FIELDS | TERRAINS

McGill University was built on the unceded land of Tiohtià:ke, which has long served as the site of meetings and cultural exchange amongst Indigenous peoples. Tiohtià:ke has strong ties to the founding Kanien'keha:ka Nation, as members of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy, and Anishinaabe peoples. We acknowledge the Kanien'keha:ka nation as stewards of this land where we now reside and study.

As members of the Anthropology Students' Association (ASA), we critically reflect upon the colonial origin of anthropology as contributing to the genocidal acts committed against Indigenous communities across what is now considered Canada. We call continuous attention to the ongoing eradication of Indigenous presence on this land, and we actively encourage discussion surrounding the decolonial role of anthropology today. In creating this journal, we aim to provide an inclusive space in which every voice is not only heard but also treated with care and attentiveness.

L'Université McGill a été construite sur les terres non cédées de Tiohtià:ke, qui servent depuis longtemps de lieu de rencontre et d'échange culturel entre les peuples autochtones. Tiohtià:ke entretient des liens étroits avec la nation fondatrice Kanien'keha:ka, en tant que membre de la confédération Haudenosaunee, et avec les peuples Anishinaabe. Nous reconnaissons la nation Kanien'keha:ka en tant que gardienne de cette terre où nous résidons et étudions aujourd'hui.

En tant que membres de l'Association des étudiants en anthropologie (ASA), nous menons une réflecion critique sur les origines coloniales de l'anthropologie, qui a contribué aux actes génocidaires commis contre les communautés autochtones dans ce qui est aujourd'hui considéré comme le Canada. Nous nous efforçons continuellement d'attirer l'attention sur l'éradication actuelle de la présence indigène sur cette terre. Nous encourageons activement les discussions sur le rôle que l'anthropologie joue aujourd'hui dans le processus de décolonisation. En créant cette publication, nous aspirons à ouvrir un espace inclusif dans lequel chaque voix est non seulement entendue mais aussi traitée avec soin et attention.

Editors-in-Chief | Éditrices en Chef

Editors | Éditeurs/-rices

Graphic Designers | Graphistes

Letter From the Editors | Lettre des Éditrices

On behalf of the 2022-2023 editorial board, we are excited to present the 13th Volume of McGill's Undergraduate Journal of Anthropology, *Fields/Terrains: Landscapes*. The theme, *Landscapes*, was chosen by us to explore the vastness and complexity by which people intertwine with their environments. This year's works, from academic papers to personal reflections and photographs, all engage with such connections in their own unique ways. They present *geographical* landscapes through human-earth interactions, *cultural* landscapes of meaning-making on ancestral lands, *political* landscapes in the institutional modifications of reality, and *mental* landscapes through epistemological reflections. With these various "*landscapes*", we invite you to immerse yourself within the ideas of relationality and reciprocal existence, sparking a conversation concerning the pivotal role they occupy in our lives that are ever in connection with others.

We would like to give a great thank you to the authors, for the journal would never be possible without their courage to share their great ideas regarding the theme. We would like to give another thanks to the editors and graphic designers, who have worked for months with passion and meticulosity to present you with the best of the edition. Last but not least, we would like to thank you, the readers, for your continued support; now, it is your time to enjoy!

Au nom du comité éditorial 2022-2023, nous sommes heureux de présenter le 13e volume de la Revue d'anthropologie de premier cycle de McGill, *Fields/Terrains: Landscapes (les Paysages)*. Nous avons choisi ce thème pour explorer l'immensité et la complexité de l'interaction entre les êtres humains et leur environnement. Les travaux de cette année, qu'il s'agisse d'articles académiques, de réflexions personnelles ou de photographies, abordent ces liens de manière unique. Ils présentent des paysages *géographiques* à travers les interactions entre l'homme et la terre, des paysages *culturels* de création de sens sur des terres ancestrales, des paysages *politiques* dans les modifications institutionnelles de la réalité, et des paysages *mentaux* à travers des réflexions épistémologiques. Avec ces différents "*paysages*", nous vous invitons à vous immerger dans les concepts de relation et d'existence réciproque, tout en suscitant une conversation sur le rôle central qu'elles occupent dans nos vies qui sont toujours en relation avec les autres.

Nous tenons à remercier chaleureusement les auteur(e)s, car la revue n'aurait jamais vu le jour sans le courage dont ils ont fait preuve en partageant leurs grandes idées sur ce thème. Nous souhaitons également remercier les éditeurs/-rices et les graphistes, qui ont travaillé pendant des mois avec passion et méticulosité pour vous présenter le meilleur de cette édition. Enfin, nous tenons à vous remercier, vous les lecteurs/-rices, pour votre soutien continu! A présent, c'est à vous d'en profiter!

Editors-in-Chief | Éditrices en chef
Yuxin Cao & Luca Ifill

Traduit par Jean-Paul Guité

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Indigenous Fire Management Practices in the Pacific Northwest

Josie Quigley

Author's Statement:

"I am an anthropology undergraduate student of Irish and Scottish settler ancestry living and studying on unceded Indigenous land. McGill University is located on the traditional territory of the Kanien'kehá:ka, and I grew up on the traditional territory of the Anishinabek Nation in Haliburton, Ontario. This paper focuses on land-management practices of some Coast Salish communities, and those of the Nimiipuu, using fire that have maintained the balance in their respective homes since time immemorial. The disruption of these practices through colonial assimilation, disenfranchisement, and genocide are central themes within the struggles to maintain and regain stewardship of traditional territories as explored in this paper.

"This paper was written for a history class on the topic of Indigenous Identity and Nationhood. With such a complex topic as this, I believe interdisciplinarity is important to gain a fuller picture. I have tried to pull from a variety of disciplines, including history, anthropology, and forest sciences. I grew up playing in the woods in a rural, isolated town, and have since developed a deep love for botany just as I have developed an interest in the many histories of humanity.. Forest fires are a near-annual occurrence where I grew up, and the ecological opportunities they provide have always been a personal fascination of mine. In recent years, the destruction they have caused has made headlines and brought the topic to the front of mind for many. Through this paper, I aim to highlight Indigenous fire practices that have worked symbiotically with the land with a focus on works created by and in collaboration with Indigenous peoples in the affected areas, and supplementing this with other sources where literature is lacking, such as early settlers' observations and historical reviews when necessary due to the erasure of indigenous histories and lifeways."

"Fire can be a force for good as it warms homes and stimulates grasses, but it can also be immensely destructive. The role of humans is not to control nature, but to maintain a balance between these opposing forces" (Kimmerer & Lake 2001:36-41).

Early European settlers to the Pacific Northwest encountered many things that they could not make sense of. The Indigenous nations they encountered tended to be more communitarian, ecocentric, and pluralist than their own, and the cultural practices they witnessed were not like the ones they were familiar with. Throughout colonisation, settler states targeted these differences, aiming to eradicate Indigenous peoples and cultures through assimilation and dispossession. Settlers had erroneously assumed the environment was pristine and untouched, when it had actually been built and shaped by Indigenous peoples through cultural practices since time immemorial. Consequently, Indigenous identities and cultures have been shaped by the land they occupy:

"The land is not only the source of traditional law and lore, it is what defines many indigenous cultures; when the ties to the landscape are compromised, then so too is the culture" (Coles & Hankins 2015:129-137). Many Indigenous nations view themselves as part of their environment as opposed to the authority over it, which fosters cultural practices that have symbiotic effects with the beings they share their home with, like plants and non-human animals. By interrupting the intergenerational sharing of land-based knowledge through assimilating knowledge and the dispossession of traditional territories, these relationships are also disrupted (Kimmerer & Lake 2001:37).

