writing has paradoxically come to stand in for and against embodiment. When the friars arrived in the New World in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries… they claimed that the indigenous peoples' past—and the "lives they lived"—had disappeared because they had no writing. (Taylor 2013, 16)

Taylor delineates the "repertoire" as a set of behaved and enacted systems of memory and knowledge passed on through relational and cultural contact as compared to the archive as a system of historicizing and objectifying cultures, scripted into Western knowledge systems as already extinct (2013, 22). Towards the point of contracts being used along racial lines to exploit Black people in North America, Conquergood's embodiment argument touches on the ways in which oppression is constructed through written legal binding agreements, and the radical act of undermining text-centeredness through embodied acts of resistance. He claims that: "(T)he slaves' performances described by [Frederick] Douglass were not authorized by any originary text […] they were collective upsurgings of pain and protest. […] These performances contested and subverted the soul-numbing oppression that was authorized by an entire apparatus of legal-juridical and commercial texts" (Conquergood 2013, 52). I delineate this snippet of text-versus-body discourse to

complicate the phenomenon of the contract in our process, the legacy of exploitation within legal binding processes, and illuminate the value of un-worded negotiation.

In the context of *Rotten Spring*, however, the contract writing process became a tool for intercepting oppression. None of us are illiterate within our group so collectively writing did not exclude anyone from the agreement-building process. Though seated and sedentary, the dynamic embodied experience of our collective during the contract writing process is aligned with anti-textuality. We were delineating what our bodies could do with one another, and so imagining and projecting our bodies into possible futures and aiming to take care of one another in those possible futures. Further, our writing process did not replace embodied negotiations—we engaged in performative negotiations before and after writing the contract.

The tension in negotiation styles, however, created subtle social divides within the group, along the lines of which conflict later emerged. Through a close analysis of power dynamics, I explore how the intensity of a particular conflict during the rehearsal process was in relation to the terms of our contract. It is possible that we broke aspects of the contract and conversely that we did not create terms within our contract to cover the territory we were in when the conflict emerged. Further, the trust we built through the careful planning for possible painful futures led us into deeper and riskier territory in our rehearsals.

The Conflict

> *"Do we trust each other with the task of performing and the material we wish to put forward?" "I have trust in the material, not the others." "I trust them enough to fuck me up (because they will be accountable)." "I don't trust the material; I trust collaborators as people in the rotten spring community." "I trust myself enough to make "poor" decisions and recover from the consequences."*
> *New Lebanon Rehearsal Notes* (Alena et al. 2017)

We attended an artist's residency as a collective in June, shortly before our performances in July. We had been afforded the weeklong stay through friends of Kendra's who organized the residency program, which took place in New Lebanon, New York. We had studio space for the week, and we invested our hopes in finalizing the project at the residency. We divided up our studio time by giving each member a chance to captain a rehearsal. This meant that each of us had a number of hours in the day to direct the activities of the group, in the interests of producing material and supporting one another's creative vision. During his captaining time, Paul was interested in building exercises to tease out the inherent dynamics between us. I was really interested in this impulse of Paul's as were others in the group; since so much of our energy during the process had been devoted to examining our dynamics in the contract writing and collective decision-making, it was exciting to imagine we could channel this work into our performance. For Paul, with a background of collaborating with his partner where lines of life and art were blurred, mining our relationships as a part of a creative process was a natural site of interest. In order to explore our dynamics, he designed a series of improvisations between two people at a

time. Aisha was not yet at the residency (she would arrive for the last three days due to her work schedule), so the exercises were between Kendra, Jade and myself. The first session was between Kendra and Jade. Jade and I left the room while Paul prepared Kendra for the exercise. He talked with her about the dynamics alive already between she and Jade, offering his observations as well as asking about her own, and they concluded by allocating a few central motivations that characterized the dynamic. Paul then called Jade in to prepare her similarly. As I sat in the hall while this preparation was happening, I moved from feeling excitement about the line of questioning Paul was engaging, to feeling extremely uncomfortable with the set-up of the improvisation. When Kendra came out, she shared that she thought the exercise was risky, that what he was asking was pretty personal, but she was also willing to give it a try. In a creative process, dealing with very personal material is not foreign, however I couldn't help but see the position of power Paul was in by coaching us one at a time. Though he likely saw this simply as an efficient way to prepare the exercise, I couldn't help but read the situation as the only cis-gendered man in the group drawing on the lived experience of his collaborators, putting himself in a position of power and eliminating opportunities for accountability by talking to us one at a time. I also wanted to give Paul the benefit of the doubt, as I had experienced him as sensitive and conscientious in past projects. The discomfort was real, however, but like Kendra, I was willing to try the exercise at least for this first round. Our anxieties about building something in time for our performance were high, and so we had to measure bringing up concerns against the time it would take.

