The Undergraduate Scholar

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Hutton Honors College
Indiana University
The Undergraduate Scholar welcomes submissions from current Indiana University students in all areas of study. Papers of any length are accepted, but submissions should have implications broader than an individual assignment or course. The entries are judged by the undergraduate editorial staff based on attention to mechanics, style, content, clarity, and contemporary appeal. The staff reserves the right to edit submissions for clarity but encourages the author’s participation in this process. Also, The Undergraduate Scholar accepts artwork, including prints, photographs, paintings, and works in other media.

To submit a paper for review by The Undergraduate Scholar, students should e-mail their work as an attachment to uscholar@indiana.edu. The paper should be in Microsoft Word format and include a title page with the student’s name, faculty advisor, local address, permanent address, phone number, and e-mail address. If electronic submission is undesirable, entries consisting of one hard copy and one disk copy can be dropped off at or mailed to:

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Dear Reader,

In an age where information searches can be done from a mobile phone, word processors provide easy-to-use copy-paste features (not to mention spell check), and “unfriend” is the New Oxford American Dictionary’s 2009 word of the year, losing sight of the iconic book-toting and quill-wielding scholar is easy. As academia is launched into a world of high technology, we find ourselves needing to redefine a timeless role in a modern context. Who are today’s scholars and where can they be found? Are they holed-up in the Stacks of the Wells Library or sitting in the front of the lecture hall? Are they students of psychology, business, or music? Are they students of Shakespeare or of Newton?

They are members all of a community of scholars at Indiana University, and they deserve to have their work introduced to their fellows.

This issue of the Undergraduate Scholar does just that, showcasing the broad-ranging scholarly enterprises of Indiana University’s undergraduate population. Gabriel Gutierrez explores Alfred Hitchcock’s ingenious use of Bernard Herrmann’s musical scores in his films. In her essay on relational aggression, Gabriela Rodríguez seeks to further the understanding of a little-explored social and behavioral issue. Ricky Owens takes us to Baker Street and beyond in his essay highlighting class-based social biases in Sherlock Holmes literature. Sarah Neely addresses civil life in her insightful look into the past and future of Iraq. Daniel Stofleth dissects memory and hegemonic narrative in his essay on post-Franco Spain. Sarah Wilensky reveals an often overlooked environmental danger in her piece on the negative impacts of toilet paper.

Together the authors represented here present issues that cover the spectrum of topics that undergraduates at Indiana University are exploring.

Happy reading!

Jane Barr
Alex Farris
Co-editors, The Undergraduate Scholar
Sounds of Intellect
How music supports and creates underlying thematic ideas in the films of Alfred Hitchcock

by Gabriel Gutierrez
By now it is no mystery that Alfred Hitchcock was a master of far more than just the ability to create suspense. In Hitchcock’s films, we get to see some of the darkest, most complex, and most remote qualities of the mind; and his films reflect that not just in content but also in form. That the music for some of his movies provides an indispensible sense of mood and continuity and also some of the most beautiful moments in the history of film is no suprise. What is not so often considered, however, is how the music reflects, creates, and reinforces layers of thematic meaning that give Hitchcock’s movies the depth and impact we now associate with him, and particularly with the composer Bernard Herrmann.

Despite our notion of Hitchcock as an auteur, we must not forget the musical personalities he worked with and who contributed the musical aspect of the narrative. With people such as Miklos Rozsa, Dimitri Tiomkin, and Bernard Herrmann working with him, we begin to ask: How much input did Hitchcock actually have in the creation of the music? Without a doubt the complex thematic connections, allusions, and isomorphic metaphors we find within the music are the work of the composers themselves and their sensitivity to the film since Hitchcock has no history whatsoever of being a seriously trained musician. But even while being wise enough to let the composers do their work, the mood, the sense of timing, and most importantly, the placing and usage of diegetic music—music that originates within the narrative—is the work of the director; and with Hitchcock a detail as small as a brief placing of momentary diegetic music can have as far reaching implications as the most complex and involved of Herrmann’s scores. Music in Hitchcock’s movies has far and deep-reaching thematic implications. Something both important and enlightening to remember is that the scores were the work of the composers, while the general mood requirements, timing, and the delicate and brilliant placement of diegetic music is the work of the auteur. Following are a series of short case studies of some of Hitchcock’s most significant films from his peak years in America that best reflect the quality and diversity of approaches that the director and the composer Bernard Herrmann took toward the music.

Rope

Hardly anyone, if anyone at all, has bothered to analyze the subtle and magnificent use of diegetic music in the film Rope. As Irving Pichel says in his article, “A Long Rope,” Rope was heavily criticized as nothing more than a photographed stage play. Criticisms aside the comment is right on the money. The film was shot with as few reels as possible (switching them only because they were not long enough to fit an entire film)
and shot to give the sensation that it was one single continuous reel, therefore creating the sense of a unified unfolding of time and events, almost exactly like a scene in a play. Given the effect that Hitchcock wanted to create, the use of non-diegetic music is surely out of the question as the use of abstract musical commentary would break the line and the sense of immediacy. Additionally, in a story that takes place in a single apartment, there are hardly any “tenuous moments” within the narrative such as montage, scenery change, chase sequences, traveling sequences, and scenery sequences. The only exceptions to this are the ending and beginning title sequences, which are not even projected over the main location. Yet, Hitchcock figured out a way to incorporate music and to make it meaningful and useful in several ways.

Briefly, the film features two implicitly gay lovers, Brandon and Phillip, who decide to murder one of their young collegiate peers under the pretext that they are living out the “super-man” Nietzsche-style philosophies taught to them by one of their mentors from school. Egotistically trying to create a perfect and highly “artistic” crime they hide the body in a trunk; hold a party with the victim’s girlfriend; friends and parents; and serve food on the trunk that contains his body. They also invite one last guest, Rupert, their old school mentor, and in the end, he is the one who suspects and corners them into confessing after a long night of heckling and inquiring about their altered mood and unusual behavior during the party.

In one brilliant scene, Rupert begins to question Phillip while he plays the piano. As Rupert corners him with more and more questioning, Phillip becomes increasingly nervous. The tempo of his playing increases and the character becomes more erratic and frantic. In addition, Rupert turns on a metronome to a tempo different than the music’s as a way to annoy and pressure Phillip. The effect is that the music matches and helps perpetuate the mood of the interrogation as it becomes ever more probing and aggressive. In one brilliant move, Hitchcock turns diegetic music into non-diegetic music through the function it serves in the scene.

But this is only one interesting detail. The true thematic interest in the music comes from knowing that the piano piece performed is Francis Poulenc’s “Mouvements Perpetuels” (“Perpetual Motions”). The title and the form of the piece’s composition reveal its significance. The movie is a single unfolding series of events that continuously goes sour and eventually leads to the horrid realization and discovery of the crime (all tied together like the rope that was used to murder the victim). Likewise, the short piano piece is composed as a continuous stream of sixteenth notes that first establish a playful and innocent top-line melody that slowly unfolds and perpetuates itself into a clashing and eerie bi-tonal section, though still soft and gently continuous. The song finally fin-
ishes on a soft dissonant harmony. The construction and title of the piano piece mirror the
construction and title of the narrative. That one of the murderers would choose to ease
his nerves by playing it is both foreshadowing and ironic. Also significant is the fact that
Francis Poulenc was gay, like the murderers and their mentor. One of the central themes
of the movie is homoeroticism and how it all ties into the psyche and motivations (power,
desire, elitism, aestheticism, and inferiority complexes) of the murderers. So now we see
that Alfred Hitchcock, an *auteur*, has created a rope of events about a couple of homo-
sexual murderers that are also *auteurs* of their own “artistically perfect” crime, all the
while playing a piano piece also written by a homosexual *auteur*, which features a rope
of continuous and unfolding sixteenth notes paralleling the events that will lead to the
exposure of the murders. Another subtle use of the music with the movie is that the first
time that Rupert walks into the room and speaks is also the exact moment when the music
turns dissonant.

The sensitivity and attention to detail that Hitchcock had for music is beautifully
exemplified in his choice and usage of diegetic music for *Rope*. Through its use, Hitch-
cock reinforces the sense of symmetry in the different layers of authorship in the movie,
the homosexual theme (a theme only modestly suggested due to the conservative time
in which the movie premiered), and the idea of continuity and unified perpetuation of
events, just as the title suggests.³

*Vertigo*

One of Hitchcock’s greatest masterpieces, *Vertigo* is a movie that explores the
ideas of obsession, possession, lust, control, and necrophilia through a narrative whose
very structure mimics the madness and spiraling confusion of the thematic material.⁴ The
opening credits of the movie present the audience with an intriguing visual and sonic
feast. The director combines fetishist close-ups of a woman’s face, a series of computer
generated double helix spirals, and the music of Bernard Herrmann as we view the names
of the cast and crew. In order to understand the far reaching implications of the spirals
and, subsequently, of Herrmann’s music, one must first begin with the definition of the
word *vertigo*. Vertigo is given varied definitions by different dictionaries and encyclope-
dias, among them: a dizzying sensation of tilting within stable surroundings or of being in
tilting or spinning surroundings; the sensation of dizziness; an instance of such a sensa-
tion; a confused, disoriented state of mind; and from Latin *vertīgō*, to turn.

Hitchcock uses some of the elements of the definition of vertigo to turn the word
into a metaphor for the mental and emotional confusion the main character of the film,
Scotty, will experience. In particular, Hitchcock uses the root of the word, to turn, as inspiration to create the double helixes that will become the visual metaphor for the film. Aside from inspiring a sense of mystery, awe, and spinning in the viewer, the spirals are also used as a layout for the entire structure of the plot. The plot can briefly be described as the story of an acrophobic—a condition that gives him vertigo—retired police officer who is hired by an old friend, Gavin, to tail his wife, Madeleine, whom Gavin believes is being possessed by the spirit of a dead woman from San Francisco (the setting for the movie). In following her, Scotty becomes bizarrely attracted to Madeline. In one of her “possessed” spells, Madeline climbs up a bell tower and Scotty, unable to follow her due to his acrophobia, watches her fall from the top of the tower to her death. This moment marks the end of the first half of the film. In the second half of the film, Scotty enters a state of psychiatric depression. After being institutionalized for some time, he proceeds to wonder about the places the possessed Madeleine use to visit. One day he runs into a woman, Judy, who looks remarkably like Madeline and falls in love with her because of her likeness to the dead Madeleine. Subsequently, we discover that Judy is an actress hired by Gavin for her likeness to Madeleine. Judy was to feign possession in order to provide an explanation for Madeleine’s apparent suicide. A death that we learn was actually a murder: Gavin had thrown his wife from the bell tower. Scotty figures out the mystery and in his pressing questioning and insanity chases Judy up the very same bell tower where she accidentally trips and falls to her death. When carefully examining the plot, one realizes that the first half and second half of the movie are symmetrical in their locations, repetition of events, and thematic content. In other words, the plot is alluding to the symmetry of the double helixes in the opening credits. The reason why Hitchcock gives such prominence to the spiral shape—which serves as a visual metaphor for vertigo—has to do with the theme of necrophilia. Throughout the film, we see Scotty fall in love (or lust) several times with either a woman possessed by the dead, or a woman who looks like the deceased woman who, in life, was supposedly possessed by a dead woman. As stated by Hitchcock himself in his interviews with Francois Truffaut, “To put it plainly, the man wants to go to bed with a woman who’s dead; he is indulging in a form of necrophilia.”

Immediately, the sickness and twisted nature of the attraction shocks any sensitive viewer. Furthermore, in the second half of the film, Scotty takes complete emotional possession of Judy and forces her to dress up exactly as the dead Madeleine. Once Judy’s transfiguration is complete, he finally fully falls in love with Judy. The ideas of control, obsession, possession and necrophilia are nearly inescapable—especially with the highly
erotic scenes Hitchcock integrates into the movie.

So how does the music expand or reflect on these ideas? During the opening credits we hear Herrmann’s *Vertigo* theme which consists mainly of a motive of oscillating atonal triplets that mimic as closely as music can the shape of a spiral. The spiral contour of the lines provides an isomorphic relationship to the vertigo spiral motifs of the rest of the movie while the atonal character provides the right mood for the obsessive, dramatic nature of Scotty’s downfall.7

The music for the opening sequence of the movie is then re-used (either in its harmonies, motifs or timbres) throughout the movie to accompany scenes of terror, dementia, and obsession. Thus, the music is effectively turned into a sonic signifier for spiraling obsession, vertigo and necrophilia, contributing alongside the plot and the computer generated spirals to imbue *Vertigo* with a sense of symmetry, organicism, and a reinforcement of thematic ideas. In one last effort to strengthen the relationship between the music and the rest of the movie, Bernard Herrmann makes reference in his love theme, “Madeleine,” to another story of transfiguration and love of death: *Tristan und Isolde* by Richard Wagner.8 Near the end of the opera, Isolde transfigures herself into something beyond life in order to be together with her beloved Tristan, who has died. The opera itself is also charged with skewed undertones of obsession and by connecting musically to it, Bernard Herrmann imbues *Vertigo* with part of that musical mood and with some of the opera’s undertones. As David Cooper points out in his book, *Bernard Herrmann’s Vertigo*, for the climax of his love theme Herrmann uses the progression Db–A7–G in D major, which is the transposed equivalent of Wagner’s A#7–F#7–E in B major progression for the first two climaxes of Isolde’s “Liebestod” aria in the final act of the opera. Not only is the progression the same, but the use of chromatically moving lines ascending to a chromatic point is a stylistic practice that inevitably reminds trained listeners of the style coined by Wagner (which was still very popular in the teaching of composition in Europe and especially Germany at the time).

Not leaving all the musical inferences up to Herrmann, however, Hitchcock throws in a few touches of his own. In two scenes in the movie, we hear classical music playing in the background (one time during the internment of Scotty and with the specific function of helping him recover from his mental state). In both occasions, Scotty rejects the music, asking for it to be turned off. The composers played are J. C. Bach and Mozart. Hitchcock uses Scotty’s rejection of this tonal, healthy, and rational diegetic music as a counterpart to Herrmann’s atonal and irrational non-diegetic music which characterizes Scotty’s dementia. Through these scenes, Hitchcock pits the meaning of the diegetic and non-diegetic music against each other and thus reinforces the mental condition of the
Vertigo is a film with countless nuances, and its music does not hesitate from helping to generate those multiple layers of meaning; this on top of serving the typical usages of film music, such as pacing, mood, the filling of tenuous plot moments, and extreme usage of leitmotivic and motivic connections throughout the film.

Rear Window

Voyeurism, with all of its psychological and thematic derivatives is the central thematic idea behind the movie Rear Window. The film not only serves as a traditional Hitchcockian exploration of the psychology around it, but also as a metaphor for the movie-going experience and our role as viewers of those movies. In this sense, the windows serve as screens to different stories in the neighborhood. One unexplored aspect of the film is the role of the auteur, or in other words, of Hitchcock as the director. In an old anecdote, Hitchcock tells how his father would often send him to the police station with a note asking the officer present to lock Hitchcock up for ten minutes as punishment for behaving badly. As Hitchcock tells the story, he would peep out of a small hole in his dark cell and view the world as a narrative beyond his own reality—as a movie. (Perhaps he did not think this way as a child, but the effect must have remained equally strong.) Interestingly, after ten minutes of being locked up, Hitchcock would emerge from his own little theatre into the very narrative he had just seen through his peephole and suddenly find himself in the middle of his own movie. In a way he had even created this by both being a voyeur with a peephole and by getting himself to the police station to begin with. Barton Palmer describes Rear Window as the viewing of experience and the experience of viewing. Not only do we observe events unfolding in front of us, but we also observe the observing of events unfolding in front of us or other people. He does not, however, discuss the possibility of viewing the protagonist not just as an observer, whether passive or active, but also as the creator of murder narrative that unfolds before him.

In a nutshell, Rear Window is the story of a photographer, Jeffries, who has been immobilized in his apartment due to a broken leg. In his boredom, he begins to observe his neighbors through his own window and figure out their stories as well as beginning to construct some of his own. In a turn of events, a wife in a troubled marriage suddenly disappears amidst a series of suspicious events that lead Jeffries to believe the husband has murdered his wife, cut her up, and disposed of the body. Jeffries, along with his girlfriend, detective friend, and nurse follow the man closely until they feel they can prove that a murder has occurred. Finally, the murderer confronts Jeffries in his own apartment and in the ensuing struggle, the police catch the murderer as Jeffries is thrown from his
Many authors discuss the morality or immorality of Jeffries’s voyeurism and whether or not it is justified by the capture of a criminal. They also discuss the relationship between the voyeur and his object of observation and what can happen (psychologically, metaphorically and literally) when the viewer gets too involved or takes a story too seriously. Yet, Jeffries is never discussed as the creator of the narrative as well as the viewer. Regardless of what happens in that neighborhood, the viewing experience of Jeffries as well as his own construction, deduction, and elucidation make those happenings turn into a story. In other words, had he not been peeking into houses and making deductions and assumptions, there would be no murder story—just a murder unknown to anyone but the criminal. So in an interesting perspective, Jeffries is presented as the creator of the murder story as he slowly puts the pieces together throughout the movie, wanting to believe that what he wants to see is actually there (in a way imposing his own narrative on the events) and then subsequently presenting it to others around him.