As we see today, this disruption has catastrophic consequences for the land and all who live there, reflected in the mass extinctions, adverse weather events, and plagues hanging above our heads. This disruption is integral to the destructive fire regime burning through the Pacific Northwest every summer. Through a brief overview of fire management legislation in the area and analysis of two case studies of culturally-significant fire practices, I aim to show how colonial interventions in Indigenous relationships

Illustrated by Mikayla Collins
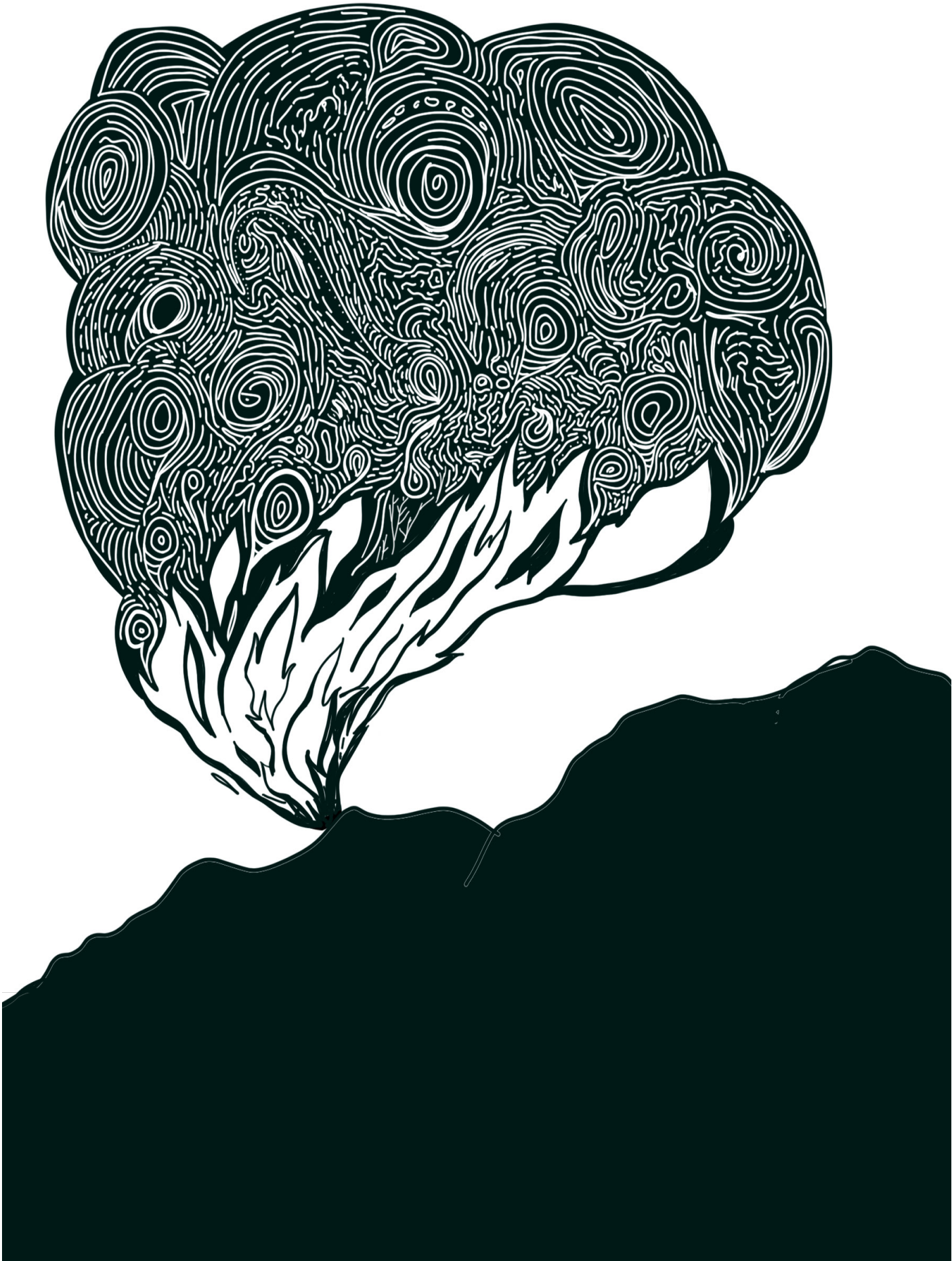
to the land encouraged the massive and destructive wildfires that threaten the lives and livelihoods of millions every year.

Creating the modern wildfire crisis

With the shifting climate, adverse weather events are more likely, meaning the odds of lightning or drought contributing to wildfires is greatly increased. This is, however, only one half of the problem: land dispossession and the interruption in sharing Indigenous knowledge caused by assimilative processes destroyed or otherwise limited true land stewardship and management as it had been practiced for millennia (Coles et al 215). Wildfires are burning hotter, longer, and faster than ever before, feeding off of the layers of forest detritus, called duff, that have built up through centuries of fire suppression (Dods 2002:475-487). Before colonisation and the imposition of capitalism, Indigenous peoples employed land management strategies based on generations of ecological data, resulting in cultural practices that work symbiotically with their environment (Kimmerer & Lake 2001). As lumber became an increasingly important resource, Indigenous practices impacting forests were limited and outlawed. Indigenous peoples living in areas with access to resources prized by settlers were forcibly removed and relocated, meaning governance over land management practices were now overseen by settlers who sought to drain the land and maximize their profit (West 2010). Finding themselves in an entirely new environmental community, settlers applied forest management practices based on European forests despite the vast differences between the forests they were used to and those they were now trying to tame. In European ecological epistemology, fire was seen as a threat, liable to spread and destroy their private property and precious lumber (Robbins 2001). By ignoring these differences, so too did they ignore the essential role fire played in the construction of the American landscape.

The Nimiipuu (Nez Perce)

The literature covering the Nimiipuu and their cultural practices is extensive, mainly owing to high levels of violent contact between them and the colonial state. The traditional territories of the Nimiipuu extend from the Blue Mountains to what is now Bitterroot National Forest, covering land in what is now Idaho, Oregon, Washington, and Montana. It consists of about 13 million acres (Caroll et al. 2010). They were often nomadic and participated in trade stretching all the way to the west coast. The Nimiipuu have several long-standing traditions of cultural fire

use. Fire was used in a variety of practices, from social gatherings centred around a fire to complex subsistence strategies used to shape the landscape (Caroll et al. 2010). Through ethnohistorical interviews with Nimiipuu people, Caroll et al shared that an unnamed tribal member and interviewee explained that "the sharp distinction an outsider might make between cultural use of fire and the manipulation of fire to influence the landscape is not a meaningful one" to the Nimiipuu (Caroll et al. 2010: 73). Distinguishing between using fire for agricultural, religious, or landscaping purposes matters little because of the importance of the reciprocal relationship between the Nimiipuu and their environment, stemming from some Nimiipuu spiritual beliefs, which support the notion that they belong within the environment, and not above it as in anthropocentric Western ontology. Some important uses for fire include creating grazing grounds to attract game, burning old plants to bring nutrients back into the soil, and as a tool in conflict with neighbouring nations (Caroll et al. 2010: 73). It is important to note that these practices were not done for the explicit purpose of reducing fuel loads in the region, but that these culturally and socially significant practices worked symbiotically with their environment. The ecological knowledge held by Indigenous communities is specific to, and based on, their relationship to their traditional lands.

Settler contact became significant in the Nimiipuu's history relatively late. Early meetings with white people were often positive or neutral, with many missionary attempts and some settlers staying briefly with the Nimiipuu on their travels, including the infamous Lewis and Clark (Wandschneider 2018). A measles outbreak in 1847 soured these relationships, though in 1855, their size and power secured them a treaty that essentially guaranteed their access to and ownership of their traditional territories. This acknowledgement of their sovereignty did not last long, however; in 1863, their territory was reduced by 90 percent to allow white miners access to the gold deposits on their land . They refused to sign this until 1877, when one of the nation's new leaders relented following over a decade of settler pressure and trespassing (Wandschneider 2018). This divided the nation between those who agreed to move to the much smaller new reserve and those who refused. The latter group, unrelenting, made their way towards allies to the north, but were stopped in Montana and brought to Kansas by colonial authorities, before being forced into Indian Territory, the designated relocation site for Indigenous nations whose lands had been stolen. It would be eight years before they would be allowed to

live anywhere near their traditional territory, and even then, they were forced onto a reserve west of their home that was shared between several distinct nations (West 2010). The displacement was so traumatic that, in 1904, Heinmon Tooyalakekt, the contemporary band chief, was pronounced dead due to grief from "his exile from his band's home country" (West 2010:4). He had lost so much more than property in the land cessions: he had lost his identity, which had been formed within his relationship to the land. That was taken from him, the land his ancestors had always lived on and with, with devastating personal and population-wide effects.