Our contract covered the process of rehearsal, but we had not laid out specific terms for drawing on the dynamics of our real relationships as creative material. This territory is tricky because the container of the "improvisation" invites one to play and take risks beyond what might be contained in social codes outside of an improvisation, however drawing explicitly on one's personal relationships for an improvisation means that actions within the exercise may affect your real relationship. Further, our contract did not address what we would prioritize as anxieties heightened as the performance date drew nearer: would we continue to emphasize process and easeful negotiations, keeping loose our expectations for any particular quality for the performance, or would we eventually allow ourselves to let our desires about the performance's quality determine the quality of our process? We did not anticipate this juncture during the contract writing, and so we ended up resting somewhere in between, which sometimes meant taking risks inspired by flares of anxiety about performance quality and our limited time.

After Kendra and Jade's private coaching sessions, Paul invited me to take on a critical eye as an audience to assess what was working as I watched the first round. The exercise that took place was a staged conversation between the two of them with some bizarre, hyper-real behavior and trajectories, yet the two performers were also very much themselves. The improvisation was a bit like a scene from a play, and definitely interesting, though my nervousness about the method remained. Jade and I went next, and being coached by Paul helped give insight into the process he had gone through with the other two; however, I still found myself uncomfortable with the position of power he was putting himself in. In the final round between Kendra and myself, Jade sat in on the coaching sessions rather than out of the room, and this helped adjust the power dynamic slightly. Still, I found myself angry that night, and I wasn't alone; Jade and Kendra shared my

concerns. I spoke to Paul, saying something akin to, "I can't help but see this as you, the only male in the group, wielding power over the rest of us. This is vulnerable work and you are avoiding being put into a vulnerable position." Paul received the criticism graciously and was willing to adjust the exercise.

The next day in the studio, Paul did an improvisation with Jade, and Kendra and I coached them. It was fun and playful, and it helped adjust the power dynamic somewhat to have Paul out of the facilitator role, however we were still in risky territory. The irony is that good theater often centers around conflict so, in a certain respect, we were likely assessing the interpersonal dynamics to coax conflict, consciously or unconsciously, to build a scene. We had not all consented to this risk because we had not taken time to really imagine what it might mean to do this work.

The conflict emerged in the second round of the exercise on the following day. Aisha had arrived at the residency, and we had all returned to the house we were staying in for lunch. We were behind schedule, so I was to make lunch while Aisha got settled and Kendra and Jade did a second round of their exercise, with Paul coaching. I am not sure why we let the original structure of the exercise with Paul as the solo coach re-emerge. I think in part because we were crunched for time, we had aired out our concerns and so perhaps thought they might be abated. Further Paul had expressed this work was really important to him—that the inherent reflexivity was some of the more interesting content of the project for him. We were all captaining portions of the rehearsals and were attached to what we were creating—it was unfair to eliminate what Paul was most interested in working on while continuing with our own captaining. Wanting to honor this and sharing in his creative interest, we went ahead with the exercise in a bit of a rush. Based on observations from the previous round, Paul and Kendra decided her motivation was to seek connection and intimacy; Paul and Jade decided her motivation was to maintain boundaries that were true to her values and protect boundaries by deflecting what was coming at her. I paused lunch prep to watch the exercise. During their conversation, Kendra was opening herself in a vulnerable way in hopes of connecting with Jade—asking questions, relating personally to things Jade shared, and seeking physical contact. Jade was protective of herself (also vulnerable), not trusting that Kendra understood her value systems. Tensions began to build. Kendra was shut down a number of times. Jade's boundaries were tested repeatedly. At some point, it was obvious we needed to stop. Both people were hurt and hurting one another–not intentionally, but through the construct of the exercise that was so keyed into the inherent tensions between them. Once the exercise stopped, it took us all a minute to see that boundaries had been crossed. At first, Paul was enthusiastic about the content that had come up, and though I agreed the scene was certainly compelling, I felt the implications on the performers were problematic and harmful. As a film actor, I have performed in improvised films that draw on my personal character for the narrative of the film, and I have experienced when this phenomenon feels invasive: when a director asks me to dig into personal histories and trauma in order to support the story; or perhaps when something shared in a private, intimate conversation gets exploited to explicate an acting note that the director delivers while shooting on set. When a director exploits some part of a performer for the sake of their creative vision, they lose buy in from the performer—they lose consent. It was through the lens of background experience that I was watching the exercise, and thus red flags likely went up for me sooner than others.