Hitchcock reflects this interesting view of viewing as creating in a musical way. Throughout the movie, one of the neighbors is a pianist composer who throughout the movie slowly pieces together a tune until it is finally heard completely at the very end of the film. Hitchcock takes great care to depict the process of creation from early chords and ideas all the way through sharing and bouncing of ideas with friends, development, orchestration (in this case a jazz band) and recording onto an LCD disc. The piece is played repeatedly for different people (ranging from close friends to Hitchcock himself in a cameo role) in the composer’s quest to complete it. The composer even sometimes quarrels with piece, throwing his manuscript to the ground in a drunken fit of anger at the inability to complete his own tune. Remarkably, this outburst mirrors Jeffries’s condition. On some level, Jeffries wants and works to discover and view a murder story (otherwise he wouldn’t have believed it initially with such little evidence) just like the pianist wants to hear his tune. In a similar way, the pianist must struggle to figure out what fits next just as Jeffries must figure out what his supposed murderer will do next in order to prove the murder story true. Had the pianist been just an interpreter wanting to play a piece better, he would have only served the metaphor of a viewer wanting to understand a musical narrative. Yet the pianist is a composer wanting to create a narrative to enjoy, just like Jeffries is creating his own narrative to fulfill his boredom, moroseness, suspicion, and sense of justice. The events Jeffries sees serve as keys on a piano. They are themselves useless. It is the conscious choice to impose order on them that gives them any meaning, although technically nothing more is there than was there to begin with. At the end of the movie, the completed song is heard just as the crime is discovered (an odd happy ending
considering that a woman had been murdered), and the gratification comes not from the result being the best possible outcome (the pianist only hopes his tune will be a success) but out of being complete and becoming “real.” Hitchcock’s choice to present himself in his cameo role alongside the pianist composer, I believe, reflects his knowledge of the importance the musical symbolism serves, just as his choice to cameo right before Scotty’s encounter with Gavin (the author of the crime in Vertigo) shows his awareness of the themes of authorship and control in Vertigo. Rear Window, like many of his films, is also a reflection of Hitchcock as a creator, controller, and imposer of meaning onto the inner and outer world that he observes. He is, after all, no different than Jeffries or the pianist composer, piecing together all the elements of moviemaking and society into a shape with the meaning and order he chooses to see.

Psycho

By definition, psychosis is a severe mental condition that usually involves a detachment from reality with hallucinations or delusions and a consequential severe deterioration of social functioning. As in Vertigo, Hitchcock uses the definition of the word not just as a description of a killer (arguably the main character), but also as a model for the structure of the entire film and even as a metaphor for role of the film in mainstream Hollywood at the time. The word, a product of Freudian psychology (and not a popular term then as today) also demonstrates Hitchcock’s awareness of the psychoanalytical implications in his movie. This point is proven simply by the fact that a psychiatrist appears in the movie and describes Norman Bates, the killer, as a “case.” In the chapter regarding Psycho in his book, Hitchcock’s Films Revisited, Robin Wood quotes Sigmund Freud in saying:

“But if you look at the matter from a theoretical point of view and ignore this question of degree you can very well say that we are all ill, i.e. neurotic; for the conditions required for symptom-formation are demonstrable also in normal persons.”

Woods is hinting at is something that holds true for most Hitchcock movies. Hitchcock always wants his audience to reflect on how much we are like the characters of his films in our potential to act and feel. But it is not enough for Hitchcock to accuse us all of mild neurosis and psychosis. He shows us by giving us Norman’s point of view as he spies on a naked woman in the shower, by depriving us of our senses throughout the viewing experience, and by pointing a finger at himself through the awareness of how he constructs his movie in a “psychotic” way. In the end, the music (and the lack thereof)
plays a crucial part in creating these effects for the viewer.

Hitchcock was also known for being a little resentful of other horror films that were terribly shot but were blockbuster hits. In an interview with Francois Truffaut, Hitchcock stated “[Psycho] cost $800,000. It was an experiment in this sense: Could I make a feature film under the same conditions as a television show?” He wanted to see if he could create a hit under stringent conditions. He achieved his goal when the movie earned over $15 million in revenue, and yet he also mocked his audience and the process of catering to them along the way.

The movie begins as a melodrama following a couple, Marion and Sam, who are trying to come out to the world as a legitimate relationship but cannot do so due to their financial shortcomings. In despair, Marion steals money from her boss and flees with it. In an unexpected turn of events, the movie turns into a horror film and our heroine is killed in the shower. Finally in the third part of the film, it becomes a detective story in which the mysteries of a murder must be pieced together and resolved. Even though Hitchcock made the movie to be a hit, he still does not deliver what the audience wants and, in fact, continuously toys with its expectations, even killing the main character in the first half of the film. The movie clearly has elements of film noir (in the deliberate usage of black and white especially), elements of melodrama, and elements of horror films—each one foiling the expectations of the previous in the film. Hitchcock said, “You have to remember that Psycho is a film made with quite a sense of amusement on my part. To me it’s a fun picture. The processes through which we take the audience, you see, it’s rather like taking them through the haunted house at the fairground…”

In a daring move, Hitchcock produces a hit by mocking the very conventions and stereotypes of genre typical of hits at the time. This suggests a certain conscious detachment from mainstream Hollywood or from expectations of the mainstream viewing audience. The effect is a little jolted, jarring, unsettling, and…psychotic. Hitchcock parallels the definition of psychosis and Norman Bates’s condition by directing the movie in a manner rather detached from society. He heightens the psychotic effect with the deliberate use of black and white. While many consider it an allusion to the popular film noir movement of the time, it also seems to reflect bi-polarity (Norman is both himself and his dead mother) and a lack of touch with reality. In contrast to Technicolor, the “less real” appearance of a black and white film creates a sense that something is purposefully missing or being taken away from the viewers. Our view becomes bleaker, darker, and less real, giving us as glimpse into a psychotic state of mind.

Bernard Herrmann’s fantastic music further adds to this effect. The music has been discussed extensively in its usage of mood, undertoning, motivic connections, and
limited usage of orchestral colors to reflect Hitchcock’s choice of black and white. The idea of Bernard Herrmann limiting himself to only the usage of a small string orchestra contributes the most to a sense of psychosis in the film. First of all, it contributes to the idea of our depravation of senses by mimicking the black and white effect of the picture and taking away the full orchestral colors normally found in a classical score. The mood and foreshadowing effect it creates also help us to stay in that place in our minds and to ignore the police and melodramatic aspects of the movie, giving prominence to the idea that there is something wrong underneath it all—something psychotic. Going along with the idea of sensory deprivation is Hitchcock’s choice to not have any diegetic musical sources in the movie at any time. We see a shot of the “Erotica” symphony by Beethoven in Norman Bates’s room next to a record player, yet we never hear it. Likewise there are shots of radios and other such sources that never give us or the characters the pleasure of music. Similarly, the film itself uses very limited dialogue. In the Truffaut interviews, Hitchcock discusses how two of the reels for the movie have no dialogue in them at all.

The overall effect is of a quiet, black and white, musically minimalist, tiny location in the middle of nowhere, unaffected by the rest of society. (The location is in fact a small motel with a looming house behind it.) The explicit suggestion of the “Erotica” symphony without its actual enjoyment shows, like in *Vertigo*, a character’s skewed state of mind. He either cannot enjoy the acceptably healthy tonal music of the classical repertoire, or he rejects or is just oblivious to it. Instead we only get the atonal screeching and grittiness of Bernard Herrmann’s music. There is an additional inference that can be made about the meaning of the music in the famous shower scene. In his Truffaut interviews, Hitchcock comments on Norman’s stuffed birds:

“I was quite intrigued with them: they were like symbols. Obviously Perkins (Norman) is interested in taxidermy since he’d filled his own mother with sawdust. But the owl, for instance, has another connotation. Owls belong to the night world; they are watchers, and this appeals to Perkin’s masochism. He knows the birds and he knows that they’re watching him all the time. He can see his own guilt reflected in their knowing eyes.”

In another anecdote, Herrmann tells how the high screeching, cutting music for the shower scene not only reflected the knife but also the imaginary cries of all those stuffed birds Norman had in his home. Thus, through the allusion to the birds Herrmann charges every chord with the cries of guilt and shame that those birds embody for Norman.
The Birds

How can one talk about the contributions of music to the intellectual discourse of a movie, in a film where there is no music except the single unaccompanied song of singing schoolchildren? The entirety of The Birds is instead scored with a compilation of bird cries and wing flaps programmed onto a Trautonium, an electronic instrument that used a rod instead of keys, and it was made by Oskar Sala and Remi Gassmann and supervised by Bernard Herrmann. In other Hitchcock films, such as Vertigo and Psycho, the absence of music can signal something wrong, something terribly wrong. The Birds is the culmination of absence of music and its meaning in the movies of Hitchcock.

In the abstract of his article “‘Oh, I See…’: ‘The Birds’ and the Culmination of Hitchcock’s Hyper-Romantic Vision,” John P. McCombe states:

“This essay reads Alfred Hitchcock’s thriller The Birds (1963) in the context of literary romanticism. The film reveals a debt to the romantic interest in a natural world that overpowers rational calculation and causality. Additionally, the film critiques educational practices that limit vision by imposing a false order on the sublime chaos of nature.”

Later in his article McCombe quotes David Sterritt in saying:

“The Birds is very much a follow-up to Psycho, with Hitchcock seeking to go further beyond the bounds of rationality than even Norman Bates’s grim adventure allowed. It projects Norman’s disequilibrium into a world at large, showing us not an individual but an entire world possessed by madness, confusion, and a rage—erupting not from within but, incredibly, from without—that is as mysterious as it is murderous… The Birds not only depicts the irrational; it becomes the irrational by refusing to allow natural (or cinematically naturalized) causal relationships to glue together its hazily separated ‘real’ and or in a way rejects (or is just oblivious to) ‘fantastic elements.’

To put it plainly, McCombe read The Birds as an expression of the romantic vision in which nature is beyond our control and understanding, and our attempts to contain and understand it are mocked and made futile by the irrational and incomprehensible attack of the birds on a town and its nature-empathizing children. In addition, Hitchcock mocks the institutions, like schools, that deliberately teach us to contain and control the natural world. “Cover your eyes!” is what the children are told when fleeing the birds. Through irony, Hitchcock tries to tell us that our eyes have been closed for too long. Although the bird attacks can be seen as metaphors for love triangles, crimes against humanity, or subconscious desires, none of these can convincingly be the actual cause of the attacks, and thus all human and logical explanations for them in a cinematographic and narrative sense are also foiled.
The lack of music is the most beautiful touch to all. Ordinarily, the music and sound of a movie reveal what is underneath the events happening before us through the imposition of these elements on the diegesis. More importantly, it gives a logical way of perceiving large and otherwise too abstract ideas (such as omnipresence in a narrative, scenes of nature, things monumentally large beyond our conception, or the behaviors of people that we simply cannot understand). Music can take anything and frame it in a package of sound, emotion, and form, which can impose a meaning that makes sense to us. In *The Birds*, this is denied to us. The unexplainable and irrational events unfolding on screen are not given the simplicity of being interpreted as tragic, sad, exciting, infuriating, inspiring or anything else. They just are what they are, and the only perspective we get is the confused perspective of the victimized characters and the indistinct and undecipherable language of birds with their cries and flapping wings. The movie throws us into a chaos not even explainable by the relationship of a boy and his mother (as in *Psycho*). The absence of music denies us any last point of logical or understandable access. There are no leitmotivs, allusions, emotional narratives, themes or undercurrents here. What we see is what we get and we do not get the luxury of imposing order or meaning, not even an emotional one, on to it. Perhaps *The Birds* most of all allows the audience to appreciate the level of sophistication that Hitchcock was trying to achieve with musical scores in his film.

**Endnotes**


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Civil Society and Democratization in Iraq
by Sarah Neely
In late 2007, New York Times columnist and author Thomas L. Friedman visited Iraq. He came across a startling discovery in the aftermath of the toppled Hussein dictatorship: an empty space “in between” the former government and its people. Friedman was troubled by the lack of civil associations, organizations, clubs, and unions that generally create social connections across a society. In place of the horizontal linkages of civil society, a vacuum of intense ethnic and religious identification developed in the Iraqi state, solidifying divisive characteristics of Iraqi society. With current political reconstruction taking place in Iraq to implement a democratic government “of the people,” identifying who “the people” are and what they desire from the government presents an undeniable conundrum to of how create a representative government within a deeply divided society. How to resolve this gap between a proposed democratic government and the divided people it will represent presents one of the most complex dilemmas facing the Iraqi nation. Friedman’s uneasiness during his visit provides a starting point for considering this complexity. Why does the “empty” civil society space exist in Iraq while divisive ethno-religious identity intensifies? This essay seeks to answer that question, demonstrating that the emptiness has been constructed as a product of Iraq’s repressive political history under Baath rule. In addition, the social divisions of the Baath era are being reinforced by outside attempts to find and create links for the emergence of a “new” civil society. To argue this, I will first set up a framework for civil society by highlighting debates on its definition, its overall importance for democracy, and how this currently applies to Iraq. Second, I will examine the Baath regime’s politicization of ethnic and religious identity to oppress certain portions of society and maintain power. Third, I will consider how state building by international (outside) actors may hinder the formation of Iraq’s civil society and democracy prospects overall.

Essentially, conclusions on the Iraqi case should not be entirely reduced to pessimistic assertions that “primordial” ethno-religious identity will forever hinder the nation’s democratic prospects. Iraqi civil society has been and is being manipulated in various ways, but the evidence of this manipulation reinforces the notion that it is politically constructed and not “natural,” and can therefore be developed to support democratic governance.

Civil Society, Democracy, and the Iraqi Case

Civil society is defined in many ways. Whether it is considered a neutral structural basis for individuals to act on a communal level, or as a cultural construction already present or absent in a society, concepts on its emergence and relevance for the state are
highly contested. Civil society, however, appears to be informed as both a space and as a cultural notion. As Jean Grugel defines it in her introductory book, Democratization, “civil society . . . is the space between the public and private spheres where civic action takes place.” As the link between the government and the individual, civil society constitutes an arena where people form relationships through communal organizations and associations independent of the state. How citizens come to act in this arena, if at all, is rooted in social experience with civic action. This historical experience (or lack thereof) is treated as an aspect of culture, and thus the argument of a cultural attitude of civil society can also be taken into consideration. Francis Fukuyama makes a case for the strong connection between culture and civil society, arguing that civil society has cultural preconditions passed on through tradition.

While civil society is defined as an arena independent of the state, the state has often been involved in shaping the ability of its people to act within such a sphere. Where authoritarian regimes repress their populations’ abilities to form associations independently, individuals retreat from the civil society arena; and where these regimes last for decades, this empty civil society arena becomes “tradition.” As Eric Davis discusses within his research on the “historical memory” of Iraq, as a result of oppression under Baath rule, “[i]t has been more than four decades since the Iraqis have had the freedom to found civil associations independent of the state.” Thus, while the argument has been made that civil society is informed by culture, sustained political construction and manipulation of civil society space are also fundamentally involved in creating this cultural “tradition” for a nation.

The importance of independence of the civil society arena from the state is vital for its purpose as space where all people can associate and organize without fear of state backlash. If an authoritarian regime must oppress certain portions of society in order to retain power, then civil society does not have this independent value. Democracy, on the other hand, can be seen as a political system that allows for civil society to flourish as a supportive political system meant to be representative of the people. In fact, civil society is necessary for democracy as a means of checking the state’s power and for creating the opinions and movements that will influence the state. As Grugel notes, civil society is an important indicator of a state’s obligations to listen to its people, as its strength provides a quality index for democratic governance. The strength of civil society as a key component for the strength of democratic governance has recently been reasserted in consideration of countries such as the United States (as originally argued by de Tocqueville) and other older democracies.

If civil society is important for democracy, how it can be developed in emerg-
ing democracies such as Iraq leaves scholars with a puzzling, circular, “chicken-or-egg” question. Some scholars argue that civil society is a precondition for democratic change, while others see it as a product created parallel with or after democratization. While civil society is seen as an important factor in the democratic process, arguments on its overall role reinforce the theoretical questions on whether democratic change begins with structural factors (democratic institutions) or agency factors (the people). Despite continual analysis of the empirical evidence of both failed and successful attempts at democracy, no clear consensus has emerged.

As argued earlier, the level of and desire for civic action is too easily dismissed as a cultural aspect when, in fact, political manipulation can be central to the “tradition” of civil society. This argument must be expanded in light of the question of whether civil society is a precondition to democracy, and in particular, for the case of Iraq. Conceptual problems arise with the precondition argument if it is to be applied to the case of an emerging democracy where international intervention has removed a former government and seeks to implement a new form. If a prolonged absence of civil society has been embedded as tradition by a former dictator, then civil society must be created from scratch. The problem of how to make this a precondition while simultaneously constructing a democratic government faces conceptual inconsistencies. Returning to Fukuyama’s ideas on tradition, he argues that civil society takes longer to establish than political institutions. The formula of time, political structure, and society is an elusive one.