With their bountiful territory now opened up to settler development, colonial powers continued the process of Indigenous dispossession and assimilation. By the first decade of the twentieth century in America, Indigenous nations were no longer being respected as sovereign, and the 1887 introduction of the Dawes Act saw Indigenous governance systems and property law shattered to promote their assimilation into European American society (Carlson 1981). This meant the Nimiipuu no longer had access to their traditional territory, and their previously nomadic lifestyle was forced to a standstill, rendering many of the cultural fire practices that had shaped the land illegal or impossible. The 1910s saw the beginning of fire suppression advocacy following a horrific wildfire season, with this 'advocacy' mostly stemming from private lumber companies wishing to protect their assets. With their financial and political support, a system for national fire management was developed (Pyne 1981). The Weeks Law of 1911 introduced the first federal funding of fire management and suppression (Robbins 2001). Thus began the modern era of fire research, coupled with the codification of who could set fires where. Initially, fires of almost any kind were seen as destructive, but as research progressed, fire management using fire found its way into colonial practice. Slowly, the research began to reveal the boons of fire when used for land management: it could clear massive areas for agricultural fields, make nutrient-depleted ground fertile again, and, by the 1960s, they had researched their way back around to small, controlled fires as a means of reducing the available fuel load (Pyne 1981). By undercutting the authority of Indigenous peoples' knowledge of their land, countless hectares and homes were destroyed alongside many Indigenous nations, only to come to the realization that they had been right to set fires in the first place.

The Coast Salish First Nations of Puget Sound

The traditional territories of the many Coast Salish First Nations are found on Canada's west coast. Many of these nations make strategic use of cultural fires for a multitude of purposes. On the northern boundary of Puget Sound, Washington, is Island County, the home of four Coast Salish nations. The islands within this boundary have been shaped by cultural fire use, which is a tradition shared by many Coast Salish nations (Boyd & White 2021). By cycling through different subsistence methods as the seasons change, the Salish enjoyed a nonagricultural though nutritionally diverse diet, making use of hunting, fishing and gathering. Their territory had access to food sources plentiful enough that seasonal travel negated any need for sedentary agriculture (Boyd & White 2021). Part of this food cycle consisted of strategic fires set to prime the land for nettles (Urtica dioica) which were a staple food, which allowed the nutrients from dead plant matter to return to the earth after harvest to replenish the soil. It was also integral in creating the plains that supported the plants and game they relied on (Boyd & White 2021). These burning practices also kept the proportion of young trees on the island high, reducing the risk of fire while maximizing open space: older trees store higher levels of nitrogen, further increasing their fuel load. Many of these Coast Salish practices work with the environment: open plains gave elk and deer the opportunity to graze, cleared the canopy for less competitive trees like the Douglas fir to thrive, and created an ideal environment for growing essential foodstuffs (Boyd & White 2021). Some nations were nomadic, living in temporary settlements and migrating for easy food supply based on situated knowledge of the land and its characteristics (Boyd & White 2021). This made for symbiotic relationships with their environment, shaping it with fire practices to the benefit of their non-human neighbours, and, by extension, themselves.

When settlers first arrived, they saw the Coast Salish peoples as dependent on seasonality in their lack of agriculture and "stuck" in their nomadic ways. Colonial contact reached this side of the continent relatively late, with the first significant interactions beginning in the 1850s (Boyd & White 2021). Such assumptions could not be further from the truth: the Skagit, one of the nations occupying Whidbey Island and some smaller nearby islands, have a long-standing cultural practice of planting camas bulbs, and some communities also grew lilies and wild carrots. Settlers saw infertile ground, scorched forests, and nothing resembling the "Old World" agricultural farms. A few

settlers saw the ecological value of these practices and some even began integrating them into their own practices. Most, however, saw the fires as a waste of lumber and assumed nomadism was taken up by the Salish out of necessity, lacking the 'ability' to make use of agriculture (Boyd & White 2021). For Indigenous communities, one tree of the many massive conifer species found on the west coast was enough to supply everyone with more than enough wood (Boyd & White 2021). The settlers, with their eyes on industrialization and mass-production, could not understand why the Salish were not clear-cutting every forest they encountered. What they did not understand was that nomadism and less extensive agriculture was a reaction to the abundance of food sources on the coast. The practices they used to shape the land were not careless accidents: many of the Salish nations believe in spirit inhabiting not just people, but plants, animals, and other neighbours, which made a reciprocal relationship essential spiritually, as well. Such a close relationship fostered a deep understanding of the land and its needs, as well as extensive scientific knowledge of the environment, something the recent settlers could not quite grasp (Boyd & White 2021).

Straddling the border, the Coast Salish peoples fell under whatever jurisdiction the new Canada-USA border drew them into. This meant that many experienced things similar to the legal difficulties of the Nimiipuu in America while some were taken under Canadian jurisdiction instead. The first legislation applying to Indigenous fire practices in British Columbia was the Bush Fire Act. (1874) The Act made burning a finable offence and began regulating fires through permits (Copes-Gerbitz, et al. 2022). This was just the beginning of a massive ideological shift for Indigenous peoples wishing to become involved in trade with settlers. Suddenly, the lumber that had been seemingly endless was a finite resource, and one of the most prized according to the newcomers (Copes-Gerbitz, et al. 2022). The introduction of the Indian Act in 1876 also meant that Indigenous territories were being limited to tiny reserves that were a fraction of what they had had access to for centuries. By placing Indigenous peoples under the Indian Act, Canadian legislation became increasingly pervasive, with the colonial government feeling like they now had the authority to apply their laws to Indigenous peoples.

The next Act restricting access to cultural fire practices even further, the Forest Act, was introduced in 1912 following disastrous wildfires in 1910 (Copes-Gerbitz, et al. 2022). Deliberately starting fires was now punishable by prison time, propaganda opposing these practices spread like wildfire, and the colonial fire management authorities were developing new ways to suppress fire (Copes-Gerbitz, et al. 2022). The Second World War had introduced airplanes with the capability to carry and dump vast amounts of water and fear of the firebombs used in this conflict afflicted the settler psyche. Through aggressive fire prevention and overarching control over lumber, fuel in the form of fallen leaves and branches began lining forest floors, and more nitrogen built up in the old-growth forests so dear to the settler state. Unsurprisingly, fires became bigger, hotter, and more destructive, while forests swallowed more of the open plains the Salish had depended on (Copes-Gerbitz, et al. 2022). As with the Nimiipuu, the colonial government 'discovered' prescribed burning at the end of the twentieth century, but the authority over what is burned and for how long was never returned to the stewards of the land (Copes-Gerbitz, et al. 2022). The ignorance of millenia of situated knowledge has allowed the massive wildfires to ravage the area for over a century.

Conclusion

The colonial practices of assimilation and dispossession have systematically dismantled Indigenous sovereignty and identity, destroying the intergenerational exchanges integral to many Indigenous knowledge systems. This has devastating effects for Indigenous peoples and cultures, and, therefore, for their land. In Western thought, there is a tendency to conceptualize humans as a separate category above all other beings, and this is reflected in the destructive and short-sighted economic and political systems built within this framework. Many Indigenous nations in the Pacific Northwest see things differently: they understand themselves as a part of the ecosystem, as much as any tree or bird (Kimmerer & Lake 2001). This, too, is reflected in economic and political structures, which support the use of land and resources while maintaining the health of the ecosystem. It has created the symbiotic relationship between Indigenous peoples in the Pacific Northwest and their traditional territories, in which the cultural practices that benefit the people benefit the ecosystem, as well. The transactional quality of settler relationships to the land and other relations are indicative of the paternalistic way nature is treated and understood. This is why, to fix the wildfire crisis, settlers first landed on fire suppression as their model. They sought to tame and contain the flames, believing they were always in control. In reality, they researched their way to a simplified, and less effective, version

of the practices used by Indigenous peoples for centuries before Europeans knew there was a land mass between them and Asia. Indigenous land sovereignty and identity must be supported and affirmed if we are to tackle the catastrophic consequences of colonialism and capitalism, and to build a safer, more stable natural world.