I believe Paul was trying to tease out the tensions amongst us in order to serve the project of revealing how systemic issues were playing out between us, even in our intimate collaboration. However, because Jade and Kendra had not been sufficiently briefed on this vision—none of us had, as we had not articulated it for ourselves during our rehearsal experimentations—the performer's investment was lost and they felt exploited. The container of the contract did not hold terms or frameworks such that Jade and Kendra could properly consent to what was happening. We had not built terms for explicitly performing the ways in which hetero-normativity and white supremacy inform our relationships. We hadn't collectively thought through these possible painful futures and accounted for them in protocol. We didn't quite know what was happening and so we didn't know how to account for it in the contract or an amendment. We had exited the bounds of our agreements.

To return to Gordon's (2011) ghosts and the insistence that cultural production within the Western context cannot escape legacies of oppression—of slavery, white supremacy, sexism, misogyny, ableism, and colonialism—I see this conflict as haunted (8). It is because of these histories that the tensions that emerged felt so painful. It is in part because of Paul's masculine gender and the legacies of misogyny that made the exploitative nature of this conflict sting all the more. It is in part because Jade and Kendra hold different race, class, gender, and sexual identities—as well as understandings for how they like to connect with others safely—that made it hard for them to hold shared terms of intimacy in order to connect during the exercise.

To continue creating the final performance, we needed to process what had happened. Our contract included a commitment to address any conflict that emerged within rehearsal, and though we took an explicit reconciliatory approach in other instances of conflict, this particular one was so deep and the anxiety levels about the final performance were so high that we ultimately decided not to go through a mediation or conflict resolution process. This was out of respect for the voiced needs and boundaries of those most affected. We talked extensively, however, about the ethics of finishing off the devising process together given the unresolved conflict and the decision-making stand still we found ourselves in (each of us was advocating for our aesthetic tastes as shaped by our public-facing identities as performer-creators, whilst also remaining accountable to our agreements to care for one another and the group; two drives that were repeatedly at odds). We ultimately decided that in order to continue our work together, the content from the performed scene between Jade and Kendra was omitted from the material we were working with (though other scenes borne from Paul's exercise were successfully included verbatim in the final performance), coming to a kind of truce in order to finish out the process.

In preparing to publish this article and seeking consent from my collaborators, however, they pushed me to say something more than just that we arrived at a truce. We talked in a softly lit attic room in New Lebanon, with an ant carving infinity signs in the white carpet marking the passing hours. Something happened in the attic room with the tireless ant ambassador that transformed us. Was it that in spite of adversity, we committed to one another? That even though we didn't address the conflict directly, we remained in the process and decided on terms for continuing? Perhaps it was that because of the non-hierarchical decision-making structure, none of us could realize our individual visions, and we had to coordinate collectively, which required a kind of intimacy with others that is rare. There is an intimacy to moving with adversity, and attuning to the collective voice,

to the points of intersection amongst us, rather than following any single lead. Perhaps we were actually in the same position as before the conflict, however the ways in which we were "haunted" were more explicit (Gordon 2011, 8). We were attuning more deeply to the spaces between us, to the absent presences in the room, and the painful conflict meant that we could no longer ignore them. The conflict was the symptom of the haunting and the portal for our heightened attunement; as Gordon suggests, "Being haunted draws us affectively, sometimes against our will and always a bit magically, into the structure of feeling of a reality we come to experience, not as cold knowledge, but as a transformative recognition" (Gordon 2011, 8). We were recognizing the power amongst us—at once the power we each held coming into the group, the power of the acute "seething" presence of histories of oppression (Gordon 2011, 8), as well as the power of our commitment to one another—and, being transformed, worked individually to move collectively from that place of recognition. To return to Jackson (2011), our social coordination bore our collective's politic (14).