The case of Iraqi democratization fits well into debate of the broader theoretical issues discussed above. First, Iraq finds itself freshly out from under the Baath regime, where, under dictatorial rule, associations other than those with the state were absolutely prohibited. In fact, some scholars mark the Baath political takeover in the 1960s as the fundamental break with Iraq’s national past and an overall destroyer of its pre-existing civil society. The empty space Freidman found during his visit, therefore, has roots in the repression of civil society under authoritarian Baath rule. Second, newly “liberated” from Baath oppression, the Iraqi people find themselves without an established legitimate government, but also without an organized and mobilized civil society. Thus, the country faces the dilemma that scholars have debated for decades about which factors should precede others. If democracy is to succeed in Iraq, civil society must be strong; but if civil society is to be strong, democracy must be successful. Furthermore, external intervention to create democratic governance and foster civil society provides another element to the formula, where, ironically, the introduction of the government system defined as “by the people” is the scheme of outside political and social engineering.

Iraq finds itself constrained in a situation of theoretical paradoxes that scholars
and state-builders alike find confusing. Clearly, historical factors and international dynamics are at play in Iraq’s current situation. These factors “challenge the viability of establishing true democracy.” How, exactly, history and international politics challenge democracy in Iraq can be examined in how they have affected Iraqi society and its ability to act in the civil society sphere.

**History: The Baath Party and the use of ethnic and religious identity for state control**

The Iraqi state has a tumultuous record in creating its identity and current historical memory. Its inception in the 1920s as an “artificial” state, created by the British after Ottoman rule, territorialized a new nation comprised of various ethnic and religious groups. The main groups incorporated were Sunni, Shia, and Kurdish, with Sunni and Shia constituting the main religious groups. Kurdish and Arab are the dominant ethnic groups. Arguments about the primacy of these ethno-religious identity categorizations in the territory have bolstered the idea that national identity as “Iraqi” has never been a greatly-held sentiment. Yet, other scholars assert that despite the multi-ethnic and multi-religious makeup, historically, an “Iraqi nationalist movement . . . developed . . . and promoted cultural pluralism, political participation, and social justice.”

If a movement of Iraqi national society did exist, this burgeoning civil society and the consequent political parties that crossed ethnic and religious identities had little time to develop before the political takeover by the Arab Socialist Baath Party in 1963. The Baath party planted a political ideology of pan-Arabism. The pan-Arab ideology of Baath rule sought to reconstruct the historical memory of the Iraqi nation. While an overarching, cross-ethnic notion of Iraqi national identity had been previously emerging, pan-Arabism reduced national identity to ethnic affiliations. As Davis argues, “[t]he Pan-Arabist tendency rejected pluralist notions of Iraqi political community, instead emphasizing a xenophobic and chauvinist interpretation of Arabism.”

This narrow interpretation of Iraqi national identity had extremely damaging effects for the space of civil society, as any resistance to the state was met with violence or oppression. Resisting Baath rule resulted in the “horrors of imprisonment, torture, execution, and often the victimization of [dissenters’] families.” Thus, fear of state backlash caused Iraqis to retreat from the civil society sphere. Not only were groups independent of the Baath Party prohibited, but individual Iraqis feared voicing opinions about the government. One Iraqi woman “remembers being terrified of making the slightest utterance against the regime,” a situation where a person had to be afraid of voicing opinions “even in your own garden.”

Violence against opposed ethno-religious groups was a common form of repression and manipulation, used to scare any opposition into silence. In 1969,
the Baath regime “hung a group of Iraqi Jews in Liberation Square in downtown Baghdad in an effort . . . to intimidate the populace.”

The emergence of ethnic identity as national identity was detrimental for Iraqi society in several ways. As Wimmer argues, “[i]n ethnically heterogeneous states . . . several competing claims to nationhood by various ethnic or religious communities may appear, each vying for becoming the state’s people.” As the Baath Party touted Arab ethnic identity as the identity of “the state’s people,” other ethnicities, most visibly Iraqi Kurds, were severely marginalized. In addition, pan-Arab nationalism in Iraq incorporated a religious element, Sunni Islam, “which was regarded as the centerpiece of the nation’s cultural heritage and its foremost contribution to world history.” The added religious component thus shut out the Shia Muslims, as well as the Jewish and Christian populations.

The ethno-religious orientation of a political regime has great effects in its preference of members within a certain ethno-religious group for access to the state and its resources. That this state-sponsored identity is detrimental for any cross-ethnic or cross-religious bonds can certainly be argued. In Iraq, any “horizontal linkages in society were targeted and weakened by the regime.” In addition to fear of violence, civil society associations of professionals, such as journalist and physician groups, had leaders appointed by the Baath regime to control and monitor their activities. The space of civil society as “independent” under the regime was completely eradicated.

If this space of linkage between the individual and the government is completely eliminated, does any structure exist to link individuals in a society? Wimmer and Stansfield both argue that the lack of a civic space promotes linkages with “communal solidarity groups” of ethnicity and religion. For Iraq, where this is reified by state policy, it becomes the primary identification by the people because it is mirrored as the primary identification by the state. For access to the state, patron-client relationships along ethno-religious preferences are created, and “[p]olitical authority therefore becomes quickly divided according to communal solidarities.” Communal solidarity as a political tool was highly exploited by Saddam Hussein and the Baath party, where Sunni Arabs were placed in a position of power as the purported “people” of that state. In a new strategy to maintain power in the 1990s, Hussein played on the cleavages of communal solidarity identification by instituting policies of “neo-tribalism” throughout the nation as a means of state control. Under this scheme, selected tribal “sheiks” were officially instated by the Baath party as leaders of tribes, dividing Iraqi society into rigid and weak groupings.

What is most intriguing in examining the crystallization of ethno-religious identity in Iraq is the state’s efforts to literally rewrite the history of the nation in such ethno-
religiously exclusive terms. Davis notes how in the process of pan-Arabization and widening the power of the Baath party in Iraq, the government created the “Project for Rewriting History” scheme, with the alleged goal of rising above the memory of British rule. Educational curriculum is one example of how the project operated, where textbooks and lesson plans constantly referred to the greatness of Hussein and the Baath regime, making “the Iraqi education system one of indoctrination.”

Davis argues that the Project was intended not to overcome British influence, but instead to erase the progresses of the Iraqi nationalist movement. Perhaps it is a combination of both. As outside domination is an undeniable component of Iraq’s past and creation, the articulation of an identity without the story of subordination celebrates a strong heritage. In promoting this heritage through pan-Arabism, the Baath Party asserted authoritarian power by dominating groups not viewed as part of this history and eradicating their relevance in Iraqi society. Thus, the scheme to rewrite Iraqi history as Arab history implicated both the history of outside domination as well as inside pluralism.

In total, Baath Party political strategies not only suppressed voices of a civil society, but closed this space with power tactics of brutality. Professional associations of journalists and physicians that may have fostered the horizontal linkages were controlled by the state, signifying the lack of independence needed for civil society to hold the state accountable. A typical feature of an authoritarian regime, the Baath party was not accountable to its people, and its control or elimination of the sphere of civil society is one of the main factors contributing to its power. Moreover, as a tool to suppress any cross-ethnoreligious civil society bonds, the regime pieced together a national identity based on ethnicity and religion. The use of ethnicity and religion as “primordial” and undying factors of tension in Iraq was a clearly political construction for the maintenance of power.

While the end of Saddam Hussein’s Baath Party rule lifted the state oppression based on ethno-religious rule, the historical legacies of this rule are extremely fresh and rooted after almost a half-century of policy. This politically constructed “tradition” of ethno-political identification poses an intense obstacle to the formation of democracy. First, the cleavages created between ethnic groups and their varying levels of access to the state have fostered very different ideas within ethnic boundaries about what each group wants from the state. Examining this, Wimmer summarizes Donald Horowitz, noting significantly that “once ethnicity has become a basic principle of political contest and conflict, the boundaries between groups harden and group membership of the individual is hardly subject to debate anymore.” It is difficult to escape the heightened perception of “static” identity that ethnic categorizing creates. The suppression of civil society and fragmentation of identity along ethnoreligious boundaries has left a deeply divided nation with
viewpoints that will be difficult to reconcile peacefully in the wake of violent and divisive memories. Overcoming this position presents an exceptional challenge to democracy in general, but also to outside state-builders who seek to create one national society in light of the social framework of a country’s past.

*International Intervention: Outside reinforcement of current civil society struggles*

International intervention, occupation, and/or domination have played a significant role in the Iraqi state from its inception until now. The current U.S. program to democratize Iraq is the most recent and most notable case. The strength of the civil society voice has significant implications for aiding the attempt to create a democratic government of and for the people. Democratizing Iraq has been met with unforeseen obstacles and setbacks, and the ethnic and religious sectarianism left raw from the end of the Hussein regime can be seen as one of the most glaring and confusing difficulties for a Western liberal democracy to address.

Some scholars foresaw that the ethnic and religious tensions in Iraq would present problems in the context of international intervention. Sami Zubaida, a sociologist of Iraqi origin now at the University of London, warned in his report a few weeks before U.S. forces intervened that with the removal of Saddam “the forces that are likely to emerge are those which are predominately communal, religious, and tribal.”

Fukuyama’s 1995 article on The Primacy of Culture argued that civil society would present one of the foremost challenges to liberal democracy. Stansfield appropriates this argument in the Iraqi case, stressing that “democracy cannot be considered fully consolidated until it is rooted in the political culture of the society, and this long term characteristic is beyond the ability of social engineers to produce.”

How “social engineers” from the outside propose to structure and produce this civil society is intrinsically linked to the nature of the political institutions that are constructed. The composition of the U.S.–designed Iraqi Governing Council (IGC) is based on ethnic and religious identities, which reinforce tensions in Iraqi society, where members default to acting along the lines of communal solidarity groups rather than for “Iraqi national concern.” By identifying leaders and groups by ethnoreligious ties, international intervention solidifies these “intrastate networks,” by “promoting particular and especially sectarian loyalties over national unity.” Therefore, intervention by an outside government exacerbates the internal state conflict that has already divided civil society.

The U.S. government has also aided in setting up interim district advisory councils and interim city advisory councils, most notably in Baghdad. The U.S. presence, however, has created a new fear among Iraqis when participating in civil society and
local neighborhood governments and associations. As one U.S. contractor aiding these councils states, “many [council members] worry about the accusation of ‘collaborating’” with the U.S. officials out of fear they could face violence or even death, which has been the fate of others who have been accused of partnering with the U.S.\textsuperscript{44} The hesitance to work with the U.S. forces is a result of “America’s association with colonial domination and its illegitimacy in the Arab world.”\textsuperscript{45} Many of the council members with whom the U.S. contractor works “view bringing American-style local governance as arrogant.”\textsuperscript{46} In this case, the role of outside intervention in creating civil society has been met with a sense of skepticism, where the U.S. represents a new dominating power over the formation of Iraqi society.

To merely condemn the U.S. intervention case, however, is irresponsible. Instead, critically thinking about how civil society will truly be composed in Iraq is essential to formulating any tentative plans to strengthen this space. As Roy argues, “the problem ... lies in bridging the gap between the real society and the artificial models of political development.”\textsuperscript{47} The dangers of artifices and constructions have been demonstrated. Now, thinking about civil society must address “a real society” and not “an abstract citizen.”\textsuperscript{48} LiPuma and Koelble’s recent reconceptualization of how culture and civil society are treated in relation to democracy assists with considering overall perceptions of civil society. The authors critique Putnam’s evaluation of northern and southern Italy in Making Democracy Work. For LiPuma and Koelble, Putnam describes the Italian regions as presupposed “fixed and bounded social entities . . . where interior spaces are defined by the permanence and immobility of their respective cultures.”\textsuperscript{49} Instead, they argue that in reality there are obvious interdependencies between the two regions.\textsuperscript{50} While it is notable that Putnam has made strides in connecting various aspects of culture, history, and politics, the arguments are created around “static notions” of these aspects, more fluid realities must be explored.\textsuperscript{51}

The persistence of static notions of culture and social identity are evident in the Iraq case, particularly in the formation of the IGC along ethno-religious categories. The formation of ethno-religious identity of the Baath regime constructed a static notion of how identity in Iraq could be lived and articulated. In turn, the U.S. intervention has adopted this construction as the sociocultural model to use in its attempt to democratize the people of the Iraq state. However, this “emphasis on internal division obscures the formation of a modern civil society.”\textsuperscript{52} Thus, international intervention efforts should seek to better understand and unpack the constructions in order to help foster a civil society that will not become a “neo-” version of the cleavages created under the toppled regime.
Conclusion

Civil society is vital to democracy as a central, intermediary link where people can voice opinion and ideas about society and the workings of the state. Why this space might be left “empty” is controlled by a variety of factors, both external and internal. These factors need to be considered in order to present the full picture affecting the prospects of success for creating democracy in Iraq and elsewhere. In total, the debate on civil society’s importance to democracy, and whether it is necessary before, during, or after democratization, needs to be informed with respect on how the “space” of civil society has been constructed. Furthermore, how present circumstances affect the ability, and willingness, for people to be involved in this independent sphere should be considered.

The absence of civil society in Iraq is not an inherently Arab, Kurdish, Shia or Sunni cultural aspect. Neither is it a product of their “primordial” tensions. Instead, sustained political repression warped the prospects of a cross-ethnoreligious civil society and constructed an “historical memory” based on fixing primordial identities. These identities do not have to be a final, “natural,” reality of the Iraqi state. If democracy is to succeed in Iraq, or in other emerging democracies, our notions of how culture informs civil society and how government treats civil society should be reanalyzed in attempts to uncover how political regimes can influence the “tradition” of a society.

Endnotes

3. Grugel, Democratization, 93.
7. Ibid., 115.
9. For analyses of this debate, see Stanski, “Linchpin for Democracy;” Fukuyama, “The

24. Ibid.
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The Manifestations of Memory in Spain

Memory Politics and the Development of a Hegemonic Narrative

by Daniel Stofleth
Memories are the blueprints we use to construct our lives. They are not unlike the planks of wood we use to build our homes. From all the trees in a forest, one selects the strongest and healthiest to cut down, avoiding those which have rotted or are of a weak temper, which in either case might compromise the stability of one’s dwelling. We are given a forest full of memories, but select only a few by which to define ourselves. In this way, we construct our essence and actively choose how to perceive our past, how to live our present, and what we expect of our future.

Memories give us meaning; yet, there are no intrinsically defined meanings inherent within particular memories. The stimuli and narratives we encounter in our environments are stored in our consciousness and serve as building blocks in the construction of memories. Yet, we do not always make conscious decisions as to which stimuli nor to which narratives we are exposed. Memories are constructed from stored stimuli (which come from personal experience, are the result of communication, or are simply imaginary) as well as from the narratives to which we are exposed, and as our lives are in many ways constructed by memories. It follows that the particular stimuli and the narratives we encounter in our environments play a large role in defining who we are.

This essay will focus on the importance of personal and shared memory in contemporary Spain. Immediately after Franco’s death in 1975, a phenomenon of willful amnesia afflicted Spanish society with respect to the civil war and the oppressive years under Franco. This phenomenon is known as the pacto del olvido (pact of forgetting, or pact of silence), which is argued by some as being essential for a peaceful transition to democracy, and became increasingly obsolete as the years passed. Most recently, many Spaniards have begun to call attention to the rotted planks of wood that have been holding together their communal house. They are demanding that the old boards be torn down and replaced with new, stronger wood. Others, however, fear the house might collapse if the old planks are removed.

In Spain today we see an ongoing struggle between multiple and competing memories, each attempting to construct its own vision of the ‘Spanish house’ using carefully selected and many times aggrandized memories. These emprendedores de la memoria (entrepreneurs of memory) actively edit stimuli, affecting the environment in
which Spaniards reside, while also working to change the ways in which these stimuli are perceived. They change and create vehicles of memory in an attempt to propagate their particular narratives. These vehicles of memory are not memories themselves, but rather objectifications of memory or things that give materiality to memories. They can be anything from movies and literature to street signs, monuments, and graves.

This essay also identifies and examines the various ways in which memory is used by social actors in contemporary Spain in order to forward their particular agendas. Competing discourses are addressed and the specific ways in which they express their ideologies, or visions of the past, present and future, are made apparent. A framework is introduced which explains the process of the formation of a hegemonic narrative within a society, aiding in the illustration of the situation of memory in Spain. This exploration of the uses, abuses, and importance of the concept of memory (with particular emphasis on its physical manifestations) in contemporary societies is essential in the acknowledgment and understanding of the power struggles that take place within this most intimate area of consciousness and perception.

**Literature Review**

The first part of this essay establishes a framework with respect to memory which is essential in examining the contemporary discourse on memory in Spain. This includes defining the nature of memory, the different ways in which it manifests, and the methods by which it is used, specifically by social actors. By first analyzing the arguments and thoughts on memory in general, this essay is then able to examine in detail and explain the current conflict in Spain within these parameters.

**Memory**

Memory is not a concept that can easily be explained briefly, nor is it a term that can be used without proper definition. Memory can be defined as “a set of narratives resulting from the social interpretation of reality.” In other words, there are narratives, generated by various social actors, which define reality for the individual as well as for the collective.

Yet, reality is not an inherently fixed concept. This is because memory itself is always changant. Elizabeth Jelin explains this sentiment well with her description of *el trabajo de la memoria* (the labor of memory), a supposed trait of the human condition in which the individual and society are in an active and productive state, constantly involved in a process of transformation with respect to memory and identity. This evolution, however, almost never leads to one exclusive product. Instead, as memory is not a historical
phenomenon but rather a subjective process, it generates multiple outcomes.