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Critiquing Capitalist Development Projects Through an Ecofeminist Exploration of the Roots of Patriarchal Oppression

Olivia Kasparian

Author's Statement:

"Hello! I am Olivia and I go by she/her. I am a year away from graduating with an Honours Specialization in International Development Studies, with my main interest being in Environmental Anthropology. I personally have a strong bond with plants and natural entities, spending most of the time when I am not reading or writing exploring forests, mountains or lakes or gardening. As a female North American white urban dweller, it is this ecological longing that brings me a curiosity about how communities physically and historically closer to what is conventionally considered nature live this proximity. Being surrounded by a euromodern understanding of the world and experiencing its downfalls, I am constantly questioning it and seeking alternative worldviews. I am particularly sensitive to those of the original stewards of the regions explored through my various research interests. This text was written as part of an international development seminar course on gender and development."

Economic growth constitutes the leading indicator of development, pushing countries towards profit-focused capitalist development projects. These projects are pursued despite their harmful consequences on individuals, communities, and environmental systems—their effects being particularly harmful to women. I suggest that these harmful consequences result from a patriarchal mindset underlying capitalist development projects, which ultimately sustains the oppression of women. As such, I first explore the roots of the patriarchal dualist construction of a naturalized womanhood highlighted by the theoretical framework of Ecofeminism, in its logic justifying the oppression of the feminine, and in its application to the multiple masculinities theory. Proceeding from this foundation, I illustrate this patriarchal mindset by exposing its manifestation in the gendered violence wrought by large-scale capitalist development projects, with particular emphasis on natural resource extraction industries. Having delineated the relationship of capitalist development projects to the naturalization of the feminine, I conclude this critique by extending it to the broader mainstream development mindset and suggesting the importance of transformative pathways towards development approaches liberated from patriarchal oppression.

Patriarchal Construction of a Naturalized Womanhood

Ecofeminism can be defined as a set of approaches informed by Native feminism constituting a "value system, a social movement, and a practice … (which) also offers a political analysis" through which inter-constituted conceptualizations of nature and womanhood can be explored by the study of the ideological, political, economic, and practical spheres in which the two intersect (Birkeland 1993:18, cited in Rao 2012:126). As a value system, it puts forward an ideological critique of the patriarchal dualist conception of the world characteristic of Western philosophy (Warren 2015). As a political analysis, the Marxist trend of Ecofeminism highlights the shared oppression of nature and women, framing its roots in the capitalist bindings of patriarchy. Finally, as a social movement and practice, Material Ecofeminism highlights the mutually reinforcing effects of said shared oppression between nature and women. These three pillars of ecofeminism permit the study of the multifaceted subjugated construction of femininity, with roots in its construction as an exploitable nature, a process which can be termed *naturalization* and that underlies systems of patriarchal oppression (Oksala 2018).

A Value System Responding to Oppressive Constructions of Nature and Womanhood

Constructions of womanhood and nature in the Western world stem from a patriarchal philosophy of logic and truth that can be assessed by rationality, impartiality, and universality (Warren 2015). This fosters a hierarchical division of the world in the Western imagination where concepts associated with rationality (e.g. civilization, science, and progress) are grouped and associated with the construction of a
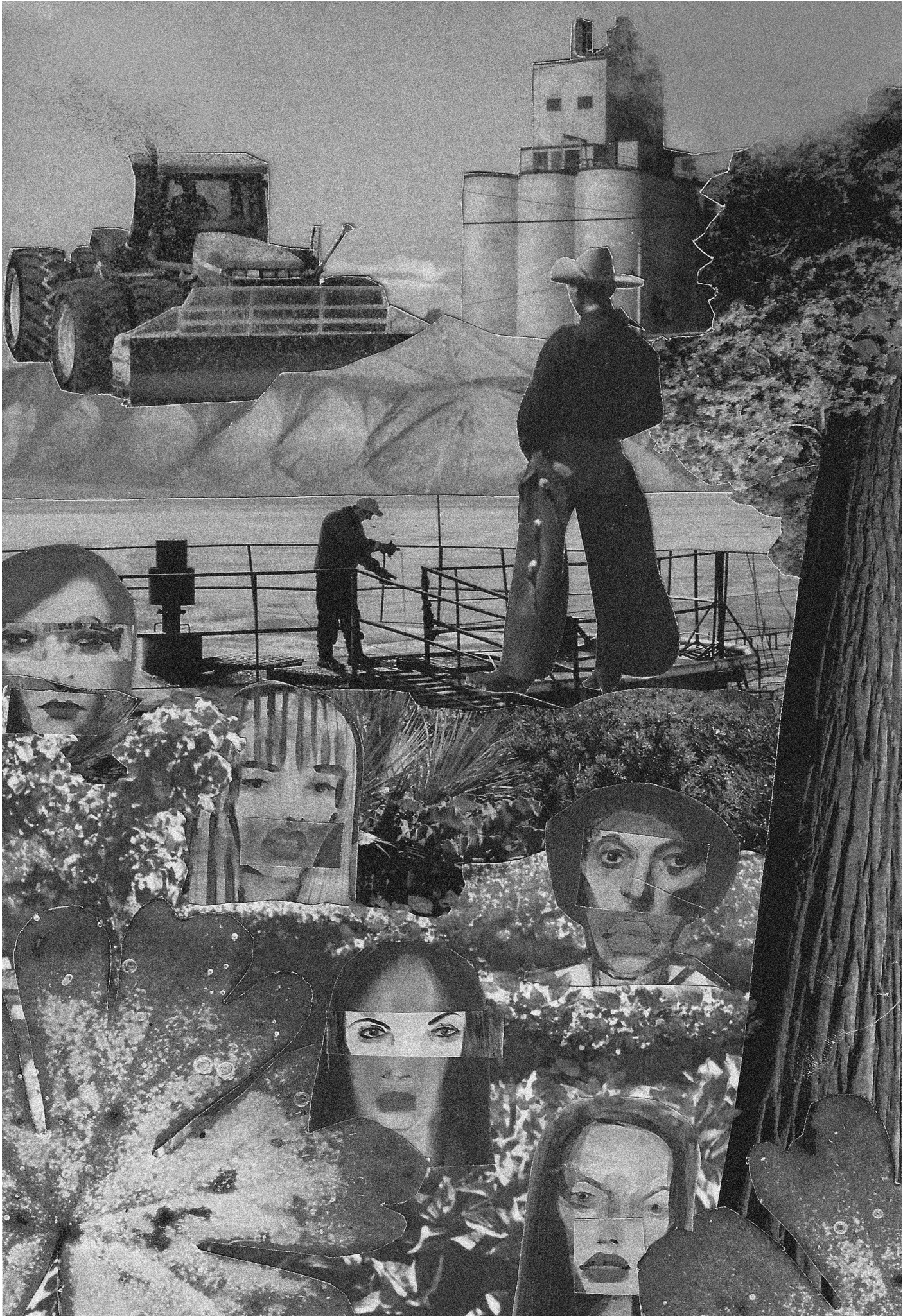
Illustrated by Hollister Rhone, Mixed Media Collage

"strong, capable, wise, and composed" (Arvin, Tuck, and Morrill 2013:13) masculinity superior to their binary opposites (e.g. nature, tradition, wilderness) that are, in turn, seen as irrational, a process which expends to femininity resulting in the construction of the latter as a manifestation of incompetence, weakness, and confusion (Arvin, Tuck, and Morrill 2013:13). Said dualizing process in turn genders a nature constructed as wild, uncontrolled, and exploitable, thus lowering the status of its associated femininity by excluding both from a Western and androcentric conception of civilization, consequently justifying unequal power and privileges, and supporting a gendered logic of domination that shapes gender norms, practices, and violence (Warren 2015). The naturalization of femininity thus leads to the formation of a gender hierarchy.

A Political Construction Justifying Oppression

A political and economic analysis of the twin domination of nature and the feminine can, in turn, be related to capitalist interests to foster their constructions as inferior in order to justify means of capital accumulation. Exploiting resources without compensation that covers the use-value of the resource and the externalities of its exploitation is essential to capital accumulation. This applies to natural resources by, for instance, the exclusion from the market of unextracted resources, such as untouched minerals, or unextractable resources, such as air. This logic can then translate to human production, such as with reproductive, informal, or subsistence labour unaccounted for in the official economy. Since women, the poor and colonized people perform most of this labour, their work, and by extension their social roles, are pushed to the periphery of the Eurocentric economy expressed as the 'official' economy, thus contributing to the naturalization of their subjugation to the Western, patriarchal exploitation (Oksala 2018:221-222).