The End/Performance

By framing *Rotten Spring* through the lens of performance ethnography, I am able to look at the social forces at play within our collective as indicative of larger cultural phenomenon. Kendra's style of negotiating through action, Aisha's troubling the word "contract" while also appreciating the value of the process, Paul's desire to deeply engage our relationships as creative material, Jade's practice of building agreements to create safe containers for risk, and my naiveté around the style of process I wanted to instigate, all reflect diverse points of entry into our process that are shaped by the broader social structures in which we participate. Two years later, I am still unfolding the many encounters that emerged from our group of five focused so intently on an unknown goal. The moments of conflict and unchecked power relations I have described above mark the failure to produce a concise performance piece with ease, however it is this very failure that troubles the public-facing nature of producing a performance at all and emphasizes the dynamic relationships and negotiations that made up the process.

The aesthetic emphasis of the performance of *Rotten Spring* was the social and relational dynamics that served consensus—its aesthetic qualities were a result of the accomplishment of a chain of agreements rather than a specific design. From a critical lens, the performance was meandering, improvisational, and a bit arbitrary, yet the aesthetic choice to emphasize the social fabric that served to build the piece nestles the process as a point of pride and a glorious theatrical failure for me. For Jack Halberstam (2011), "Failure certainly comes accompanied by a host of negative affects, such as disappointment, disillusionment, and despair; it also provides the opportunity to use these negative affects to poke holes in the toxic positivity of contemporary life" (3). Halberstam relates failure to transformation and proposes failure as impetuous for social change through un-successful experience. The successes and failures of *Rotten Spring* at base have strengthened for me an ethic of mutual care, patience for negotiation, and the rich terrain of relationships as worthy creative territory. The unresolved conflict towards the end of our process was a failure of our contract that illuminates how we might have written the contract better.

In writing about fieldwork and protest as performance, anthropologist D. Soyini Madison (2010) writes, "These performances not only reflect who we are but also shape and direct who we can become" (12). This article examines how *Rotten Spring* approached agreement building in part to think through how it might have instantiated differently. The relationship between contract building and what is possible in process has broad social implications and possibilities. Contract building brings to mind ethics reviews, briefings, and terms of engagement with interlocutors in fieldwork as a point of comparison. To harken back to the imperial legacies of anthropology and legal-binding agreements as related to logo-centrism, contracts and agreements at the beginning of fieldwork and other collaborative processes have also been a means of exploiting people and culture for Western consumption (Conquergood 2013, 50). That said, the ongoing attention on how to build agreements with interlocutors such that they can honestly consent to the process of fieldwork is a practice that performance can learn from. Certainly, it seems to be true that the style, tone, and ethics encoded into contracts as well as the written content shape the experiences that take place built on the agreements therein.

More poetically and less succinctly, I think of the contract in *Rotten Spring* as a collaboratively written document produced through verbal negotiation to explore and define the bounds of our engagement with one another, focusing on the most tender aspects of ourselves and most painful possible futures, building protocol for how to move through these situations and protect ourselves. I am interested in how the contract writing of *Rotten Spring* intervened in existing oppressive social structures, and more broadly, how it might have done so better. In our case, the process of writing collaboratively slowed our momentum, encouraged reflection, and deepened the nature of commitment, and through agreeing on protocol, built the possibility for greater risk taking. Even though our contract failed to protect us from the risks we ended up taking, I believe an adjusted contract would have accounted for these possibilities. This relationship between contract building and risk taking continues to excite me in relation to future projects.