Thus, even the domination by one particular set of narratives does not eliminate the possibility of different narratives. Multiple narratives, and thus multiple memories, exist in the same spaces and often compete for popularity and influence. Elzbieta Halas describes the present as an era of “multiple temporalities—several ways of experiencing time—simultaneously interacting, without any order-setting structure, competing for the recognition of their attractiveness.”

Analyzed with the awareness of an ongoing competition amongst narratives, memory itself can be defined in another way:

> It is an invention that wishes to account for a specific conception of the individual or the group… an interpretation of a reality that, essentially, aims to justify the intervention of the main actors involved, and to rationalize the experience of those who create or impose memory itself.

In other words, the use and manipulation of memory is essential in justifying the past with respect to certain present expectations. Memory is used as a tool by social actors in order to forward their particular agendas. This is possible, in part, because of the close association between the concepts of memory and truth. Michel Foucault argues that truth “is linked in a circular relation with systems of power that produce and sustain it, and to effects of power which it induces and which extend it—a ‘regime’ of truth.” Memories forwarded by the narratives of ‘entrepreneurs of memory’ are presented as truths. Thus, as memory can be perceived as truth, it also is a source of power. As agendas confront one another on the ideological battleground (as multiple narratives/memories interact), a conflict over memory ensues: “The space of memory is then a space of political conflict. It is in reality ‘memory against memory.’” The ultimate goal then of each agent is to establish a particular set of narratives—following from a distinct agenda—as the hegemonic or ‘official’ memory.

This competition between different narratives is a component of the overall politics of memory within a society, an art of *el trabajo de la memoria* (the labor of memory). The politics of memory refers to the actions taken by particular agents vying for power within the social realm, who employ memory as a device to consolidate their narrative within a given social context. “Memory is a struggle over power and who gets to decide the future.” Social agents—often times political actors—use memories of the past in order to affect the present. They relate distinct versions of the past, products of calculated scrutiny and editing, in order to build an argument of some nature which favors their particular agenda in the present. Max Penksy describes this relationship between the past and the present as a social construction and proclaims the past as “the site
of political struggle and negotiation.  

In Spain, since the death of Francisco Franco in 1975, there have been movements against the prevailing discourse of history as recorded and taught under his regime. They contest the positive image of the Franco era and the sentiment that the conflicts of the past should be simply swept under the rug. This is the fundamental conflict over memory—between those who want to take another look at and reevaluate the past in light of the present and those who want to let it lie in its grave undisturbed (the sentiment expressed in *el pacto del olvido* [the pact of forgetting]). These movements represent alternative narratives, which are examples of “countermemory,” or memories that contradict the hegemonic narrative. Halas argues that this conflict among narratives occurs in a political context and that countermemory is usually a product of marginalized groups, which compete with the dominant discourse over divergent “visions of the future.”

> “Custom reconciles us to everything.”
--Edmund Burke

**Tradition, the State, and the Hegemonic Narrative**

The desire for power is often the impetus behind the use of memory in a social context. By defining or editing memory, one defines or edits reality itself because reality is subjective to perception. It follows that memory holds the power of change, since to change memory is, to a certain extent, to change reality as well.

Humans live their lives as creatures of habit and tradition. Tradition is defined as “an inherited pattern of thought or action.” In other words, tradition is based upon memories of the past, or to be more accurate, a hodgepodge of memories of the past. As explained previously, memories are subjective; they are objects of manipulation and multiple memories often exist in the same spaces where they compete for general acceptance. Therefore, within the context of a society, tradition can be viewed as the ever-changing—albeit gradually—result of a competition for dominance amongst various memories (narratives), which takes place over an extended period of time. The “victorious”—or hegemonic narrative, however, is not equivalent to tradition. As tradition is the result of an on-going societal process which incorporates multiple memories or narratives, the hegemonic narrative does not become tradition, but instead works to transform tradition over time.

The ultimate goal is to influence the traditions of society in a way that is beneficial for the adherents of a particular narrative. In order to accomplish this, the narratives must have means to both communicate themselves and the power to impose their particu-
lar memories on a society. The state is the foremost bearer of this power. Edmund Burke argues that the power of a state is in fact rooted in tradition. For example, if the traditions of a society are done away with or hastily replaced (perhaps in a military coup) the state would crumble. It follows that the state has a responsibility to protect tradition for the well-being of society. In other words, narratives battle within the state for power and use this power to influence the traditions of a society; but they must be careful not to initiate such extreme changes that outright contradict the generally accepted traditions of the society. Comprehensively, this interaction amongst the actors within the state, civil society as a whole, and society’s collective tradition allows for the production of a hegemonic narrative that is representative of the actions and general attitude of the state itself. The hegemonic narrative, in turn, engages in reciprocal action by gradually altering society’s collective tradition, which affects both civil society and the state.

In this framework, a great deal of emphasis is placed on the state as the change-maker within society, as it is the fashioner of the hegemonic narrative. This, however, is not to say that the aim of all social actors looking to promote a particular narrative is to influence the current administration of the state by direct confrontation. It is true that many social actors (particularly civilians), when engaging in the politics of memory, promote their narratives outside of the realm of the state. For example, they might appeal to civilians with their issues in hopes that they will gain enough of a following to create the
desired change or to genuinely affect the collective tradition of society. Yet, the state provides a more accessible and efficient vehicle for tradition modification. The state can pass laws that solidify a narrative into tradition. Thus, although civil society might modify tradition over an extended period of time without state influence, the state has a stronger and more direct connection with tradition, as well as more powerful tradition. In essence, it is one big circle of influence.

The model above displays this process of interaction and change. Civil society contains multiple narratives which are representative of different memory sets, or different collective memories. Civil society interacts with the state (the government) by, for instance, electing representatives or petitioning for particular actions. At the same time, the state has an undeniable influence on civil society, which often exceeds the reciprocal process. Civil society and its conglomeration of narratives define tradition, but tradition also curbs the actions or norms within civil society. This reciprocal relationship is a common phenomenon in this process. Moving on, tradition affects the state, but is also affected by the state. The state, on account of its various powers, is able to produce a hegemonic narrative, which is simply the narrative which the state communicates to a society. Over time, this hegemonic narrative reforms tradition by influencing the accepted norms of a society. Finally, having augmented tradition itself, the hegemonic narrative’s influence carries over to civil society and its narratives, as well as to the state.

“The two offices of memory are collection and distribution.”

--Samuel Johnson

Vehicles of Memory

The nature of the competition amongst narratives may vary depending on the social context, but there are certain discernable ways in which the conflict is physically manifested. In many cases, conflicting parties pursue political courses of action, attempting to ensure that their narrative is reinforced by the highest law of the land: the national government (the state). Legislation is passed to sustain a particular viewpoint or remove traces of another. One such example is the recent Spanish law, commonly known as the “Law of Historical Memory,” presented by Spanish President José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero. The law’s purpose was to “correct the historical record” by rehabilitating a particular set of memories. It is a safe assumption that the law and the memories it sustains realize the particular historical narrative of Zapatero. This law is described in detail later. In addition to political laws—one form of introducing a specific narrative into the public sphere—there are many other methods of embedding memory in the public conscious-
ness. Halas describes how collective memory, defined as “a group’s memory of its own past,” can be transmitted as “public discourse and various forms of performative actions, most often in the form of commemorative rituals.” In referencing the collective memory of a group, one must also keep in mind that multiple collective memories exist within a given society. One must be aware that the ongoing competition among multiple contenders in this conflict of memory often results in contradictory expressions of memory, sometimes in the same spaces.

One type of apparent, physical manifestation of the conflict of memories is the monument or the memorial. De Brito, González-Enríquez, and Aguilar argue that:

> The politics of memory engenders the politics of commemoration and monument building. Symbolic dates and commemorations become established foci of resistance.... Struggles are waged over the meaning and ‘ownership’ of symbols, commemorations, and monuments.

These memories can manifest as statues, museums, commemorative gardens, or as countless other physical manifestations of memory, more broadly termed vehicles of memory. A vehicle of memory can be any objectified memory, which, for example, can include monuments, movies, literature, art, pictures, and even graves (or the bodies within them). In his essay on the politics of memory and memorialization in South Africa, Marc Ross argues that cultural institutions and other physical displays of memory “both reflect and create images of the past” that are “sometimes at the center of conflicts over how the past should be represented and who controls the narrative and images associated
This reflection is in accordance with de Brito, González-Enríquez, and Aguilard’s thoughts on the contention associated with vehicles of memory.

Vehicles of memory, like memories themselves, are not necessarily devices that are static in significance. As narratives evolve over time, they tend to appropriate, modify, create, and even destroy vehicles of memory to suit their needs: “Statues and memorials inscribe history, which each generation rewrites to suit itself.” This process demonstrates the elasticity of the concept of memory. In November of 1985, Juan Carlos, the King of Spain, modified an already existing monument—previously dedicated to the rebellion in Madrid against the French on May 2, 1808—to act as a memorial, which now gives “honor to all those who gave their lives for Spain.” As Omar Encarnación points out, the meaning of “recycling the May 2 monument was twofold: to tie the memory of a very controversial event within Spanish society (the Civil War) to one that is universally cherished (May 2), and to mark the fiftieth anniversary of the Civil War with a monument that is barely there.” This action was intended to appease multiple groups of people with different particular narratives or agendas.

Case Study

“Memory is a complicated thing, a relative to truth, but not its twin.”

--Barbara Kingsolver

Manifestations of the Discourse in Spain

In order to comprehend how memory is being used in contemporary Spain, one must first be aware of the peculiarities of the Spanish situation. Much literature exists on the pacto del olvido (the pact of forgetting), which is defined by Encarnación as an institutionalization of “collective amnesia about past political excesses, including the mass killing of the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939) and the repression of the Francoist era (1939–1975).” For the purposes of this essay, it is essential to understand that this pact has only recently been “ruptured” and it is only within the last decade that major efforts have surfaced to revive these repressed memories. What follows is an investigation of several particular manifestations of the conflict over memory that have arisen since the “awakening” of these once-ignored memories.

The debate between narratives in Spain is manifested through both physical and legal means and is also present in the sayings or mottos that are commonly heard within the country. Within the physical domain, the various discourses can be subdivided under two headings: official and unofficial, or social. Official means of discourse refers to monu-
ments, memorials, graves/bodies, and other objects directly maintained or affected by the government. Unofficial means of discourse includes protests and rallies, art, photos, literature, movies, the news media, and also graves/bodies. This distinction is important because the two sections convey their narratives by different means, even if they are conveying the same narrative. The second category of the manifestations of discourse is through legal channels. This is also divided into two sections: national law and international law. Lastly, in Spain there exist several prominent mottos that communicate in a few words the general sentiment of a narrative. For example, one heard frequently from Franco nostalgists is “vivíamos mejor bajo Franco,” or “we lived better under Franco.” Most popular was the disposition that todos somos culpables (we are all guilty), referring to the feeling of shared responsibility for the atrocities of the civil war and the Franco era. Within the last decade, however, the notion that the past should be addressed in an effort to make amends to the families of victims has become the most commonly expressed sentiment, in the media as well as in informal discussion.

One of the most publicized aspects of the conflict over memory in Spain is the battle over memorials, monuments, and statues—remnants of the Franco era. The significance of this facet of the conflict cannot be overstated. These physical representations of memory are highly visible and serve as convenient rally points for ‘entrepreneurs of memory’, who imbue these structures with meanings that supplement their own narratives. Petitioning the removal of these relics or supporting their presence has become a common method for gaining political ground. Sidney Tarrow argues that “reform is most likely when challenges from outside the polity provide a political incentive for elites within it to advance their own policies and careers,” and a good portion of the public has raised concern over this issue. This has presented political actors, those among the Left in particular, with the chance to further their particular agendas. They have the support of half of the population of Spain; thus, any move to remove these constructions would be contentious.

The controversial past is still very present in the daily lives of Spaniards. Overall, Madrid contains around 360 streets whose names reference acts or people associated with Franco’s regime. It is also telling that “only in 1995 were coins bearing the effigy of Franco withdrawn from circulation.” The Arco de Triunfo, another symbol of fascist victory in the civil war, still remains a part of the landscape in the capital city of Madrid. El Valle de los Caídos, a monument commissioned by Franco and dedicated to the victims of the civil war, is involved in a grand drama of its own. Part of the controversy lies in the fact that it was built with the use of forced labor by political prisoners under Franco’s regime. Various organizations call for at least some sort of tribute to its builders or
an exhibition explaining the circumstances of its construction. Others hope to convert it into a research center “intended to highlight the horrors of the Spanish Civil War and the Franco regime.” El Valle currently serves as the resting place for Franco, José Antonio Primo de Rivera (the head of the fascist party Falange Española until his death in 1936), and dead soldiers from both sides of the civil war. The addition of this last bunch of corpses, however, was partly accomplished by unearthing the remains of murdered Republicans from mass graves and transporting them in trucks to their destination, where they were mixed with dead Nationalists—not exactly the most respectable of burials. El Valle is perceived principally as a monument to Franco and, consequently, his diehard supporters visit the site each year on the anniversary of his death to pay homage. Recent efforts to restrict this celebration of Franco’s anniversary at El Valle have been met with stiff resistance by those on the far-Right. The phrase, which once was accompanied by a brick through the window of a Leftist politician’s home, goes El Valle no se toca (The Valley is not to be touched), expressing the intimate attachment Franco nostalgists have to the location.

These structures—these vehicles of memory—are meaningful to various narratives because their presence can be perceived in different ways. As previously stated, conflicting and even contradicting memories do often occupy the same spaces. One faction visits the location to pay homage, while another looks for a chance to urinate on the tomb of a fallen dictator, despised by so many. Indeed, perhaps the easiest way to find a list of all the memorials to Franco and his regime is to search for groups who oppose their presence. One article entitled “Monumentos a Franco en España, o dónde sacar a mear al perro” (“Monuments to Fanco in Spain, or where to take the dog to piss”) displays a list of locations of these structures throughout Spain.

The question arises: “Is it best to leave the structures in their spaces, or would it be better to remove them?” Those in favor of the removal of these testimonies to the past argue that they only serve to “perpetuate the discrimination between winners and losers” of the civil war. Some also appeal for the construction of memorials as tributes to the victims of the civil war and the Franco era, as few exist. On the other hand, some argue that it is essential for these objects to occupy their current spaces for the sake of remembrance and in the hope that that the “same mistake” will not be made again in the future. The political Right generally opposes these propositions because it views these issues as nothing more than a “smokescreen” created by Leftist politicians to distract the public from the real issues and implant artificial problems that work to their benefit. Regardless, Spanish regional governments have decided to legislate their removal or extract them in the dead of night. In Madrid in 2005, city officials had a statue of Franco
removed from its place in a prominent location under cover of darkness, “under the pretext of renovating the plaza on which it stood—ending a debate that had raged for years between the central government and the regional one over who had ownership of the statue” and “how to dispose of it.” Most recently, the last statue of Franco was removed from public display in May 2008 in Santander.

**Applying Theory to Practice: How Spain fits into the Model**

The model presented in the Literature Review section of this essay can be utilized to showcase the conflict of memory and the process of developing a hegemonic narrative that is taking place within Spanish society. Civil society contains a number of narratives that have convened at the state level of interaction. These narratives include: one, the perception of Franco’s regime as a totalitarian system of oppression that Republican “freedom fighters” fought to resist—or to revive memory and “restore dignity” to the memories of the Republic and its supporters (the “Left-Wing Narrative”); two, the position that referencing this history in contemporary politics is “political opportunism” and is principally an effort by the political Left to associate PP with Franco in order to demonize a political opponent—essentially contending that things should be let alone and old wounds should not be reopened (the “Right-Wing Narrative”); and three, the sentiment that “things were better under Franco”—expressing a nostalgia with the past regime, or attacking the idea that Franco’s military uprising and regime were indeed negative (the “Far-Right-Wing Narrative”). These narratives butt heads in the realm of the state, where political capital and public support are crucial. The Left, PSOE in particular, has controlled the government since 2004 when Zapatero won the Presidential election, coming into power with the expressed motivation to revive historical memory relating to these issues.

Civil society also interacts with tradition—meaning its narratives appeal to existing collective memories and perceptions of the past (in this case the historical perceptions of the civil war and Franco’s regime)—in ways that demand the attention of the state, influencing the actions of state actors. For instance, the importance placed upon these issues of historical memory by some of civil society is the impetus for action at the state level. This helps to explain the origination of the “Law of Historical Memory.” Although detailing the general tradition of a society would be virtually impossible because of the complexities involved, there are a few visible features that stand out as paramount in the Spanish situation. The pacto del olvido (pact of forgetting) and the events that have transpired in its disintegration are circumstances that are many times plainly observable and certainly have had an effect on the collective consciousness of Spaniards. The about-
face in how the society confronts the issues of the past has brought about new definitions of what is acceptable, as far as expressing personal feelings with respect to the past in the public sphere. The Spanish situation exists also within an international context and foreign perspectives can have an influence on the views and attitudes of Spaniards. Human rights norms for example, communicated through vehicles such as the United Nations and NGOs, are well-established sentiments and are applied in this case from outside sources in an attempt to affect the actions taken by Spaniards and their government. One last crucial circumstance of Spanish tradition with respect to these issues is the case of Pinochet. The order for the arrest of the Chilean ex-dictator was given by a Spanish court in 1996, invoking the right of universal jurisprudence, the first act of its kind. The reason for this arrest was to sentence Pinochet for the human rights abuses he had inflicted upon his own people during his rule. This action was widely supported by the Spanish public, which showed, as Davis argues, “the impulse to do to Pinochet what was not done to Franco,” who had committed the same crimes against Spaniards. This demonstrates the predisposition—although perhaps suppressed and silent in nature—Spaniards had to confronting the demons of the past years before the issues of the civil war, *franquismo*, and historical memory began to intrude into the public consciousness of Spain itself.