Ecofeminism questions the divide created by the formal economy and critiques the consequent inferiority of women and natural resources by considering the holistic use-value of natural, reproductive, informal, and subsistence labour (Oksala 2018:220-221).

An Everyday Connection Shaped by Oppression

The naturalization of femininity is further supported in developing countries by the importance of nature for women's livelihoods, knowledge, and social status, in part due to the structural barriers that they face in accessing other opportunities (Oksala, 2018; Arvin, Tuck, and Morrill 2013:21). This closeness of women's livelihood to nature accentuates women's vulnerabilities by keeping them materially dependent on natural resources. Hence, women's practical connection to land acts as a force exacerbating oppressive structures. The violence consequent to this connection will be illustrated in the following section.

The Intersectionality of Oppression

These three processes of naturalization of femininity are created by, support, and sustain patriarchal ideologies that affect not only women but also other groups marginalized because of their connection to nature, seen, for instance, in the oppression of Indigenous people. Through the lens of Multiple Masculinity Theory, unnatural masculine rationality, civilization, productive labour, formal economies, and livelihoods distant from natural resources are characteristic of a Western hegemonic masculinity. Gendered naturalization implies the reduced masculinity of those who hold deeper connections to nature. It thus acts as a factor, intersecting with others, in the hierarchization of multiple masculinities that is based on the extent of the discrepancy from the hegemonic urban, capitalist, science and progress-oriented, white, western, economically advantaged and heterosexual men. Therefore, while women in general are affected by their naturalization, for instance in their lack of representation in decision-making spaces for being perceived as lacking the necessary logic or through the devaluation of their reproductive labour for having a value primarily outside of the market economy, other groups, such as Indigenous men are also subject to naturalization, and their status to the masculine hegemony lowered from it.

Hence, gendered naturalization is not only a feminist concern but cannot be separated from decolonization movements as it reduces the status of indigenous people by placing them in the inferior half of the Western patriarchal dualism, which sustains the oppression of the Indigenous ontology.

Gendered Impacts of Environmental Exploitation

Capitalist development projects centred around multinational corporations take multiple forms, from resource extraction and agribusinesses to labour exploitation. Although they all profit from and partake in the naturalization of women, resource extraction offers a pertinent illustration of this process by exploiting nature in parallel to the oppression of women and consequent gender-based violence. Studying it thus exposes the harmful impact of patriarchal development justified by gendered naturalization. Because of the transnational power relations that shape many resource extraction projects in developing countries, the industry also exemplifies the extension of gendered naturalization beyond that of womanhood to justify neocolonialism. The gendered

impacts of extractivist industries are lived at various scales and in various settings. Consequences on communities, work conditions, and attitudes toward those opposing extractive projects will be explored below.

It is worth noting the gendered disadvantages women, who in the case of resource extraction are also often intersectionally marginalized from being poor, rural, and Indigenous, face before the arrival of extractive industries, as these are often already violent manifestations of women's naturalization and shape the effects of resource extraction. Women and ethnic minorities often experience lower access to education, healthcare, legal rights, economic opportunities, and material resources due to cultural gender norms stemming from a patriarchal construction of womanhood and often a history of colonization (Haysom 2017; Boyer, Meijer, and Gilligan 2020; Castañeda Camey et al. 2020). Gender roles exacerbate these factors by giving women reproductive responsibilities and consequently participate in the naturalization of femininity by reinforcing its connection to nature ideologically, by keeping women out of spaces deemed rational, materially, by reinforcing women's livelihood dependence on nature and lowering their access to alternatives, and politically, by keeping women's production to reproductive and subsistence labour that is excluded from the market. Women affected by extractive industries are thus already experiencing limited opportunities and consequently heightened vulnerability to changes in their environment.

Gendered Experiences of Communal Consequences

While communities as a whole are affected directly by the arrival of extractive industries, women additionally experience indirect gendered impacts. Establishing extractive activities in a community or its surroundings primarily results in a loss of private and communal land, with or without displacement. Since only a fifth of community and indigenous managed lands are formally owned by the communities accessing them, they are particularly susceptible to being sold to or transferred for use by extractive industries (Castañeda Camey et al. 2020:26). Land ownership, and to a lower extent, land occupation without formal ownership, is often used as an indicator of power. Hence land loss not only affects communities materially but also affects the status of their members, lowering it in contrast to the newly arrived industry. Women's status is particularly affected as the knowledge acquired from their livelihoods close to the land, such as traditional ecological knowledge, which had served to elevate woman's status within the community, is rendered of no utility (Castañeda Camey et al. 2020:33-34).

Furthermore, because of the proximity to land from their everyday responsibilities and livelihood activities and the lack of training in alternative livelihoods, the loss of land leaves women under-equipped to construct new purposes (Rao 2012). Loss of land entails the loss of its resources in terms of quantity or quality. This is lived at the community level by a loss of security in the form of essential subsistence resources. With traditional gender roles usually placing subsistence resources responsibilities on women, these are disproportionately affected as they are required to travel further to reach the necessary resources, which results in higher exposure to gendered, in particular sexual, violence in travel (Boyer, Meijer, and Gilligan 2020:37). Furthermore, since gender norms limit women's economic opportunities, their livelihoods depend on natural resources. Hence, the loss of access to land, which particularly affects women since they are discriminated against in land ownership laws and customs and thus find themselves dependent on communal land vulnerable to land grabbing, implies a loss of their economic power, in itself economic violence, which, in turn, exacerbates their dependency on men family members and their vulnerability to domestic acts of violence (Castañeda Camey et al. 2020:26-33; Menjívar 2011:5).

A second impact of the arrival of extractive industries is the change in the community's social structure. With the extractive industry being mainly masculine, its establishment implies an influx of man workers, shifting the gender balance of the community. Similarly, the hyper-masculine culture promoted by this industry alters the community's gender relations by spreading its patriarchal gender hierarchy. These social changes particularly impact women who find themself a subjugated minority vulnerable to a culture of patriarchal exploitation of natural resources and aggressive masculinity, seen, for instance, in a rise in the exploitation of women as sexual resources through forced prostitution, rape, and sexual trafficking (Castañeda Camey et al. 2020:107-108; Haysom 2017:130). These actions are often unpunished as the extractive industry controls political and economic power and, I propose, because they are justified by the patriarchal naturalization of women as exploitable resources. (Castañeda Camey et al. 2020:167).

Finally, the loss of access to land and natural resources, as well as the alteration of the communities' gender balance and gender relations, also entails changes at the household scale. This is seen first with men having increased access to wage labour through work in the extractive industry and women lower livelihood opportunities, hence exacerbating the hierarchical intra-household gender relations by including men in the formal economy and reinforcing

women's exclusion from it, and second with a rise in household stress, in part due to the lower access to resources. These changes in household structures put women at heightened risk of intimate partner violence, especially in situations where women's loss of livelihood increases their dependency on their partner or when men's new cash income permits the purchase of alcohol (Castañeda Camey et al. 2020:104-106).

Gendered work conditions

While access to employment opportunities in extractive industries is limited for women, and others whose identity departs from the hegemonic masculine ideal, some female labour does take place, especially in lower-status work. However, the female work experience differs from that of men due to the nature of the work and gender imbalances at play, such as male management, a culture of corruption, and removed rural locations, which are sustained by the hyper-masculine culture of natural resource extraction extended to naturalized femininity. These are all factors which intensify women's vulnerability to gender-based violence, for instance, through the request of sexual favours in order to access employment or remuneration for the work executed, or through the double burden and extended active hours required by maintenance of gendered responsibilities of reproductive labour (Castañeda Camey et al. 2020:115-118).

Female Environmental Human Rights Defenders' Experiences

Those protesting against such projects, often defending environmental or human rights, are at risk of experiencing violence, exacerbated by the power imbalances at play. Women and Indigenous people, groups that are put in submissive roles because of their patriarchal inferiority to masculine hegemony, which was proposed above to stem in part from their naturalized conceptualization, are key actors in opposing extractive projects, thus increasing their exposure and, because of the low adaptive capabilities their marginalization permits, their overall vulnerability (Castañeda Camey et al. 2020:163).