Notes

1 This article has been published with the permission and consent of the collaborators of *Rotten Spring*. Though I am the sole author of this article, arguments here in are deeply informed by the incredible privilege of working with the *Rotten Spring* collaborators. I am deeply indebted to our collaborative creation process, and their input during the final edit of this article.

2 The names of collaborators have been changed to protect privacy. The dialogue in this paper is not exact quotations and has no written or archival source.

3 Feldenkrais is a restorative somatic body healing methodology, developed by Israeli engineer and physicist, Moshé Pinchas Feldenkrais.

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Shackles and Strength: Accessing Care in Carceral Institutions

Sufrin, Carolyn. Jailcare: Finding the Safety Net for Women behind Bars. Philadelphia: University of California Press. 2017. 328 pages.

reviewed by Hannah Katz
UNDERGRADUATE STUDENT, ANTHROPOLOGY
EMORY UNIVERSITY, ATLANTA, GEORGIA, UNITED STATES

What kind and quality of healthcare do incarcerated people deserve? Carolyn Sufrin, a practicing obstetrician and anthropologist working in San Francisco, attempts to delve into the legal, moral and historical complexity of that question. Her book, *Jailcare* (2017), gives readers a glimpse into the way health care workers, deputies (jail guards), family members, tax payers and incarcerated women themselves answer this question. Sufrin has the unique ability to tackle the relationship between care and punishment from many angles. Her multi-sited fieldwork in the county hospital and local jail means that she has access to, and interacts with, incarcerated women and their families over 'normal' boundaries. Jails have obvious physical barriers in our society; cells, fences and gates ostensibly separate the 'good' from the 'bad', the 'safe' from the 'unsafe', the 'clean' from the 'unclean.' Sufrin's ability to move across these boundaries and her commitment to complicating how we understand them demonstrates that she is not only a great anthropologist but also a great writer.

This issue's publication theme is based off of "The Implosion Project," Joseph Dumit's concept that in order to understand an object, we must understand its history, its smallest pieces and its connection to other things. He writes that "Implosion Projects are attempts to teach and learn about the embeddedness of objects [...] The emphasis is on details and nonobvious connections" (2014, 350). Unlike some authors who encourage the strong use of 'fact,' Dumit urges his readers not to shy away from suggestion, as long as they "note your form of certainty" (2014, 351). Using the carceral system as the object of what could be understood to be her implosion project, Carolyn Sufrin methodically and poetically readdresses details; the jail as an institution is not necessarily what we think it is. Sufrin shows us how a 'convict' might also be a woman seeking healthcare, a mother and a struggling addict. *Jailcare* leaves readers scrambling for an answer to the broken system that Sufrin portrays, the system in which poor women of colour are funneled in and out of jails and prisons. Sufrin's thought-provoking ethnography demonstrates that the carceral system is much more complex than it appears.

Sufrin begins her process of writing by defining the terms she uses, without hesitating to be critical of the historical and social dimensions that certain words evoke. She coins the term 'jailcare' to refer to the process of administering health care in a carceral institution and the opposing processes of punishment, violence and care that interact within it. Disturbingly, Sufrin points out that jails and prisons are the only places in the United

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States that guarantee free health care to citizens. Furthermore, because the quality of care at the San Francisco jail where Sufrin worked was more accessible than clinics in the community, it was not uncommon for lower income women of colour (pregnant or not) to purposefully find their way back into the jail in order to access health care.

This flow of people living in poverty in and out of jail and the state's role in that flow are main themes of the book. Sufrin refers to the "familiarity that can be engendered in jail, and to a flow of bodies between jail and the community" (2017, 17). In other words, jail can be understood as an extension of the community, a place where lower income women of colour can be found. As opposed to prisons, which house women serving much longer sentences, jails service a much more fluid population. At the jail Sufrin studies, upwards of 60 women were triaged and released daily. However, because in this jail the recidivism rate—the percentage of people who return to jail after release—was so high, the population contained a core group of women who found themselves moving into and out of jail at a constant rate. These core women became Sufrin's patients, subjects of study, and eventually the characters in her raw and powerful examination of how everyday people are tackling America's overlapping systems of poverty, structural violence and lack of available, adequate healthcare.