By calibrating its efforts with the general sentiments of society, PSOE in particular has been successful in at least riding the wave of general public sentiments, championing the current hegemonic narrative, which perceives the Republican side in the civil war principally as proponents of democracy and establishing the importance of uncovering and addressing memories of the past that have long been buried and ignored. In turn, promoting the incorporation of aspects of narratives into the public and private spheres, such as laws that institutionalize features of this hegemonic narrative—the “Law of Historical Memory,” for example—influences the overall attitudes or traditions within Spanish society. The model below provides a visual aid in incorporating the Spanish situation into the framework developed in the Literature Review.

*The Politics of the Dead*

As narratives are generated from within society before they progress to the level of the state, the conflict between these narratives is prevalent outside politics, in the public realm. The obsession with the dead is characteristic of the Spanish case at both levels. The political Left has addressed the issue of Republican civil war dead on a number of occasions, which the political Right has done its best to ignore or to adjourn the cases as quickly and as painlessly as possible.

The first real attempts to exhume the dead that had not been given proper burials
took place in 1979–1980 when several leftist local governments set to work exhuming Republican graves, a violation of the *pacto del olvido* in that people were beginning to address the issues of the past.⁴⁷ In 1981, however, an attempted military coup took place, shaking the foundations of the young democracy and calling into question the legitimacy of digging up matters that would only divide the country. For almost two decades, these issues remained buried in the depths of the Spanish collective awareness. Finally in 2000, Emilio Silva, a journalist based in Madrid, endeavored to uncover the grave of his grandfather, who had been shot and killed in the civil war and buried with twelve others in a common, unmarked grave.⁴⁸ He later co-founded the *Asociación para la Recuperación de la Memoria Histórica* (Association for the Recovery of Historical Memory), which has since helped relatives of victims locate and uncover the bodies of their loved ones. This phenomenon has been spotlighted by the media and “stories that had rarely been voiced, and then only in whispers, suddenly found, in the exhumations and the exposure of caches of bones, the resonating chamber they had lacked for over 60 years.”⁴⁹

Yet, the exhumations do not exist solely in the public realm, as governments tend to get involved in ways that benefit their agendas. As Ferrándiz states, “various autonomous regional authorities, depending on their political leanings, are moving either to block the exhumations as far as is in their power or to create and promote ‘memory recovery’ commissions and to legislate on the exhumations process.”⁵⁰ For instance, former Spanish President Aznar’s administration (PP) met with disdain the demands of citizens
who wanted government assistance in identifying their relatives’ graves, protesting that
the administration sees “no point in reopening old wounds that afflicted Spanish society,”
which remains the stance of PP on the issue today. In a contradictory action, however,
“Aznar had already paid millions to exhume and repatriate from Russia the corpses of
several Spanish volunteers from the Blue Division, the battalion sent by Franco to
buttress Nazi troops during World War II.” Today, the most vocal actor in calling
for exhumations of the “forgotten” victims is Baltasar Garzón, a judge in Spain's National
Court. In his most recent ruling, he ruled to “allow the opening of 19 of the 2,000 mass
graves located throughout Spain—the final in thousands of Republicans murdered durin
d the dictatorship.” This ruling, however, was overturned and the issue is now being
decided by local courts on a case-by-case basis.

This battle over the bodies of the dead, their graves, and their place in the collective memory of Spaniards extends deep into the fabric of society. This is largely a result of the channels by which Spaniards are exposed to these issues. The news media play an invaluable role in informing the public of the exhumations and other occurrences and also serve as a vehicle by which individuals express their personal sentiments or views. In addition to conventional articles, obituaries published in newspapers have become unconventional weapons for expressing one’s point of view or narrative. It all began with one woman who published a half-page tribute to her father who was killed by the Nationalists in the civil war. Entitled “Terrorismo Franquista” (“Francoist Terrorism”), it
declared the *pacto del olvido* unacceptable and asserted that “Spain continues to be in debt with respect to the justice, the truth, and the memory of the victims of these seditious groups.” Since this publication, responses from both “sides” have been plentiful and they are usually manifested in the form of name-calling. Each side accuses the other of being “barbarians” and describes how their loved ones were “vilely assassinated.” “The obituaries are only an element, another symbolic space where the conflict between the opposing sides continues.” In this conflict of memory, narratives have found a new battleground.

Also within the public domain, individuals have access to various methods of expression by which to communicate their narratives, such as through art, photos, oral testimonies, and blogging. Artists such as Francesc Torres use photography to capture the traumatic memories of exhumations and expose them to the public eye. Pictures such as the ones above showcase ditches containing piles of bones with skulls face down, a grave injustice in Catholic tradition.

As “pictures of excavated mass graves with human bones have become an unmistakable sign of human rights violations,” it is likely that viewers associate these images with those of other human rights atrocities. This association emphasizes the fundamental immorality of the perpetrators’ actions.

Thus, dead bodies themselves as well as their digital and other media portrayals are used to frame selected memories or convey particular narratives. In the same vein, the authors of these obituaries are symbolically placing their relatives’ corpses on the front lines to defend the ideologies with which they are permanently branded. More than loved ones who have passed away, they are transformed into martyrs, present in the memories of the living primarily for taking part in a conflict seventy years in the past. Even in death they find no respite, no end to the war of ideologies that had them crossing swords and riddling their brothers with bullets. The dead are doomed to fight the wars of the living for eternity.

*Some Final Thoughts*

Some questions that arise from this research, relating to the surfacing and politicization of memory are: Why now? Why have these issues been openly addressed only within the last decade or so? What caused this explosion of memory revival to burst onto the political scene? The first question is beyond the scope of this essay, although the developments expounded upon in the “Applying Theory to Practice” section of the Case Study provide some insights. As for obtaining an answer to the political question, it helps to chronicle the events leading up to the full-scale memory revival, trumpeted recently by
the political Left. PP’s presidential pick Aznar was elected over PSOE’s pick in March 1996, PSOE’s first defeat after fourteen years of dominance in the political sphere. In July of the same year, charges of crimes against humanity were brought up by a Spanish court against Pinochet for his atrocious treatment of his own people. Widely supported by the Spanish population, this caused many to reflect on their own past under such a dictator: Franco.59

It is very feasible to conclude that this judicial process served to revive repressed memories amongst Spaniards, who wondered why one of their own courts would convict a dictator a world away of crimes against humanity, while similar crimes committed on their own soil were left ignored. PP and Aznar did their best to impede this case and cast a shadow on any further activity which would serve to revive memories of the civil war and the Franco era, including work by the ARMH, which came into being in December 2000 (nine months after the general election, which PSOE lost for the second time in a row). Many Spaniards found these actions on the part of the political Right disagreeable, which displayed an opening for a political stance promoting the revival of memory. Perhaps this is why, after almost two decades of ignoring the issue (and two lost elections), PSOE decided to make it a significant part of its electoral platform. Tarrow’s argument that “reform is most likely when challenges from outside the polity provide a political incentive for elites within it to advance their own policies and careers” helps to explain what has occurred here.60

Ultimately, it is important to realize that this conflict over memory is just one manifestation of the ongoing political struggle taking place in contemporary Spain. The process of reviving memory is a means to an end; simply one tool pulled from an extensive toolbox and used by political operators in order to achieve greater goals.

Conclusions

Memories are subjective interpretations of reality. Multiple memories are often present in the same spaces and, thus, multiple narratives exist and compete for dominance. This competition is manifested in various forms, such as through vehicles of memory, which are particularly notable because of their prominence in society. Whether they are products of the private or public sphere, the physical, as well as legal, forms of memory have an undeniable influence on the thought patterns of a society and its collective memory or traditions. The courier of power of such magnitude, the importance of memory cannot be overstated. What I hope the reader will take away from this essay is the awareness of the subjectivity that is inherent within all memory; and at the same time, the appreciation for memory’s sovereign importance in our lives. If one recognizes these
truths, it is not difficult to comprehend why these issues of memory carry such weight.

**Endnotes**


16. The actual name, translated from Spanish: “The Law for recognizing and extending rights and establishing measures in favor of those who suffered persecution or violence during the Civil War and the Dictatorship.”

24. Ibid.
25. Ibid., 437.
26. For more general information on the pacto del olvido and its history, see Is Spain Recovering its Memory? by Madeleine Davis; Reconciliation after Democratization: Coping with the Past in Spain by Omar Encarnación; and Coming to Terms with the Past: Spain’s Memory Wars by Helen Graham.
30. Ibid.
34. Kimmelman, “In Spain, a Monumental Silence.”
35. Encarnación, “Pinochet’s Revenge,” 49.
36. Ibid.
38. La Coctelera, “Monumentos a Franco en España, o dónde sacar a mear al per-
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39. Kimmelman, “In Spain, a Monumental Silence.”


43. Encarnación, “Reconciliation after Democratization,” 452.


45. One of the most popular literary works from this perspective is Los Mitos de la Guerra Civil by Pío Moa, which argues that Franco had the right to overthrow the democratic government in order to “save” the country from communism, among other things; Antonio Feros, “Civil War Still Haunts Spanish Politics,” New York Times.com 20 March 2004, http://query.nytimes.com/gst/fullpage.html?res=9401E6D91031F933A15750C0A9629C8B63 (accessed February 3, 2009).

46. Encarnación, “Pinochet’s Revenge,” 40; and Davis, “Is Spain Recovering its Memory?”, 869.

47. Encarnación, “Reconciliation after Democratization,” 40.


49. Ibid., 10.

50. Ibid.

51. Encarnación, “Pinochet’s Revenge,” 42.

52. Ibid.

53. Robertson, “Breaking the Silence, Rewriting History.”


55. Juan De La Cal, “La Guerra Civil de Esquelas se Dispara,” El Mundo Online 566 (3 September 2006), http://www.elmundo.es/suplementos/croni-
Daniel Stofleth graduated from Indiana University in May of 2009. He spent his junior year abroad in Madrid, Spain, where he conducted some research for his senior thesis. He is applying to graduate programs in Sociology and Communications in order to continue research on collective memory, politics, human rights, and power. He hopes to return to Spain to investigate these issues in the near future. In particular, Daniel would like to be a part of the exhumation of a mass grave.
Relational Aggression
A Literature Review

by Gabriela Marie Rodriguez
In recent years, partly due to current events and the influence of popular culture, covert forms of peer aggression have received increasing attention from the public. These particularly ‘sneaky’ ways of aggressing usually damage the victim’s social status in an indirect fashion. In psychology, these behaviors are collectively known as relational aggression. Since the concept of relational aggression was derived by Crick and Grotpeter, most of the research on the topic has focused on its definition, its prevalence (including sex differences) and its relationship to concurrent social-psychological maladjustment. Consequently, we know relatively little about the risk factors of relational aggression, its relationship to future maladjustment, and its nosology. This paper will discuss what we currently know about the definition, prevalence, risk factors, relationship to concurrent and future maladjustment, and nosology of relational aggression. Finally, this paper will discuss possible directions for future research in the field.

**Definition**

Crick and Grotpeter derived the term “relational aggression” while developing their hypothesis about possible differences in the forms of aggression expressed by males and females. They proposed that children inflict harm on peers in ways that damage what their respective gender peer group values. Crick and Grotpeter defined relational aggression as “harming others through purposeful manipulation and damage of their peer relationships.” They further proposed that girls were more likely than boys to value relational issues, so they hypothesized that girls would most likely aggress through relational aggression. Behaviors included within this term are those that intentionally harm, or threaten to harm, another child’s friendships or social status, or generate feelings of exclusion. Relational aggression includes direct and indirect behaviors, like threatening to withdraw or purposely withdrawing a friendship unless a peer complies with a request, excluding a peer from a group as retaliation, and spreading rumors about a peer to induce exclusion and rejection by other.

The term “relational aggression” and the terms “indirect aggression,” “social aggression,” and “relational bullying” are sometimes used interchangeably in literature, though for the purposes of this review only “relational aggression” is used. Also, the literature focuses on peer relationships, but it is important to note that relational aggression is not limited to this context. Rather, it can take place within many relationship contexts, including sibling relationships, parent relationships, and mutual antipathies. Finally, it should be noted that although there is overlap between relational and overt forms of ag-
gression, they are distinct constructs that provide unique information, even for children as young as three or four years of age.\(^7\)

**Measurement Issues**

Crick and Grotpeter constructed a peer nomination scale to assess relational aggression, which included items like “tells friends they will stop liking them unless friends do what they say” and “tries to keep certain people from being in their group during activity or playtime.” They chose peer nominations because these had been used extensively in past research and because they hypothesized that it would be difficult for outside observers to pick up on relationally aggressive behaviors, since these behaviors are often indirect and focus on peer relationships. The peer nomination instrument asked children to nominate up to three classmates for each item, and the number of nominations each child received became his or her score. Peer-report measures address the possibility that relationally aggressive behaviors are overlooked by reporters that lack access to information about relationships within the peer group.\(^8\)

Teacher assessments of relational aggression are also widely used. Crick developed a teacher measure of aggression with items similar to the peer instrument described above.\(^9\) Teacher assessments were significantly similar to peer assessments of relational aggression, which indicates that teachers can be reliable observers.\(^10\) Also, it is appropriate to use teacher assessments of relational aggression as a substitute when peer assessments are unavailable.\(^11\) This has good implications for assessing relational aggression in a clinical setting, since obtaining peer assessments for each case could be impractical.

Teacher and peer assessment tools are useful, but they could be subject to a variety of significant biases, including gender stereotypes.\(^12\) Recently, however, Ostrov and Keating developed a naturalistic observational approach to assessing relational aggression. Observers were carefully trained to identify relational aggression in a school setting and to make the observations as objectively as possible.\(^13\) These observers were less likely to be biased than teachers or peers (Crick, Ostrov, Burr, Cullerton-Sen, Jansen-Yeh, & Ralston, 2006; Ostrov & Keating, 2004), which makes this measure a more objective way to assess relational aggression.\(^14\)

Though all of these assessment tools are useful for research purposes, assessments in clinical settings usually rely on parents and youth as informants, and limiting sources of information to teacher and peer reports is typically impractical.\(^15\) Thus, it is important to consider caregiver and self-reports in the assessment of relational aggression and for future research and application.
Prevalence

Relationally aggressive behavior has been found to be relatively common among nine to seventeen-year-olds. In one study, 11.9 percent of seventh and ninth grade students exhibited relationally aggressive behaviors (Herrenkohl, McMorris, Catalano, Abbott, Hemphill, & Toumbourou, 2007). Another study classified around 14 percent of the sampled elementary school-age youth as relationally aggressive (Crick, Ostrov, & Werner, 2006). Relational aggression, however, does not seem to be limited to school-age children and adolescents. Studies have found relationally aggressive behaviors in children as young as three years-old and in college students.

Sex Differences

The study of relational aggression seems to have begun as a way to explain differences in aggression between the sexes. Crick and Grotpeter hypothesized that girls were not less aggressive than boys, but that girls’ aggressiveness had been underestimated in prior work because forms of aggression that were more relevant to girls (i.e., relational aggression) had not been assessed. The theory behind this hypothesis, discussed above, centers on the idea that aggressors inflict harm on that which their peer group values. Thus, since girls value peer relationships, they would be more likely to inflict harm through relational aggression, while boys would be more likely to exhibit overt aggression.

Several studies have demonstrated relational aggression to be more common in females than in males. There are mixed findings on the topic, however, particularly for studies of early childhood. Specifically, when teacher reports are used, studies show that preschool girls are more relationally aggressive than boys; but, when peer reports are used there are no significant sex-based differences in preschool children. It is likely that this discrepancy in the findings is due to the possibility of reporter bias described above. In two recent studies using Ostrov and Keating’s naturalistic observational approach, preschool girls were found to be more relationally aggressive than preschool boys, which provides additional and more reliable evidence for the sex difference. One recent study using caregiver and youth report, however, found no sex differences in relational aggression and challenged the sex difference theory (Keenan, Coyne, & Lahey, 2008). So, the issue of sex differences in relational aggression is still being debated.

Risk Factors

Very little research has been done that explores possible risk factors for relational aggression. Crick and Grotpeter hypothesized that it was possible that peer rejection and
feelings of psychological distress precede relationally aggressive behavior.\textsuperscript{26} It has also been suggested that there are primary deficits in anger regulation and impulse control in relationally aggressive individuals.\textsuperscript{27} Since most of the literature indicates that girls are more likely to use relational aggression than boys (see above), gender can be considered a risk factor for relational aggression. A possible mechanism for this gender difference is that the socialization of girls to inhibit and suppress anger and emotions may strain their resources for emotion regulation and lead to relationally aggressive behavior.\textsuperscript{28}

One study found initial evidence that relational aggression is positively correlated with language development in young children, which suggests that strong verbal skills facilitate relational aggression for preschoolers.\textsuperscript{29} Another study found that peer, individual, and family risks were the strongest predictors for relational aggression in adolescence.\textsuperscript{30} Among these, parenting has emerged as a particularly strong risk factor. Sandstrom found initial evidence for a positive association between maternal permissiveness and relational aggression.\textsuperscript{31} Another study added to the literature on parenting as a risk factor with the finding that, among all of the parenting characteristics considered (including laxness, positive affect, etc.), negative maternal affect emerged as the most consistent predictor of relational aggression.\textsuperscript{32} It is possible that many of these risk factors are part of the causal mechanisms of relational aggression, but more research, particularly longitudinal research, must be done before any causal relationships can be inferred.