Violence from the extractive industry and its allies, for instance, states, is used as a way to control the land and its population through its terrorization and to discourage opposing movements and is justified by the political, economic, and gendered patriarchal power imbalances between industrial actors and local communities linked to the hierarchy of masculinities with the female-constructed connection to nature of rural community reason for their inferiority. Activists of all genders live this violence. However, female defenders face additional violence because of their gender-specific vulnerability, living both general

violence, such as murder and gender-based violence, such as rape (Castañeda Camey et al. 2020:171).

The latter can be explained in part by the patriarchal dualist reduction of women to nature, as opposed to masculized culture, and its role in relations of control, with violence against women (e.g. subjugating them to the industry's power) being used as a way to exert control over the land because of their associated construction. Furthermore, because of the deemed masculine role of women's protection, harming women reduces the status of the community in relation to hegemonic masculinity (Sharlach 2000). Both result in the suppression of the community's power and, thus, that of its activist movement.

The realities of Women Defenders' are also shaped by violence from within their community as their activist role challenges those prescribed by patriarchal gender norms, either traditional or internalized from colonial forces, resulting in stigmatization and ostracization as well as gendered threats linked to women's reproductive roles such as removal of children or barriers to marriage. In addition, ostracization from the community is also a common response to the sexual violence inflicted by the extractive industry (Castañeda Camey et al. 2020:168-171).

Critique of Patriarchal Capitalist Development and Future Pathways

Although changes towards a concern for sustainability and well-being are taking place, as seen by the implementation of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), development projects prioritizing economic growth and foreign investment and profits are still mainstreamed and promoted by institutions such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund who conceptualizes gender equality and other feminist concerns mainly as means to foster economic growth. For instance, gender equality is presented as an economic opportunity calculated to represent an increase to global GDP of 12 to 28 trillion dollars (Boyer, Meijer, and Gilligan 2020, 8). As such, women's concerns are overlooked or their undertaking seen as an obstacle to achieving development when they are not direct contributors to economic growth. Consequently, practices harmful to women either directly or indirectly, such as the extractive industry, are still prevalent economic strategies and the fundamental requirement of this economic model (i.e. to exploit people and natural resources in order to maximize capital accumulation) is maintained (Castañeda Camey et al. 2020:103; Oksala 2018:221).

This propensity towards economic growth is sustained by the patriarchal attitude inscribed in development policies that classify social groups based

on the extent of their difference from the hegemonic western white middle-class masculinity, for instance, women, the poor, and indigenous people, to determine the validity of their rights, the conceptualization of the world and differential experiences, which are often dismissed, and their participation in decision-making processes, from which they are excluded (Rao 2012; Oksala 2018:219). As mentioned earlier, this is part of the naturalization process of those that differ from the hegemonic western masculinity by presenting them as irrational and reducing their value to the background, hence silencing their voices and making them and the violence they experience invisible (Warren 2015). This disregard for subordinate groups' concerns in capitalist development projects is also seen in the disregard of the heightened importance of natural resources for their livelihoods and other social, cultural, and environmental considerations, which allows practices of environmental exploitation and degradation (Castañeda Camey et al. 2020:105). As such, capitalist development projects, and especially those put in place in developing countries by Western corporations, parallel colonialism in the imposition of their conceptualization of the world, including androcentric dualism.

While MDGs and SDGs have incorporated social concerns in development discourses, their integrational approach to subordinate groups' concerns, combined with the large, slow-moving apparatus of development institutions such as the United Nations and World Bank, has shown insufficient (Nilsson 2013:216). Since inequalities and oppression have been fundamental to processes of development, as illustrated in the importance of colonialism in Western development, targeting these and consequent issues such as poverty and environmental degradation requires transformative actions to reconfigure development, starting from its roots in the logic of patriarchal domination, which I suggest is legitimized by a dualist reasoning (Rao 2012).

Including women in decision-making processes is a first step proposed by many development institutions towards the deconstruction of development patriarchy (Castañeda Camey et al. 2020:53-55, Boyer, Meijer, and Gilligan 2020). However, although necessary to equally address the concerns and experiences of both genders and propose practical solutions, it must be accompanied by a willingness to question development and rethink its practices based on the acknowledgment of differential realities (Buckingham 2004). For instance, capitalist development's core concept of economic growth at the expense of environmental conservation and protection of those that depend on it would possibly be disputed by those, such as many rural women, whose livelihood is based on natural resources or those who value a spiritual relationship with their environment. Hence, development strategies separated from the logic of domination would question the precise eurocentric assumptions that ideological ecofeminism critiques, such as a value-dualist conception of the world and the assessment of truth based on rationality, impartiality, and universality.

Conclusion

To conclude, I advance that Western, and thus colonial, patriarchy is rooted in a dualist logic that associates nature, wilderness, incompetence, uncivilization, and feminity and consequently reduces the status of the feminine, which justifies practices oppressive to women. Through an extension of the multiple masculinity theory, this gendered naturalization also underlines the submission of other groups, such as Indigenous people, to the masculine hegemony. This dualist patriarchal justification of violence against naturalized women can be seen by the gravity of the gendered impacts of extractive industries. Basing myself on this exploration of the naturalized status of women and its resulting violence, I offer an alternate view of capitalist development projects, criticizing the justification of the exploitation of people, and especially women, rooted in their patriarchal construction based on dualist naturalization that renders women voiceless subjectable resources. Furthermore, I advance the need, in order to achieve social well-being, to challenge the normalization of this Western patriarchal mindset present in development by defragmenting dualism and allowing marginalized groups a transformative role.

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Landscape Poetics:
The Northern Frontier and the Songs of Yan

Yuxin Cao│曹禹昕

Author's Statement:

"My name is Yuxin (she/her), and I am in my last year at McGill studying Anthropology (with a focus on Archaeology), Biology, and Russian Studies. I am from Beijing, China, and this paper is a reflection on my connection with my homeland.

"I have a strong affinity for Beijing – I love its folk culture, history, geography, dialect, cuisine, climate, and, above all, my family and friends. I am also an amateur but avid lover of classic Chinese poetry, thanks to the influence of my parents. My affinity and interest complement each other in such a way that they shape a new form of connection between me and my homeland, namely a geographical-poetic perception of Beijing's landscape.

"I acknowledge that my perception does not summarize the countless ways of living in Beijing. My interpretations of the land and the poems are shaped by my education, interest, ethnicity (Han Chinese), and all traits that constitute the complexity of me. Though inevitably biased, I wish to share my story with explicitness and openness; for I think the link between land and poetry is cool, and I just want more people to know about and love my homeland!"

Photographs by Yuxin Cao

大漠沙如雪，燕山月似钩。

何当金络脑，快走踏清秋。

- 李贺《马诗二十三首（其五）》

The desert sand looks white as snow;
The crescent moon hangs like a bow.
When would the steed in golden gear
Gallop all night through autumn clear?

- Li He*, Horse Poem (V)*

These photographs were taken in October 2020 during a road trip to the Saihanba National Forest Park, located in the north of Beijing, China. The trip was a bold decision made amid the deadly semester of Zoom University, but neither my parents nor I could refuse a weekend break in the massive grasslands in the north of our home city. Sacrificing my midterms turned out worthwhile – I was completely awed by the landscape of the chilly, clear northern fall. Now as I sit in front of my laptop, revisiting the photographs and recalling the frigid breeze, I am once again filled with the same awe, and I know that it does not merely come from the striking beauty of the mountains and plains. Whatever feeling that stirs my heart, it is an ongoing voyage through poetry, history, and identity, rendering my ultimate connection to the Northern Chinese land.