A thorough read of *Jailcare* raises important questions about success. For women with limited resources outside of jail, does success mean staying on the streets or staying inside the carceral system? Should we measure success by low recidivism rates? Does success mean that less money or more money is being spent on the carceral system? Although Sufrin leaves many questions unanswered and poised for further research, her poignant account shows us the complexities that arise when care is administered in a place designated for punishment.

I've never read an ethnography in which the author presents and critiques their own privileges in their research space as successfully as does Sufrin. Not only does she contextualize the population of lower income, mostly women of colour who frequented the jail, but she also situates her own position at the institution. Because of her hands-on interaction with the "patient-prisoners" as their doctor, listener, and confidant, Sufrin acts as an "observant participant" instead of the traditional, anthropological "participant observer," a method dampened by its colonial and racist history. In her Acknowledgements section of the book, Sufrin writes that her professional background as well as her interactions with other prominent, social-justice-promoting doctors taught her "how to be an unwavering advocate for the most marginalized people in society" (2017, x). Her book is simultaneously a call for better social services and structural changes and an acknowledgement that the decisions these incarcerated women have made make sense in the context of their lives.

In addition to checking her own privileges throughout the book, Sufrin succeeds in humanizing her patients by explaining just how few privileges they were afforded. Throughout the book, she highlights the lack of confidentiality that patient-prisoners face while inside the jail. They need to ask permission for everything, be that to use the bathroom, to get a tampon, to see the doctor or to get medicine. Furthermore, the author details how new patients were triaged in the middle of the jail. She calls this phenomenon "public privacy" and illustrates how it can be frustrating and humiliating for incarcerated women to have their health information displayed so publicly. However, it can also be

problematic or even dangerous when deputies are out of the loop about their custody's health, especially when they are pregnant.

Furthermore, Sufrin notes that it's key for staff to be tuned in to their custodies' needs because the incarcerated women they are in charge of do not always tell the truth. Whereas outside jail, many of the women prioritize their addictions over their health, inside, sobriety allows women a chance to focus on their health. However, that doesn't apply to all of the patient-prisoners. Sufrin shows readers how health professionals like herself who work in the carceral system have become accustomed to dealing with patient-prisoners who refuse treatment, fake or manipulate their symptoms and who use the clinic as a way to 'escape' the prison environment. She writes that "the boundary between diagnosing disease or diagnosing manipulation was unsettled" (2017, 113). In other words, Sufrin points out how health care practitioners in jail are forced to make on-the-spot decisions about deservingness and necessity of treatment. These can be life or death decisions and may also be influenced by the fear of litigation. Lawsuits cost jail and prison systems millions of dollars every year, and doctors, like those in Sufrin's book, take extra precautions especially when dealing with pregnant prisoners in order to avoid such lawsuits. A large majority of her research centers on how pregnant women in jail experience and access healthcare, a process she deems the "hypermedicalization of pregnancy" (2017, 144) In light of this, her anecdotes and analysis about locking up and punishing pregnant women raise important questions about pregnancy and incarceration: Do pregnant prisoners deserve unchecked access to health care? Does punishing a pregnant woman harm their unborn baby? And, should doctors inside the jail play a nurturing or punitive role?

Doctors aren't the only workers at the jail whose position was left undefined. Sufrin illustrates how the deputies' relationships with their patient-prisoners also blur the line between punisher, caretaker, confidant, and friend. In line with Dumit's commitment to uncovering "nonobvious connections" (2014, 350), Sufrin points out that previous literature has taken a very stagnant view on the prisoner-guard relationship. Furthermore, she suggests that the intimacy between deputies and incarcerated persons at the San Francisco jail cannot be exaggerated. As Sufrin details, some of the women and the deputies had come from the same neighborhoods and knew one another growing up. Most deputies were aware of the fact that many of the incarcerated women also had family members in jail or who had been in jail previously. I think of this as family trees in which some of the branches and leaves are cordoned off for a time, before falling, dying, or for the lucky few, blowing away. Many of the deputies can be imagined as branches of other trees that weave together. They have been nurtured by similar resources but have ended up on different sides of the cell. *Jailcare* illustrates how the systemic problem of intergenerational incarceration means that many deputies who had been working at the jail for years had overseen the custody of women and their sisters, mothers, cousins, aunts, and daughters. Sufrin elaborates that deputies felt a range of constantly changing emotions towards the women in their custody—anger, superiority, disappointment, sadness, helplessness, affection, and indifference—some of whom they have watched cycle in and out of the jail for decades.