\textbf{Relationship to Social-Psychological Maladjustment}

Because relational aggression is so prevalent and can start as early as preschool, it is important to consider its consequences. A number of studies on relational aggression have focused on the relationship between relational aggression and social-psychological maladjustment. Relational aggression in preschool and elementary school–age children has been found to be associated with high levels of social maladjustment (e.g., peer rejection).\textsuperscript{33} Relational aggression is also associated with significantly higher levels of concurrent internalizing and externalizing symptoms, disruptive, oppositional behavior, borderline personality disorder features, and attention-deficit hyperactivity disorder (ADHD).\textsuperscript{34} In a study of college students, relational aggression was significantly associated with multiple indexes of concurrent maladjustment, including peer rejection, internalizing symptoms, antisocial personality features, low levels of prosocial behavior, borderline personality features, and bulimia (in females only).\textsuperscript{35} Individuals who are victims of relational aggression also report higher levels of internalizing symptoms and psychological distress.\textsuperscript{36}

Most of this research on outcomes, however, has been cross-sectional, so it fails to
provide information about the implications of relational aggression for future adjustment outcomes. Some longitudinal studies have attempted to address this gap in the research. These studies have found that relational aggression is an important predictor of future social-psychological maladjustment outcomes. Some of this evidence suggests that gender atypical behaviors (i.e. male relational aggressive behavior) may be associated with greater problems in future adjustment. The current research indicates that relational aggression is associated with negative outcomes, though much more longitudinal research is needed to determine what these outcomes may be.

**Nosology**

Very little is known about the implications of relational aggression for classification purposes. Some suggest that assessments that account for relational aggression provide unique and significant information about the risk status of children that assessments for overt aggression alone would neglect, which makes relational aggression a useful tool for identifying individuals who are at risk for future social-psychological maladjustment, especially girls. Researchers have argued for the inclusion of relational aggression in the next edition of the Diagnostic and Statistic Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM-V), within the criteria for conduct disorder, in order to improve identification of girls with conduct disorder.

Two studies have focused their research on this suggestion. One study concluded that no current empirical data supports the notion that inclusion of relational aggression would improve predictive validity for girls’ prognosis. Moffitt, et al. also pointed out that some of the features of relational aggression are already included in the DSM-IV-TR under symptoms for oppositional defiant disorder (ODD). Keenan, Coyne, and Lahey suggested that demonstrating an association between impairment and relational aggression, beyond the effects of conduct disorder (CD) and ODD, would be necessary for it to be useful; however, assessing relational aggression with youth and caregiver reports, the tools most likely to be used for classification, they found that relational aggression did not increase the risk of impaired functioning beyond the effects of CD and ODD. Keenan et al. further argued for the importance of determining the degree of overlap between relational aggression and CD and ODD due to the importance given to diagnostic definitions of behavior disorders by mental health providers. They found, however, that although most of the youth with CD and ODD exhibited relationally aggressive behaviors, the majority of relationally aggressive youth did not meet criteria for CD and ODD. Thus, they concluded that adding relational aggression to the DSM-V would not be particularly useful. More studies are needed to further evaluate the possible benefits
Future Research

Because relational aggression is a relatively new research field, there are numerous possible directions for future research. In general, researchers have suggested the need for studies with prospective designs, measures of relational aggression from multiple informants, cross-cultural designs, additional types of risk status indicators, and more socially relevant measures of impairment. In addition to the various directions for future research suggested throughout the paper, further research should expand on current knowledge about risk factors by employing longitudinal designs to provide more information about possible causal mechanisms for relational aggression. Also, future research should focus on nosology by testing the utility of relational aggression in the identification of individuals who are at risk for future psychopathology. Future research should also explore developmental aspects of relational aggression. Perhaps most importantly, future research should focus on examining the association between relational aggression and future social-psychological maladjustment to determine causal relationships. This research is needed to find out if there are outcomes unique to relational aggression and to examine the possible processes by which relational aggression could result in psychopathology.

In conclusion, much of the research on relational aggression has focused on definition, prevalence, and concurrent maladjustment, which has resulted in an imbalance in the current knowledge on the topic. In order to address this imbalance, future research on relational aggression should focus on risk factors, implications for classification, and future outcomes. Future research on relational aggression will be crucial for increasing our understanding of both normative and non-normative development and in the improvement of current intervention practices.

Endnotes

2. Ibid., 711.
3. Ibid.


8. Crick and Grotzter, “Relational Aggression.”


11. Ibid.


16. Ibid.


20. Crick and Grotpeter, “Relational Aggression.”


24. Ibid.; and Ostrov and Keating, “Gender Differences in Preschool Aggression.”

25. Keenan, Coyne, and Lahey, “Should Relational Aggression Be Included in DSM-V?”


27. Werner and Crick, “Relational Aggression and Social-Psychological Adjustment in a College Sample.”


35. Werner and Crick, “Relational Aggression and Social-Psychological Adjustment in a College Sample.”


42. Keenan, Coyne, and Lahey, “Should Relational Aggression Be Included in DSM-V?”


46. Crick, Ostrov, and Werner, “A Longitudinal Study of Relational Aggression;” Keenan,

47. Sandstrom, “A Link between Mothers’ Disciplinary Strategies and Children’s Relational Aggression.”


50. Murray-Close, Ostrov, and Crick, “A Short Term Longitudinal Study.”


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Blasting the ‘Speckled’ Canon: Social Order in Detective Discourse
by Ricky Owens

Photo by Sarah McMahon
Combining detailed observation with brilliant deduction, Sherlock Holmes saves the innocent, confounds the guilty, and solves the most puzzling mysteries crime has to offer. Holmes accepts the most original and creative of crimes and relates them to social codes and laws. An important effect of the Holmesian canon is to maintain and make sense of the traditional social order. In Arthur Conan Doyle’s “The Adventure of the Speckled Band,” the mannerisms and appearances of his clients allow Holmes to deduce character and predict social interactions. “The Speckled Band” is less concerned with uncovering a particular crime as it is with defining a historically new genre, that of the detective story. Doyle takes Holmes away from the laboratory and places him in a world where logic triumphs over superstition and where justice is meted out to violators of the law. No matter how bizarre the crime, Holmes tenders an explanation. The consummate detective operates within the mode of realism to solidify the expectations of routine middle-class life in a modernizing industrial nation.

In the short story, Doyle presents, for the reader’s consideration, one of the most unusual cases in the long, illustrious career of Sherlock Holmes. The narrator, Holmes’ friend and right-hand man, Dr. James Watson, explains Holmes’s legendary detective abilities for the benefit of those readers who have not yet heard of the famous sleuth. A distraught young woman named Helen Stoner brings the case to Holmes and Dr. Watson in the early hours of the morning on a fine spring day in 1883. Helen fears for her life because her twin sister, Julia, died mysteriously and in apparent terror in her bedroom two years earlier on the night before her wedding. The only clue to her death was Julia’s strange reference to a “speckled band,” uttered among her final words. Helen’s own wedding date is now approaching, and she retells the story of Julia’s death, prompting Holmes to see similarities to Helen’s current situation.

Helen’s agitation arises from the fact that her stepfather, Dr. Grimesby Roylott, has begun repairs on her bedroom, which has forced Helen to move into her dead sister’s quarters until the repairs are completed. Helen insists to Holmes that her room was never in need of repairs at all. She believes it is a ploy to move her into Julia’s room. Late last night while Helen was lying in bed, she heard a low whistle—the same sound Julia heard right before her death. Helen came straightaway to see Holmes and hire him to assist her. She explains to Holmes that she cannot pay him until after the wedding because she gets control of her inheritance only when she marries. The money will remain in her stepfather’s possession until the nuptials are complete.

One must explore the deeds of the aristocracy in the narrative, not just the crimi-
nal body. The characters in “The Speckled Band” act according to their relative position in a ranked social order and within their relationships with each other. The appeal of Holmes comes not only from his method but also his skillful application of it. Holmes sees all and he makes sense of what he sees, due to his vast store of knowledge and powers of inference. Watson’s description of his friend’s procedure is the unmistakable portrait of an experimentalist in action. “I had no keener pleasure,” remarks Watson, “than in following Holmes in his professional investigations, and in admiring the rapid deductions… always founded on a logical basis, with which he unraveled the problems where submitted to him” (750). Holmes is led by social prejudice; he is inclined to be critical of the people around him when they have not met what seems an impossibly high standard. This is evident when Holmes reasons that Helen Stoner took the train into London because he observes “the second half of a return ticket in the palm of [her] left glove” (751). Holmes is directed by the predictability of class behavior. As an upper-class female, Helen provides Holmes with the means to justify the subordination of women to men. In the eyes of the detective, Helen’s illogical and frantic behavior stems from her womanly emotions getting the best of her.

If Holmes’s character analysis of Helen is a test of his own personality, it is then a test of his ability to reduce even the most baffling crimes to a simple question of epistemology of knowledge. Holmes shares with Watson a love of cases that are “tragic, comic, a large number merely strange, but none commonplace” (750). This is not because the strange is so often linked to the criminal, but such details move Holmes to understand deeper complexities of class behavior. Holmes comes alive only when he is on the trail of crime, but not just any crime. It must have some special feature that astounds other private investigators in London.

Since ideal reasoning must be able to draw from a variety of disciplines, Holmes constantly stores information for future reference. This happens when the “speckled band” itself is first mentioned. “What did you gather from this allusion to a band—a speckled band?” Holmes asks Helen, and she guesses “that it may be referred to some band of people, perhaps to these very gypsies in the plantation,” many of whom wear spotted handkerchiefs over their heads (754). Holmes is dissatisfied with this explanation. His thought process is guided by a theory of social action and morality, a certainty that is quantified, classified, and comparatively ranked as intelligence. The unusual aspects of Helen’s predicament challenge and encourage Holmes further. He is aware that most criminals are caught not because they make a fatal error, but because all secrets and hidden motives leave traces behind. Holmes then follows the causal chain in Helen’s story in order to detect the potential threat.
Holmes considers class traits inheritable. The detective appears to believe that individuals represent in their demeanor the characteristics of their family lineage with the result that sudden turns to good or evil stand for a strong influence in ancestry. Although Helen and Dr. Roylott are related by law and not blood, she is his exact opposite: innocent and venerable to manipulation, as well as being more emotional. Helen seeks out Holmes in “a pitiable state of agitation, her face all drawn and grey, with restless, frightened eyes, like those of some hunted animal” (751). Watson suggests that because she is a female, Helen has less control over her emotions and her motives lack rationality. Holmes also cites gender as his authority for Helen’s violation of normal class conduct: “Now, when young ladies wander about the metropolis at this hour of the morning, and knock sleepy people up out of their beds, I presume that there is something pressing they wish to communicate” (750). Holmes comes from a specific and cultural environment that elevates the intelligent white male and assails every other kind of social group. Helen’s deviation from the expectations of her class disrupts the conjectures of Holmes and Watson on which the detective’s own deductions about social order depend.

A close examination of Holmes’s treatment of Helen reveals that in actual practice, class status has much the same value for women as it does for men. The violence and obsession that is obvious in Roylott’s character is not found in Helen. Holmes makes her feel at ease enough to reveal that which he wants to know. She believes she can trust Holmes, for he “can see deeply in the manifold wickedness of the human heart,” yet she is not above being catechized herself (751). Since Helen is of English decent, and belongs to the upper class, she attempts to exercise more self-control in the hope of hiding her secrets. Helen does not lie to Holmes, but he suspects that she is hiding something. Watson recounts the exchange, writing that his friend “pushed back the frill of black lace which fringed the hand that lay upon our visitor’s knee,” whereupon “five little livid spots, the marks of four fingers and a thumb, were printed upon the white wrist” (755). Helen is a victim of foul treatment. She is not only abused by her stepfather, but he also forces her to prepare meals, sweep, and do other household chores. Helen descends from an upper-class rank into the realm of the Victorian middle class. Oppressed by Roylott’s maltreatment and criminal impulses, she becomes the capable manager of Stoke Moran, from which she can best assist the upkeep of his estate.

The effectual balance between Holmes and Roylott is central to Watson’s narrative. Opposed though they may be, these characters have both personality traits and thought processes in common. Holmes’s ability to catch Roylott depends on his own ability to identify with his opponent. Roylott’s scheme to murder his stepdaughter involves many devices: “dummy bell-ropes, and ventilators which do not ventilate,” and a
safe that contains, rather than stops, danger (759). Holmes solves the case when he sees through the harmless disguises of these accessories to discern their deadly uses. These instruments suggest the generic plot of detective discourse itself: Roylott’s ventilator does not ventilate, his bell-pull will not ring any bell, and his safe is dangerous. Holmes, in figuring out Roylott’s real devices, realizes what Roylott is hiding: the dummy bell-pull, although useless for calling the foolish housekeeper, who was so easily gotten out of the way, sounds an alarm in Holmes’s mind. Holmes then exposes Roylott’s scheme, and he does his best to make Helen safe.

Roylott exemplifies a darker side of human nature. He is indeed a violent, fierce-tempered “man of immense strength,” who leaves the mark of his grip on his stepdaughter’s wrist, and who recently “hurled the blacksmith over a parapet into a stream” (752). He is most dangerous to Helen not as a bully, but as a doctor who, according to Holmes, is “the first of criminals” because “he has nerve and he has knowledge” (761). Roylott’s deepest villainy is subtlety, wisdom, and craftiness.

Roylott’s physical appearance adds a frightening plot development to the story. Both criminals and clients alike behave in ways that reveal their moral and physical character. To Holmes, signs of morality and intelligence are always projected on the surface of the body, especially on the face. It is Watson’s quick eye for faces that records and interprets their appearances. Watson remembers Dr. Roylott:

A large face, seared with a thousand wrinkles, burned yellow with the sun, and marked with every evil passion, was turned from one to the other of us, while his while his deep-set, bile shot eyes, and the high then fleshless nose, gave him somewhat the resemblance to a fierce old bird of prey. (756)

Roylott’s facial expressions are transparent and unambiguous when rationally interpreted, but both Holmes and Watson can easily determine whether contorted features such as these signify guilt, terror, agony, or hatred. Dr. Roylott is expected to have more control over his body and appearance because aristocratic men of the Victorian period in Great Britain do not show such intense emotion, and they refrain from exposing their natural self. Gentlemen may fly into rages, but they should be capable of reducing their “violence of temper” under control especially when confronted by Holmes’s even greater coolness and self-assurance (752). Remarking that Roylott’s dress was a “peculiar mixture of the professional and of the agricultural,” Watson conceives of the “speckled band” as an investigation that transcends the boundaries of a typical gentleman (756). It is therefore appropriate that Roylott’s “huge” frame marks the criminal type as an evo-
olutionary throwback to barbarism or savagery. To Helen, Roylott is a man who “hardly knows his own strength” (755). He clearly exhibits malignant and degenerate tendencies in front of a young lady who does not lack the knowledge to recognize them, but is still a victim of cognitive uncertainty. Within Holmes’s fictional “underworld” of crime—the realm of ultimate social deviance—class distinctions identify common criminals by their regressive bodily signs, while tracking the movements of the criminal genius by his range of intellect.

Sherlock Holmes is an amateur scientist, but he is also a first-rate actor. The ability to alter his personality at will makes Holmes, the interpreter of all social classes, appear second to none. His facial expressions give nothing away, although Watson can sometimes read subtle signs of excitement on his face. When Holmes lashes at the serpent in Helen’s bedroom, Watson notes that Holmes’s “face was deadly pale, and filled with horror and loathing,” and after Dr. Roylott cries out once he is bitten, “with a grave face, [Holmes] lit the lamp, and [led] the way down the corridor” (763). Holmes can reinforce the power of social ordering because he claims to substitute money and expertise for self-interest. Holmes is the scientific student of the higher criminal world, whose main motive for detection is intellectual curiosity. “As to reward [for solving crime], my profession is its reward,” states Holmes (751). Holmes finds the highest joy in his work; his brain must always work to develop a set of interpretive tools for grappling with the mysterious and the unknown.

It is not only the disavowed anxieties of his clients but also the merit of their cases that stimulates Holmes. As Helen herself admits, “the very horror of my situation lies in the fact that my fears are so vague, and my suspicions depend so entirely upon small points” (751). As a paradigm of a personal code of justice, Holmes works to use class distinction as a form of detection. He and Watson strive to preserve the social status quo by shielding the upper classes from being punished by law or even allowing their secrets to be told. In fact, Watson admits that he “might have placed [the events in question] upon record before, but a promise of secrecy was made at the time, which I have only been freed during the last month by the untimely death of the lady to whom the pledge was given” (750). Holmes and Watson thus cater to the honor and reputation of England’s upper class.