It has long been reiterated in anthropology that land is subjected to interpretations by the cultural memories of its dwellers. My story is as such. My Northern China – particularly the area around Beijing, that little stripe of transition between the Northern Chinese Plain and the Mongolian Plateau – is poetically charged. Located on the northeastern edge of the traditional territory of the Han ethnicity, my homeland was historically a frontier and long-time battlefield between the agricultural south and the nomadic north. Its endless wars and harsh climate nurtured a myriad of heroic dreams and war-torn tragedies, from which my Han ancestors composed a special genre of classic literature: frontier poetry. As indicated by its name, frontier poetry is about the frontiers These poems were mostly written by the literati travelling from the political and cultural centres of the Han land. On the border, these men found a different life. They were impressed by the northern deserts, mountains, and grasslands. And, perhaps for the first time in their lives, they witnessed battles with foreign nations at the largest scales. They then composed the new life into poetry. They wrote about soldiers and families torn by the wars, questioning the brutality of military campaigns. Sometimes, they also expressed their own patriotic aspirations, yearning for a chance to join the wars and die as a national defender. Ever since my earliest literary education, frontier poetry has been my all-time favourite with solid reasons: their languages are picturesque, their emotions are strong, and most importantly, they are about the historical frontiers that my homeland resides on. They write about the mountains, rivers, and place names that are still identifiable today, giving me a strong sense of familiarity whenever I read them. As I travel through, then physically and now virtually, the exact same landscape that inspired those amazing works, my memories of poetry are awakened.

How can I not think of them when their traces are right here? I step on the endless stretch of yellowed grass, and the Luan River running beneath my feet is where the legendary warlord Cáo Cāo (155-220) passed by in his expedition, during which he wrote my beloved series *Steps through the Illustrious Gate*. Beyond the grassland, I see the Yan Mountain Range extending to the sky's limit; it was where Mulan, my childhood shero, camped during her decade-long enlistment. At nights, she heard the cries of her enemy's horses on the other side of the ridges, according to that famous ballad. Everywhere around me is covered in the colour of fall, the same season when Li He (790-816) alluded to the epics of the Warring States and Gao Shi (704-756) mourned for the soldiers marching to death. Soon, with winter's arrival, Li Bai (701-762) would describe the snowflakes as big as mats…. Everything I see becomes a reminder of something else. Rivers and mountains transfer to classic literature, forming a landscape of poems. I reckon that the inspiration of the scenery would look so much different for other people who possess totally different knowledge from me, that those folks may instead care more about the geographic wonder, the artistic colouration of the fall, or even lores of other cultures. But so preoccupied by my poetic mind, I unconsciously decline the alternatives. I could no longer interpret how the landscape would otherwise be like if frontier poetry had never, so dearly, existed

in my heart.

My obsession with frontier poetry and the northern landscape has been fueled by a question about projecting my identity into history: What does it mean to live as a Beijinger – or more accurately, a resident of this piece of land called *Yān* – in the past? My search for an answer has been a struggle. From *Jì*, to *Yōu*, to *Yān*, my homeland has been known by many names in the past millennia; but not until it became *the Grand Capital* of China did it receive full attention from the producers of historical narrations, who before that, had only been interested in the more internal regions of the Han land. The pre-Capital records, though existing, were too simplified to make a comprehensible story: they fail to tell me how my homeland looked, how people lived, and how people felt about this land. The *Yān* has been silenced by history, but fortunately there are other sources of knowledge. Frontier poetry helps to re-vocalize the *Yān*, for they are children of the periphery land. They leave me with extensive landscape portrayals of *Yān* that I can easily find referenced in a spontaneous road trip. As all poetry does, they are filled with strong emotions of ambition and sadness that refresh my heart every time I fix my sight on the same landscape. Because of them, the land that I stand on is not floating in a narrative void. My search for the transtemporal continuity of my regional identity is anchored in the frontier. As the past subjectivities, sceneries, and stories resurrect on our shared territory through the poems, I feel a connection transcending space and time that is unique to who I am and where I live.

Yet these poetic traces only partially answer my question. Indeed, all those classic poetic motifs of the northern frontier – the bitter cold, brutal wars, homesick soldiers, sorrowful women, withered grasses, horses galloping through the mountains, and the solitary moon hanging above the fort – constituted my image of my homeland in the past, resolving the lack of historical narratives. But there should have been more, other than the war-torn and the cold! The northern frontier landscape, so desolate and so lamented by the literate men from the peaceful and cultured south, was surely no less the sweet nostalgia that its natives never ceased to love. What are these stories? How did my transtemporal fellow countrymen live, work, and have fun when not in war? Did they speak the same dialect and eat the same food as me? How was life on the other side of the frontier with the nomadic neighbours who were constantly homogenized and stigmatized by my ethnocentric Han ancestors? …. Ignored by both history and poetry, where do these stories hide?

These questions poetry leads me to but cannot answer. They might continue to be scholarly frustrations due to the lack of written records and archaeological attention, but a more hearted connection may at least reconcile. Whenever I see or think of the northern frontier, I experience a journey of connection: the land shapes my identity, identity guides me to poetry, and poetry moulds my transtemporal affinity to the nature, the people, and the events that constitute my *Yān* landscape. I cannot see but I know by heart that more stories once existed on the land where I live. Such a connection to my spatial-cultural ancestry is never subjected to scholarly proof. These stories always accompany me in my photographs, language, and thoughts. In the sands and moon of the ancient *Yān*, they wait for long for the unforeseen future to interpret.

前不见古人，后不见来者。

念天地之悠悠，独怆然而涕下。

- 陈子昂《登幽州台歌》

Where are the great people of the past
And where are those of future years?
The sky and earth forever last
Here and now I alone shed tears.

- Chen Zi'ang, *On the Tower at Youzhou*

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Imprinting on the Land: Ancestral Puebloan Handprint Pictographs

Lilly Crownover

Author's Statement:

"I'm Lilly Crownover (she/her), an Anthropology and Geology student in my final year at McGill University. My ancestors were Mormon settlers in the US Southwest, on traditional lands of Puebloan descendants including the Hopi, Tewa, Navajo (Diné), and Zuni (Shiwinna). I aim to use this academic platform to highlight Indigenous scholars and promote understanding of non-settler temporalities and conceptions of the landscape. I will be moving to Utah this year to further collaborate with archaeologists and the Puebloan community."

Introduction

Handprint pictographs were practical, active connection points between the Ancestral Puebloans and the landscape they constructed. Ethnographic records and archaeological data demonstrate that these artistic representations of humanity enhanced and reflected the environment. While there is no concrete explanation for the meaning of ancient hand pictographs, I will conclude from the data that the handprints were most likely a visual representation of Ancestral Puebloans' relationship with the landscape. The Pueblo conception of the landscape, therefore, is multi-faceted. Puebloans used their spirituality and art practice to create a landscape that combined the past, present, and future into one plane. I will henceforth discuss these Puebloan belief systems and their connection to the importance of rock art in their culture, coupled with their relationship to the physical environment. My paper will combine outside knowledge of Pueblo belief systems with perspectives from Indigenous stewards of Puebloan land. I will present data from anthropological scholars and scientists, ethnographies, and oral records passed down through Puebloan generations.

There are many possible explanations for why these ancient handprints mark the Puebloan cliffs. Before delving into these explanations, I will provide a brief background on the Ancestral Puebloan people and a descendant group, the Hopi.

Perspectives of the Hopi

I sought perspectives from members of the Hopi, a descendent group of the Ancestral Puebloans. Today, the Hopi reside in the same areas that the Ancestral Puebloans inhabited – Mesa Verde, Chaco, Kayenta, and Little Colorado. The Hopi possess knowledge about the phenomenology of their ancestors, as understanding the lives of the Ancestral Puebloans helps reconstruct an image of how rock art shaped their landscape. However, it is important to note that the Hopi guard their knowledge. Traditionally, knowledge is passed primarily through oral records, rarely appearing in writing (Talawyma 2018). The meanings for some specific symbols have disappeared, and academic papers about the Hopi may therefore misinterpret the peoples' belief systems (Schaafsma 1980).

Therefore, perspectives of the Hopi are highly relevant to many of the arguments I will outline about the potential connections between handprint pictographs and the landscape they reside in.

Historical Context

The Ancestral Puebloans lived along the San Juan, Virgin, and Colorado rivers in the southwestern United States. Major Puebloan settlement groups included the Kayenta, Virgin, Little Colorado, Mesa Verde, Chaco, and Rio Grande people (Cole 1994). In the late 1200s, the Ancestral Puebloans began to migrate extensively around the southwestern United States. Thus, it became difficult to trace which material artifacts were left by which specific Puebloan branch.