Despite the complex and changing role that prison staff workers face inside the jail, Sufrin points out that society labels them as inferior to other similar professionals who work outside of the carceral system. Sufrin writes about how deputies and staff face stigma

by being associated with the 'filth', 'poverty,' and 'sin' that outsiders characterize prisoners by. She describes the National Commission on Correctional Healthcare's role as a "force of professionalism trying to normalize the work of health care providers in an area that continues to be marginalized by mainstream professional circles" (2017, 57). This marginalization that she speaks of can be reinterpreted as courtesy stigma that has been attributed to staff at carceral institutions by mere association with the prisoners. Staff are thought of as 'infected' because they work among the incarcerated day in and day out.

Americans stigmatize prison staff, prisoners, those on welfare, and those who struggle with addiction; yet they also expect the carceral system to deal with—medically and financially—America's most impoverished citizens. Although her work provides exceptional insight into day-to-day logistics of the jail, Sufrin's book could benefit from a more detailed account of the financial logistics of administering health care in jail. She fails to address who is paying for what kind of services. If a patient-prisoner happens to have private insurance, does their insurer cover them in jail? More information on how private and/or public contributors fund health care in jail would illustrate broader connections between micro and macro-systems.

Another disappointment was the repetitive rhythm to the book that I found distracting and somewhat disruptive. Sufrin tends to emphasize the same points over and over again, sometimes even reusing or revisiting quotes from previous sections. A read-through of the book feels as if you are backtracking to where you started, an unfortunate reality for many of her characters. Although it's important for anthropologists to emphasize certain ideas, *Jailcare* could have benefitted from a critical reading in which several passages that convey the same idea are either removed or layered with new insights.

Although I appreciated the devoted nature and impressive consistency in Sufrin's non-judgmental attitude towards her patient-prisoners, it was at times, very unnerving. There are moments in the book when Sufrin's lack of frustration towards her patients is cause for frustration itself. When two of her patients, Kima and Evelyn, relapse after serious promises of commitment to change, I became extremely frustrated with the cyclical patterns of incarceration, sobriety, release, relapse, and re-incarceration. I wanted the author to share in my anger and disappointment that these women could not put their children before their addictions; I wanted her to shake some 'sense' into them and to write about their happy endings. Ever the thorough ethnographer, Sufrin withholds her judgement in order to show how 'sense' isn't an exact science, it's contextual. Sufrin doesn't shy away from the struggle her patients experience and nowhere in her book does she criticize the actions of her informants. Instead, she examines the social, biological, and personal histories that led each individual to make the decisions they made.

Sufrin concludes by claiming that it was "hard" to witness two patient-prisoners' struggles through life. However, she reminds readers and researchers that the "anger and concern" that she felt towards the women she treated was "not something to be resolved. It is rather central to the form of care [she has] described throughout this book" (2017, 234). In light of this, Sufrin argues that health care administrators in the carceral system should not only be accustomed to, but should embrace the relationship of frustration and pride that they have with their patients. Doctors and nurses risk administering substandard care

when they become complacent or indifferent to their patient-prisoner's struggles and often abusive histories.

Sufrin has a lot to say about America's carceral system and discusses this with a refreshingly new perspective. *Jailcare* not only looks at how race politics exist within jails and how carceral spaces are racialized, but this work also addresses the gendered history of institutions—the fact is that jails and prisons are physically and logistically set up to accommodate men and not women, especially not pregnant women. Sufrin expertly manages to illustrate how trendy, political buzzwords are realized by people; they are enacted in the present-day realities of women of colour in the carceral system across America. As an Anthropology student, I've looked to Sufrin's writing as an example for how to address my own privileges and reserve personal judgements in my own studies. Her dedication to reflecting on and deconstructing a space previously thought as 'understood' points to *Jailcare* as one of the most relevant ethnographies to read right now.

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