The tension between social instability and disorder in “The Speckled Band” is worthy of note. In this tale centered upon a sly criminal, his victims, and the upright gentlemen who tract his motives, the literary techniques of realism are applied to material that is sensationalist, rendering social identity transparent. Dr. Roylott’s intended murder crosses over away from the sunny streets of Victorian London—it is a drastic antithesis
to social conventions. Holmes’ involvement is necessary to provide the means by which to predict class behavior. Faced with disturbing evidence of the irrational and the unconscious, the narrative stands as an *exemplum* of the British version of the detective story. Its plot maintains the unified, fully intelligible world of realism by insisting that people remain predictable, and according to Holmes, the motive that can undermine logic and predictability is self-evident.

The detective story involves the transformation of a fragmented and incomplete set of events into a more ordered and completed understanding. The plot seems to bridge a public experience, like social hierarchy, and literary experience in general. Detective fiction reorders one’s perception of the past through language. “The Speckled Band” is the prototypical detective narrative. It combines a narrative structure that is subjective and unreliable with the characteristic action of Victorian detective fiction, which was first pioneered by Charles Dickens and Wilkie Collins. Holmes begins with the recent impact of a crime and works backwards to restructure the incomplete fragments of present knowledge of criminal personalities into a more intelligible whole and to explain the past. He seeks the dominance of pure intellect, but there is the presence of some profound personal disturbance that impinges on the apparently objective vision of the detective.

The most important function of “The Speckled Band” is its involvement of the reader in a wealth of detail. One must experience the confusion of the report to decipher the language of the text, probe its ambiguities, contradictions, and symbolism in order to fully understand the crime itself and the players involved.

Victorian England needed detective police when the older forms of self-policing in a rural or restricted urban area were inadequate. City slums provided a safe haven for what became a popular and organized system of lower-class employment, and the middle class, which came to include Helen Stoner and Dr. Watson, required protection to deal with the increasingly puzzling and anonymous face of crime as it rapidly evolved into any “organized” violation of human law. Crime, like the Victorian city, was growing, confusing, and materialistic in proportion to material deprivation and exclusion. The first function of Holmes is the preservation of Helen’s property and the protection of the middle-class consumer. The ability to identify with and to reproduce the idiosyncratic behavior of Dr. Roylott characterizes the way in which Sherlock Holmes uses his knowledge to pierce to the heart of the Stoner case and identify that large disease that affects all levels of social distinction. “The Speckled Band” has it all: a damsel in distress, a considerable villain, lots of suspense, and a solution worth waiting for.
Ricky John Owens, of Halifax, Virginia, will graduate with a double major in Latin and Classical Civilizations, having virtually exhausted the course offerings in both fields. A Founders Scholar, Ricky positions much of his writing at the intersection of Roman Literature, material culture, and social history to suggest a reconstructive understanding of ancient life. Ricky is finishing an honors thesis on late Republican politics; he also has attended schools and conferences in Athens, Greece, and serves as the current president of Eta Sigma Phi. A lover of mysteries, Ricky is an avid Sherlock Holmes enthusiast. He has seen just about all the Holmes movies of the last sixty years, as well as the television series with Jeremy Brett. Now interning at Victorian Studies, Ricky constantly puts into practice Sherlock Holmes’s famous statement, “It is capital mistake to theorize before you have all the evidence. It biases the judgment.”
Our solar system is not alone. Scientists are confident that our universe is composed of countless galaxies and that those galaxies are made of billions (if not an infinite number) of stars. Any number of planets could orbit those numerous stars. And at least one of those planets might be home to life. But we remain alone. Earth has not been contacted by its neighbors.

This reality has led some to question the existence of extraterrestrial life. And the universe, indecipherably vast and mysterious, has remained silent—offering no definitive answers, only suggestive hints. Our nearest neighbor, Mars, was once home to oceans, and, as the Mars Odyssey mission has proven, currently contains subsurface water ice. The atmosphere of Titan, the second-largest moon of Saturn, is brimming with hydrocarbons as the Voyager spacecraft has shown. In fact, evidence of the presence of water in our solar system alone can be found on Mars, Europa, Ganymede, Callisto, Titan, and Enceladus, and the probability of similar circumstances existing elsewhere in the universe is likely. So, in the words of Nobel Prize–winning physicist Enrico Fermi, “Where is everybody?”

This dilemma, known as the Fermi paradox, has baffled scientists for years and leads to three conclusions: one, there is life on other planets that either does exist presently or has existed in the past; two, the Earth is the sole home to intelligent life in the whole expanse of the vast universe; or three, we are unable to observe or comprehend the actions, thoughts, or movements of extraterrestrial life. While each answer presents a plausible, realistic explanation of the extent of life in the universe, these assumptions as to the nature of the universe are predicated on the question: Is Earth unique in the universe?

That question frames the exploration and examination of the implications of finding extraterrestrial life. For the predominating paradigm—the belief that life on Earth is sacred, special, and unique—would be challenged, abandoned, or necessarily modified on the discovery of additional life in the universe, especially intelligent life. An idea widely assumed among scientists (and increasingly in the population as a whole) is that microbial life could be common within the universe. The debate, then, surrounds intelligence. To what extent would the discovery of extraterrestrial intelligent life alter our perception of our universe, our planet, and ourselves?

We have not always imagined ourselves as citizens of a larger universe. In fact, the understanding that our lives are very small—in terms of size (the average human height is five feet five inches, while the universe is 156 billion light-years across) and
duration of life (NASA’s WMAP satellite has measured the age of the universe to be 13.73 billion years old with a margin of error of 0.87 percent, while the average human life lasts 65.4 years)—has come about slowly, and not without error. For centuries, humans failed to view the Earth in the context of a larger cosmos, and for centuries after that, humankind placed the Earth at the center of a small, symmetrical universe. But these enduring perceptions were far from the truth. As Timothy Ferris states:

“We live on a planet orbiting a star located out toward one edge of a spiral galaxy, which in turn lies near the outskirts of a supercluster of galaxies, whose position has been determined relative to several neighboring superclusters that altogether harbor some forty thousand galaxies arrayed across a million billion cubic light-years of space.”

Our understanding of the universe clearly has undergone great change as a result of the progression of scientific inquiry and testing. It would likewise change with the discovery of extraterrestrial intelligent life.

Upon meeting intelligent life, distant points in the universe would change from mathematically approximated locations to physically populated places. In that way, the vast expanse of space would gain dimension. For some, the universe might shrink. In the same way that a frequent traveler could come to see the world as a smaller and smaller place on repeated visits to foreign lands, the discovery of neighbors (especially friendly and communicative neighbors) could cause the large and impersonal universe to be seen as a community. For others, the physical size of the universe could psychologically increase. A regular traveler could also come to comprehend the sheer size, volume, and variety of the globe in a way that one who has never left his own backyard ever could. With the discovery of extraterrestrial life, the universe would be perceived as increasingly unfamiliar and thus more vast and unknown.

But as our physical perception of the universe would change on the introduction to extraterrestrial life, so would our philosophical view of our own planet, Earth. As the only predominant form of intelligent life on the planet, mankind has come to see its surroundings in terms of the relationship of master and mastered—humans dominating, nature submitting. That paradigm is founded on the assumption that man is the superior brand of life in the universe, deserving of the right to control, manipulate, and govern his surroundings. That view has been entirely defined from within, with humans on Earth claiming that humans on Earth are supreme. With the discovery of extraterrestrial life, the philosophical assumption would be entirely uprooted. The Earth would become one of many—part of a collection of planets that sustain life, not the sole planet entrusted with the seed of humanity. Intelligent life could then be viewed as a result of chemical
reaction and the Earth itself as a planet where the all the requirements of life coincidently and unintentionally came into existence.\textsuperscript{14}

Some have even gone so far as to suggest that this more limited perspective of our planet could help us solve the international problems, feuds and disagreements that have continually plagued humankind throughout history. Among them are scientists like Dr. Jeffrey Bennet, who asserts that our civilization would “grow up”—moving from adolescence to adulthood—if we could come to possess an accurate view of our cosmic insignificance. With an enlarged and humbled perspective, Dr. Bennet asserts that we would come to “judge ourselves as failures, not because we haven’t done a lot of things right, but we still do too many things wrong.”\textsuperscript{15} Institutions would be reexamined and altruistic action would come to the forefront as senseless, while destructive ideological pursuits would be abandoned with the accurate realization of our overall inconsequentiality.

Of course, one societal institution that would endure great scrutiny and encounter many challenges upon the discovery of extraterrestrial life would be religion. For while religions address the relationship of humans to the world, they offer little in regards to the relationship of humans to the cosmos. Indeed, the discovery of any life or intelligence without Earthly origins would be especially inconsistent with and contradictory to the views of modern religions.

For some Christian theologians, the existence of extraterrestrial life is impossible. Such beings, they claim, would be in direct contradiction with biblical teachings. Interpreting the Genesis account of Creation as an exact, literal narrative and citing its verses as evidence, they assert that man was created to “rule over the fish in the sea and the birds in the sky, over the livestock and all the wild animals.”\textsuperscript{16} In this way, humankind’s dominion over the universe is God-given, divinely justified, and necessarily unchallenged by any alternate form of created life. Such critics might also note that there is no explicit account of the creation of extraterrestrial life, though God’s creation of celestial objects like the stars, sun, and moon is documented in Genesis 1:14–18. If God is the omnipotent “Maker of the Heavens and the Earth,” (and therefore all things in them) and His creation of distant, extraterrestrial life is not mentioned in the Bible, then it must not have happened.\textsuperscript{17}

Other Christian theologians, however, claim there is room in the Bible for alien life. Citing Isaiah 45:18, “He who creating the heavens, He is God; He who fashioned and made the Earth, He founded it; He did not create it to be empty, but formed it to be habited,” they assert that the vast universe could clearly be home to other, non-human life that is likewise devoted to and created by God.\textsuperscript{18} Prominent Protestant pastor Billy Graham once remarked, “I firmly believe there are intelligent beings like us far away in space
who worship God. But we would have nothing to fear from these people. Like us, they are God’s creation.” This new, emerging, and increasingly accepted perspective attempts to reconcile the latest developments in modern, scientific understanding with the timeless tenets of ancient, sacred biblical doctrine and church teaching.

This is by no means the first of such attempts in history. Indeed, the conflict between and consequent reshaping of both science and religion has been a battle repeated many times throughout the past. When Copernicus claimed that the Earth goes around the Sun (and not the other way around) and as Darwin insisted that the many and variegated species of the planet arose from natural, biological processes (and not on a particular day of Creation), religion was challenged by science. But religion adapted. Indeed, upon the discovery of intelligent extraterrestrial life, spiritual worldviews would need altering once more.

For instance, if humans were created to be God’s stewards of the Earth—ruling over and protecting it until his return—what is the purpose of foreign intelligent life? Would their biblical roles conflict? Who would be superior? Would God favor Earth or extraterrestrial life? Even worse, what if the extraterrestrials had never even heard of God—had never been taught about Jesus or His teachings in the Bible? Would humans then question whether their beliefs are a manmade farce of faith or would they take on the role of intergalactic evangelists? Christians on Earth have already decided that evangelism is necessary here—even endeavoring to spread their religion to people whose religious beliefs existed before the life of Christ– but disparate sects of Christianity presently disagree about the role and scope that evangelism should take on the Earth. In a universe with intelligent extraterrestrial life, the debate would be expanded and the answers would become increasingly uncertain.

Similarly, the discovery of extraterrestrial life might complicate the notion of a Savior sent to redeem mankind from their sins—specifically, the role, purpose, and necessity of God’s son, Jesus. For if “the Son of Man came to save that which was lost,” would His sacrifice be necessary for extraterrestrial beings who did not have free will and who had not rebelled against the laws of God? Would they be tainted by the inherent sin that entered mankind following the original sin of Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden? Or would they be untouched by the Fall of Man, existing as the earliest individuals in the Bible did—in consistent contact and communion with their Creator? Some skeptics assert that if Jesus’s death were not needed to redeem the entire universe, God would not have sent Him to save the lost souls of just one planet. Presumably, this point could be countered by citing John 3:16, which asserts that God’s great love for “the world”—even if this phrase only implies the planet Earth—was his explicit biblical purpose for sending
Jesus, and that His love for any lost soul, on any rogue planet, would be enough for Him to send a Savior—even to our isolated, fallen Earth.\textsuperscript{24}

The discovery of extraterrestrial intelligent life would not just alter our physical perception of the universe, or our philosophical perspective of our planet, but also our individual understanding of our own existence. If there are other forms of life, are we really that special? Presently, humankind is the ultimate form of biological life, with the most advanced technological, communicative, and intellectual capabilities of any known living creature. But would our prowess withstand the challenge of extraterrestrial intelligence? Indeed, could the difference in intelligence even be measured? Cognitive scientists on Earth already disagree on how to classify and evaluate intelligence within human beings.\textsuperscript{25} Could we measure or understand the intellectual capacity of advanced extraterrestrial life? And could we, as a proud, prosperous species, handle the subservient status that might accompany the visitation of intelligent galactic neighbors?

Could we handle and digest the great surge of knowledge that would no doubt accompany the visitation of technologically advanced and intellectually superior extraterrestrial life? If they could reach our planet, they would have necessarily mastered the physical obstacles that have prevented us from undertaking distant voyages into space. Perhaps, as Timothy Ferris suggests, the knowledge would be overwhelming. He writes:

\begin{quote}
Hell would be a small universe that we could explore thoroughly and fully comprehend

Alexander the Great may have wept upon being told that there were infinite worlds. . .

[but] no thinking man or woman ought really to want to know everything, for when
knowledge and its analysis is complete, thinking stops.\textsuperscript{26}

It would indeed be the end to an enormous, multi-faceted, and stimulating line of human inquiry if the mysteries of the extensive universe were explained by our new extraterrestrial acquaintances.
\end{quote}

With the apparent and potentially enduring consequences of encounter, one might question if scientists should continue to explore the cosmos. Perhaps comfortable isolation is preferable to unpredictable integration. Maybe we have already been deliberately isolated from the remaining intelligent life in the universe.\textsuperscript{27} Perhaps they are similarly worried about their contact with us. This theory, known as the Zoo Hypothesis, suggests that humans are being consciously avoided by alternate forms of intelligent life who recognize our mode of existence as crude and violent, or who want to wait until humans reach an advanced enough level of technology and societal development before initiating contact.\textsuperscript{28} Forgetting that the consequences of encounter are reciprocal is easy. Interaction requires—and is inherently risky to—both parties.

What if there is no other party? What if, in ages hence, when our level of technol-
ogy has enabled us to thoroughly and extensively explore our universe, we find that we are the sole form of intelligent life in the cosmos? Would we then feel an even greater responsibility to use our intelligence wisely, pursuing positive ends? Would we feel increasingly guilty about our past shortcomings? Indeed, Dr. Bruce Jakosky suggests that this might be the most “intimidating” end to our search for life in the universe.29 Humans, as the undeniable sole possessors of intelligent life, would indeed face just as complicated and daunting dilemmas upon discovering their uniqueness as if they encountered extraterrestrial beings.

Nevertheless, the existence of additional intelligent life in the universe would greatly change the physical, psychological, and religious paradigms of humankind. The discovery would most certainly be unsettling and (though some predict its ultimate occurrence) incredibly surprising if it eventually happens. Most likely, it would be quite humbling. Chances are it would be met with some level of resistance. But beyond that, a world in which humans interact with other forms of intelligent life is difficult to imagine. How we will reconcile size and significance, perception and philosophy, and religion and responsibility will be terribly difficult, vastly consequential, and ultimately essential.

Endnotes

3. Bennett, Beyond UFOs.
5. Bennett, Beyond UFOs.
9. Ian O’Neill, “13.73 Billion Years—The Most Precise Measurement of the Age of the Universe Yet,”. Uni-

12. Ibid., 384.
13. Bennett, Beyond UFOs.
15. Bennett, Beyond UFOs.
17. Holy Bible, Psa. 115.18..
21. Ibid., 123.
22. Holy Bible, Mat. 18.11..
24. Holy Bible, Joh. 3.16.
27. Impey, Are We Alone?, 272.

A Romantic at heart, Tyler Chernesky keeps a daily journal, likes receiving handwritten letters, and enjoys road trips with good friends—his favorite destination being Gettysburg, Pennsylvania. He has also fallen in love with the fall leaves of Brown County. In his spare time, Tyler works toward completing his majors in History, Religious Studies, and English with a concentration in Public and Professional Writing. A Wells Scholar, National Merit Scholar, and student in the Hutton Honors College, Tyler writes a weekly column, “Not From Concentrate,” for the Indiana Daily Student and is passionately involved in Campus Crusade for Christ.
Thursday!

Thursday 7

Bringing Odin to the People

Friday 8

The Self-Defeating Process of Authenticity in Revivals

Saturday 9

By Taylor Peters

Photo by Alex Farris
Norwegian black metal music is a unique subset of heavy metal because of its involvement with a distinct musical style and a religious ideology. Musically, black metal typically consists of long songs that often flirt with becoming beautiful (whereas metal genres such as death metal have the primary goal of pummeling the listener’s ears). Keyboards frequently play melodic lines; however, the standard metal instrumentation of guitar, drums, and bass is maintained. The vocals are typically buried in the mix, though still remaining audible, and are usually shrieked. This again contrasts with the deep-throated “cookie monster” vocals often employed in death metal. Perhaps more important than the superficial musical style of black metal is an underlying set of religious beliefs that pervades the genre. Most Norwegian black metal bands like Burzum, Mayhem, and Darkthrone ascribed to the religion of Viking Age heathenism. They looked to gods like Odin and Thor for inspiration and believed that the presence of Christianity in Norway was a perversion of the highest order. While they are often incorrectly described as Satanists (because of their hatred of Christianity), they were in fact working to revive an earlier tradition.

While it may not seem immediately obvious, the use of heathenism and Norse mythology in Norwegian black metal in the end of the 1980s and beginning of the 1990s quite certainly constitutes a revival in the truest sense. Some black metal bands worked to revive a religious doctrine, as well as a basic worldview that they perceived was on the verge of being lost. For the sake of definition I will look to Barbara Livingston’s model of revivals. Although she is quick to point out that this model is meant to be “descriptive rather than prescriptive,” it is a useful tool for the study of revivals.\footnote{1} This model as it relates to Norwegian black metal is as follows:

1. An individual or core group of revivalists (Varg Vikernes of Burzum, Euronymous and Dead of Mayhem)
2. Revival informants and/or original sources (Norse Myth, the Satanic Bible, etc.)
3. A revivalist ideology (most if not all of this ideology was gleaned from the original sources as well as the tenets of National Socialism and people like Vidkun Quisling)
4. A group of followers (the black metal “scene” in Norway)
5. Revivalist activities (playing music, burning churches)
6. Non profit and/or commercial enterprises catering to the revivalist market (Varg’s Heathen Front, any number of black metal “zines”)}\footnote{2}
I would propose that in most revivals legitimacy is in large part gleaned from the perceived closeness to the original source. This closeness to the original is what I will refer to as authenticity in its basic sense. In revivals of any tradition, authenticity is a critical feature that helps to link the tradition in the present to that of the past. Without an emphasis on authenticity within a revival, distinguishing a revival from new forms of folk culture would be nearly impossible. An important aspect of the fundamental relationship between a revival and authenticity then is the fact that while authenticity is often used as a vehicle for the establishment of legitimacy, it also frequently acts to destroy the legitimacy its practitioners were trying to create. Authenticity exists as a self-defeating process within the context of revivals. This is quite clear with respect to Norwegian black metal. Although the musicians and people associated with the music strove to be as “authentic” as possible, they over time became something of a laughingstock in some circles and were looked on as less than truly evil or truly heathenistic. On close inspection, the reasons for that become quite evident.

Revivals exist primarily as reproductions of an older tradition in the present. They can be separated from the original tradition, as Livingston mentions, by any number of things, not the least of which are time and space. A similar topic focuses on the removal of art from its original location, as discussed by Walter Benjamin. There he claims that, “Even the most perfect reproduction of a work of art is lacking in one element: its presence in time and space.” He says that in transmission something is lost and refers to this something as the work’s “aura.” This aura is the same “invisible attribute” that Deirdre Pritchard-Evans describes as having the ability to “turn a necklace into an authentic Navaho necklace” in her essay, “The Portal Case.” I argue that it is also the same thing that revivalists are trying to create when they insist on the authenticity of their movement. Of course, for them to ever regain this “aura” is impossible by its very definition. This distance from the original tradition is of course present in the heathen revival of Norwegian black metal. Central actors in the revival, such as Varg Vikernes, attempt to reestablish the modes of thinking and the religious beliefs that were present during the Viking Age in Norway. This context can never be recalled, causing an inherent weakness in black metal’s claims toward “authentic” heathenism. As Benjamin states, “The presence of the original is a prerequisite to the concept of authenticity.”

One such way that this can be clearly seen is through the incidents of church burnings in Norway that were associated with black metal. The person most central to these burnings was Varg Vikernes. Vikernes, known at various times as Count Grishnackh and Kristian Vikernes, is the founder and sole member of the black metal band Burzum. The primary ideological purpose of Burzum is not simply musical but, as Vikernes puts
it, to “show Odin to the people.” He attempted to revive the old ways of life in Norway from the pre-Christian era. One such way he went about this was to incite and encourage church burnings. Perhaps the most notorious of these burnings was that of the Fantoft church, which was a historical style of church that over the years has become “synonymous with [Norway].” In 1992, Vikernes allegedly burned the church down with so little remorse that he took pictures of it the next morning and even used one of them as the artwork for his 1993 release “Aske.” Vikernes claims that the reason for his heinous action (for which he was later convicted) was because of his intense hatred for Christianity on the basis that he believes that it has destroyed “everything that was once beautiful in what he considers Norway’s true culture—that of the heathen age.” Thus, he believed that expression of his authentic revival of Viking Age heathenism was to lash out against Christianity in this violent way. That type of authentic action on the part of Vikernes, however, is somewhat problematic. As stated earlier, a revival is inherently distant in time and context from the original tradition. That distance posed a number of problems for Vikernes that ultimately led to him being perceived as a less legitimate revivalist. Most of these problems of how his actions were perceived stemmed from the distance between the ideology that he was attempting to revive and the context in which he was acting it out. For instance, when the first church was burnt down, while it was met with some degree of fear from the public, the larger reaction was that of disbelief and the desire to investigate what had happened. Perhaps the most damaging to Vikernes’s legitimacy were the investigations done by psychologists and social scientists into the behavior of young men with regards to pyromania and arson. They ultimately came to the conclusion that Vikernes’ actions likely grew not out of an ideological bent, but out of a simple fascination with fire that many young men have. While that may or may not have been true in his case, it was enough to discredit his legitimacy as a true heathen to the point where he was mocked in some circles. In fact, Michael Moynihan includes in his book, *Lords of Chaos*, a comic jokingly entitled “The Amazing Adventures of Count Grishnackh,” wherein the main character accidentally burns himself while trying to set a church alight. Clearly, a large reason why Vikernes’ attempts to “show Odin to the people” failed was because they were occurring in a context that was vastly different from its origins, and in this case wildly more unreceptive, than the original one.

Not only does this removal from the original context cause a basic weakness in the legitimacy of the revival, it also leads to a steadily increasing weakness. The more a revival makes claims for its own authenticity, the more it destroys its authentic nature. In “Tradition, Genuine or Spurious,” Richard Handler and Jocelyn Linnekin point out that “to do something because it is traditional is already to reinterpret, and hence to change
This notion seems to readily expand to the concept of authenticity—doing something strictly because it is authentic reinvents the tradition in a small but important way. The reinvention largely stems from the degree of self-consciousness inherent in the action. Handler and Linnekin cite certain dances and toys that might have been used by the Quebecois in the past (their essay was on tradition in Quebec, however, the concepts apply broadly). They determined that, though they were not specifically used in the past to signify a certain degree of “quebecitude,” they might be used for just such a reason in the present day. This shifts those actions from the realm of “reality” to that of “symbol,” as tradition in those cases is “symbolically reinvented in the present.” This reshaping of the revived ideas from reality to symbol ties in with Jean Baudrillard’s concept of simulacra and simulation. He says that to simulate is “to feign to have what one hasn’t” and compares this simulation to that of a person saying that they are ill, and even perhaps emulating the symptoms of the illness, but in reality having no true disease. Delineating between a simulator and the “real thing” on a surface level, however, is often nearly impossible. It causes a blurring between reality and symbol—a blurring which Baudrillard refers to as “the worst form of subversion.” This is difficult to differentiate because often the only true difference between the original and the simulation is Pritchard-Evans’s “invisible attribute” or Benjamin’s “aura.” When a revivalist insists on the authenticity of his revival he is strengthening not the original tradition, but his own symbolic version of that tradition. Therefore, as revivals continue to insist on their authenticity, they are essentially weakening their own arguments, at least in respect to the original source. As a result, the more authenticity becomes central to a revival, the less that revival has any actual claims to true authenticity.

This self-conscious focus on the symbolic aspect of the revival is present in a wide array of facets of the black metal revival of Norse heathenism. It is most evident in respect to the revivalists’ style of dress and how they present themselves. Black metal is renowned for its distinct “uniform.” By and large, the performers follow one of two styles or some combination of the two. The first consists of black leather jackets, long black hair, and a type of face makeup that is not entirely dissimilar from the band Kiss (referred to as corpse paint). The other style attempts to assimilate what are perceived as the things Vikings might have worn during the heathen age. Some even go so far as to carry weapons with them. Of course, these styles are meant to be a symbol of their authentic heathenism and their commitment to the ideology. Also, a number of black metal performers have indicated that they carry weapons or have been photographed holding weapons in order to insinuate that they are not afraid to use violence to further their cause. These performers have garnered an astonishing amount of criticism and even
mockery for the way they dress. (A simple search on YouTube for the term “black metal” will return a number of results making light of the style of dress such as “Black Metal-ers Bake Cookies” and “Black Metal Workout.”) I would posit that the reason for the mockery arises not simply from the flamboyant nature of their style but also out of their critics’ recognition that they are committing an act of simulation; they are feigning to possess what they do not actually have. In this case, they lack a true commitment to the heathen lifestyle. Even Alice Cooper, a performer known for a style of dress similar to many black metal bands, mocks them for their apparent lack of realism. In an interview, he laughed at the image of someone like Varg Vikernes dressing up in corpse paint for a performance and then cleaning himself up, putting a sweater on, and going to dinner with his mother. Cooper is likely guilty of the same sort of thing, but the major difference remains that he never claimed to be a true heathen. Because of their attempts to foster authenticity through their appearance, the members of the black metal revival of heathenism in fact take part in an act of mimicry. The more they emphasize the authenticity of what they wear and do, the more they build upon the shaky foundation of the simulation, and the weaker their connection to the original source appears.

The impossible task of creating true authenticity, however, does not devalue the efforts of revivalists. Any self-conscious attempt that is removed in time and space from the original source will inevitably lead to this same conundrum. The problem is not entirely unlike the Jorge Luis Borges short story, in which mapmakers create such a large and detailed map of an empire that it begins to supersede the reality of the empire. Baudrillard cites that the story might have played out had revivalists come into the picture. When presented with the option to rebuild the empire or the tremendous map of the empire, the revivalists would choose to work on the map. Not because they think the actual empire is worth less, but simply because the only tools they have are those associated with cartography.

So, because of the very nature of revivals, true authenticity can never be achieved. What’s more, the more revivalists attempt to grasp at authenticity, the less effectively authentic they become. This is a conundrum, however, that is unavoidable because authenticity is central to all revivals as the primary legitimating factor. With respect to authenticity in revivals, it truly is a “can’t live with it, can’t live without it” situation that is all but completely unavoidable.
Endnotes


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Toilet Paper Paper
by Sarah Wilensky
When I wake up in the morning, I wander sleepily into the bathroom. I expect to find the basic necessary objects for my hygienic routines, use them, and wander back toward my friendly dorm room. Because toilet paper unites society as a product that the vast majority of the modern world consumes on a regular basis, however, its demand is not in question and tends to be overlooked. The choices made in the production process of a roll of toilet paper may not be the most popular reading material to place beside the toilet, but the producers of overlooked goods such as toilet paper make decisions that impact our lives far beyond the bathroom stall.

My first hint in the investigation of my toilet paper’s origin came from the clunky plastic dispenser found in bathroom stalls of all varieties. Even in an early morning haze, I was able to deduce that Scott Paper Company would not be likely to supply the dispenser if it was not going to dispense their product. Scott also provided the paper towel dispenser and presumably the paper towels as well. Scott paper products merged with the 138 year old giant Kimberly Clark in 1995; the liquid hand soap dispenser bore the Kimberly Clark name. Information on Scott’s environmental policies before the merger with Kimberly Clark was difficult to unearth, but in the past twelve years, Kimberly Clark has accumulated a controversial environmental record.

Kimberly, Clark and Company was established in the 1870s in Neenah, Wisconsin, a town still rooted in paper production industry. Over the past century, the company has grown to the second largest in its field, now competing with Procter & Gamble. When the company incorporated Scott, it acquired the largest producer of toilet paper on the market and now the corporation runs operations in more than thirty countries and sells products in even more. A small amount of experimental research has determined that Kimberly Clark products are used throughout the Indiana University Bloomington campus, but the toilet paper itself begins in a land where there are a few more trees and a few less college students.

At least a portion of the toilet paper began its existence as an evergreen tree in the world’s largest ecosystem: Northern Canada’s Boreal forest. Deforestation of this crucial ecosystem leads directly to global warming, as the dense concentration of trees was once able to counteract increasing human carbon emissions. Additionally, logging by Kimberly Clark in the Boreal forest has great impact on the lives of native peoples that have long inhabited the land just south of the polar tundra. The decision-makers at Kimberly Clark do not have any interaction with those who experience the immediate impact of logging in the affected areas. The powers that be do not have their food supply diminished; their
water is filtered by some mysteriously isolated process—and continues to flow into their sinks without interruption. It is not their home habitat that is being aesthetically marred. Due to the poorly distributed information about the potential impacts, not many people realize the serious negative consequences that could result. The long term forecast for the destruction of a “carbon reservoir” such as the Boreal forest would affect most everyone as global warming becomes an ever more urgent concern.6

A major campaign dubbed Kleercut has been instigated against Kimberly Clark and the deforestation of the Boreal ecosystem specifically. The multi-party coalition directly pressures the corporation to change its sourcing practices. Kimberly Clark has produced an in-depth defense on the issues, one that Kleercut finds to be an exemplary case of “greenwashing” (Tripp Greenpeace Response to KC Propaganda p.2 2007). Greenwashing is the process by which companies cleanse their environmental reputation without truly cleaning up the planet. Kimberly Clark’s annual sustainability report, Greenpeace rebuts, proves nothing simply out of its own existence. It is a delicate balance to encourage powerful companies like Kimberly Clark to continue taking small steps toward environmental responsibility while also eschewing them for the degradation of ecosystems that they cause. In this specific case, reports (albeit not from unbiased sources) show some of the steps the companies have taken toward environmental stewardship.

Specifically, Kimberly Clark purchases pulp from Neenah Paper and West Fraser Timber, in Ontario and Alberta respectively. Greenpeace’s Kleercut campaign finds both of these companies guilty of clear-cutting the Boreal forest.7 Researching these company’s records reveals the positive, if minimal, result of pressuring the paper industry to clean up its act. Neenah Paper recently made one of the largest green power purchases in the industry’s history.8 Additionally, the Pictou plant in Nova Scotia that supplies pulp to Kimberly Clark produces 100 percent Elemental Chlorine Free bleaching process (the most environmentally sound) and supports a tree nursery for reforestation.9

The website of the West Fraser Timber Company also presents an environmental plan including information on its efforts in the areas of “managing forests sustainably, working to protect the caribou, forest certification, and protecting special places.”10 Their major source of pride on their environmental record was a 1994 decision to stop harvesting from the Kitlope rainforest, a decision that, although admirable, does not seem to suggest a future parallel with the Boreal forest.11 In April, a YouTube video released by the nonprofit group Forest Ethics accused West Fraser of business practices that unnecessarily endangered the caribou of Northern Canada. A vice president of the company issued a response, but as in the ongoing accusations and defense between the Kleercut campaign and Kimberly Clark, it is difficult to draw a line between what Kleercut describes as “gre-
“enwashing” and legitimate corporate response.\textsuperscript{12}

The other component of toilet paper may have come from recycled newsprint or other paper, which went through an intensive de-inking process and chemical pulping before being combined with the sourced timber pulp.\textsuperscript{13} A report written by an Australia professor enlightens the public to the “environmental negatives” of using recycled pulp in the paper processing procedure.\textsuperscript{14} His report does not clearly state its affiliation with Kimberly Clark, but directs inquiries for further information to Kimberly Clark’s “Caring for our Environment” website.\textsuperscript{15} In a series of lists of the environmental pros and cons of various choices through the paper production commodity chain, Johnston argues that “the commonly held beliefs that recycled paper products are clearly better for the environment is not necessarily true.”\textsuperscript{16}

Despite Jensen’s report, the visible Kleercut campaign protesting the sourcing to the Boreal forest seems to have prompted reconsideration in regards to recycled paper. The more recent Kimberly Clark 2006 Sustainability Report shows that the company may have changed their stance on recycled paper pulp, as a picture brags that Scott now produces 100 percent recycled fiber products.\textsuperscript{17} If they had truly determined that recycling was a worse environmental alternative than sourcing new pulp, they would not advertise in their “Sustainability Report” that they offer 100 percent recycled products. The cardboard role is one piece of the toilet paper commodity chain that represents an industry’s commitment to reasonable environmental alternatives. The roll is nearly always made from 100 percent recycled cardboard and can (and should) be recycled after use.\textsuperscript{18}

Toilet paper production has environmental affects ranging from endangering species to contaminating massive amounts of water used in pulping. These impacts, however, have been minimized due to organizational and political pressures, leaving one crucial point of environmental degradation at the foreground: forestry. Our society can unite around toilet paper: there is no way to greatly curtail the use of the product, but there lies the potential for the reorganization of societal, political, and economic structures to alter the perception of the industry. Production should have two end goals instead of one: a beautiful absorbent roll in the bathroom, and a beautiful absorbent carbon reservoir in Canada.
Endnotes

6. Ibid.
9. Ibid.
11. Ibid.
12. Tripp, “Kleercut.”
15. Ibid., 8.
16. Ibid., 7.

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