Their migration was seemingly caused by warfare and environmental changes, but the exact reasons continue to be up for archaeological debate. Luckily, Ancestral Puebloans left behind extensive infrastructure. This includes masonry structures, signs of maize agriculture, and rock art (Ancestral Puebloan 2015). The thousands of rock art images that adorn the Ancestral Puebloan landscape are arguably some of the most striking and mysterious elements of the American archaeological record.

Illustrated by Lilly Crownover

Artistic representations of handprints, like Puebloan rock art, appear in cultures worldwide, functioning as a subject of curiosity for centuries (McDonald 2013). This includes the handprints of the Ancestral Puebloans, which vary widely in appearance. Some were created by placing pigments directly on the hands and pressing hands onto a rock face, while others were created by putting hands onto the rock, then spraying paint around the hands to create a negative image. Some prints contain painted designs, like spirals or dots. The most common handprint colors are red, orange, white, green, or black – made using pigments from mineral, plant, and animal sources (Schaafsma 1980).

Identifying the age of rock art is extremely difficult. Analysis of rock patina, degree of weathering, and pigment chemistry are all used to provide rough age estimates of the art. The most accurate dating method has been the association of design elements on a rock wall with designs on material artifacts, like dwelling walls and pottery. Style, decoration, and material composition are all useful for dating ceramic materials. The ages of ceramic often correspond with pictographs found nearby that exhibit a similar style (Castleton and Madsen 1981). Despite a lack of precise dating, the sources I have compiled suggest that handprints were a consistently significant part of Western Pueblo tradition.

Archaeologists have tried to determine the identity of pictograph artists based on the size and shape of the artists' handprints. Understanding the creators' demographic could provide insight into where handprint-making Puebloan life, ritual, and landscape construction. A 2001 study by Steeve Freers aims to forensically analyze handprint application dynamics and anatomical measurements to determine the age and sex of handprint-makers. His conclusion relies on the trend that females possess shorter ring fingers than index fingers; male ring fingers are generally longer. Freers correlates finger length and height, then infers sex and age. According to his analysis, young women and girls made most of the handprints, based

on their size, distance from the ground, and hand shape. Freers concludes that rock art was part of a puberty ceremony or initiation ritual for young girls, a significant component of spiritual life (Freers 2001).

Handprint Pictographs: Spiritual Significance

However, further research shows that there is too much physiological variability across Indigenous populations for Freers' method to be effective. Freers himself warns the reader that the connection between sex and hand shape is tenuous; writing: "most published accounts that assign gender to the makers of pictograph handprints are intuitive (e.g., Balter 1999) or based upon ethnographic assumptions (e.g., Steward 1929:90)" (Freers 2001). The difference in length between the ring finger and index finger is not an accurate determiner of sex. In some cases, an adult male and an adolescent female share the same finger lengths or even the same stature (Manning, 1998/Snow 2013). While the handprints in this study are as likely to have been produced by a man as a young girl, some ethnographies do support Freers' conclusion about handprints as a part of puberty rituals. There is an abundance of ethnographic data on the ritual production of pictographs by young women, and anthropologists have compiled data on the age at which local Pueblo groups initiated a girl into womanhood (Freers 2001). The ethnographies imply that women were allowed to leave a physical mark on the landscape once they reached adulthood, possibly representative of the societal contributions they could make as adults. In this way, handprint-making at puberty may have introduced an adult to the landscape, and the landscape to an adult. Achieving adulthood began a give-and-take relationship between people and landscape; puberty gave Puebloans the right to mark the landscape with their handprint, representing the age at which they began to take on more responsibility working on the land. Though it is unlikely that conclusive evidence will arise pointing to one demographic responsible for making handprints, there still lies significant evidence that handprints had a deeply spiritual meaning.

Handprints appear most frequently in places of personal or spiritual significance to the Puebloans (Castleton and Madsen 1981). They may be markers of sacred sites on the Ancestral Puebloan landscape, since spirituality and the physical components of the landscape were so intertwined. Furthermore, spirituality informed the construction of essential architectural elements. Architecture and spatial planning were based primarily on constructed linear grids; the precise measurements of which were determined by a shaman or a "priestly architect" (Castleton and Madsen 1981). Some architectural elements of the Puebloan landscape were designated as sacred. We know specifically from ethnographies that these areas of spiritual significance included ceremonial kivas, plazas, and other places where rituals were performed, as well as impressive natural features like cliff faces and natural rock arches (Cole 1994).

Handprints are associated with Ancestral Puebloan settlement areas like the cliff dwellings on the lower San Juan River and in the Ute Mountains. Ethnographic records detail the magico-religious rituals that Ancestral Puebloans performed in the Ute Mountains over 750 years ago. Rituals included rites of passage, healing ceremonies, and actions meant to acquire spiritual power from ancestors (Palonka et al. 2020). According to ethnography, handprint production was a crucial part of these spiritual rituals. Putting them on the physical land, therefore, was key to introducing spirituality into society.

The Ancestral Puebloan use of handprints to mark the land may have originated from the Basketmaker culture. The Basketmakers inhabited the American southwest from 1500 BC until 750 AD; their society was divided into periods called Basketmaker I, Basketmaker II, and Basketmaker III (Cole 1994). Rock art motifs from the Basketmaker period demonstrate that hands and feet were regarded as the distinguishing feature between humans and animals. Basketmaker II pictographs of anthropomorphic subjects emphasize the hands and feet of the figures. By contrast, when an anthropomorphic figure features three-toed bird feet for hands, it is thought to represent the Basketmaker character of the bird-headed shaman, who, according to folklore, had the power of flight (Schaafsma 1994). When Puebloans solidified their humanity by creating handprints, they distinguished between intentional participation and natural participation in the landscape.

The Hopi describe the Puebloan landscape as bearing the "footprints of the ancestors" (Talawyma 2018). Footprints and handprints appear both in the mental conception of landscape as memories of the ancestors' migration and in the physical landscape as painted rock art. Published accounts by modern Pueblo people describe handprint pictographs as symbols of their ancestors' travels across the land. Bruce Talawyma, a member of the Hopi, discussed the significance of Puebloan pictographs at a 2018 presentation at the National Museum of the American Indian. He suggested that the handprint motif, like the footprint, represents the ancient migration of the

Puebloan people which led them to the Hopi's current territory. According to legend, the Hopi originate from millennia of migration. This extends from South America up to Arizona before the establishment of the Ancestral Puebloan culture, and then around various parts of the American Southwest up until the arrival of Spanish explorers in the 15th century (Talawyma 2018).

The significance of Ancestral Puebloan handprints centers around the recursive relationship formed by the land and the people. My understanding of this relationship is based on McDonald and Veth's (2013) discussion of rock art as a recursive medium. Ancestral Puebloan rock art, especially handprints, are a powerful way to make the past and present coexist – the past exists in the ancient rock surface; the present, in the living hand that touches it to make a handprint. Then, the pictograph handprints' significance carries through to the future.

Ancestral Puebloans had well-documented shamanic practices, some of which focused on the relationship between spirits from the past and people in the present. Like the physical journey of the ancestors, handprints represent a journey through the dimension of time, which Puebloans see as another physical dimension of the landscape. According to Polly Schaafsma, a prolific specialist in both rock art and shamanism, handprints became a kind of portal through a spiritual world (Schaafsma 1994). The Hopi believe that Ancestral Puebloans can spiritually travel into the Hopi world through portals created in the past. Through this method of travel, the Ancestral Puebloan landscape lives on as an interactive part of the current landscape of the Hopi. Handprints that are no longer in use as portals serve as visual reminders of a past journey into the spirit realm, an equally important dimension of the landscape (Talawyma 2018).

Hopi artists still reiterate the handprint motif of their ancestors in their work. The act of leaving handprints on rock has imprinted the physical and spiritual memory of the Ancestral Puebloans onto the Hopi landscape. Rather than describing the handprints as "rock art," Pueblo people prefer to call them "living spirits." The setting of the handprints is a sacred landscape created and consecrated by the thousands of Puebloans who inhabit the space, whether physically or spiritually. Pueblo Tribal Council member Paul Tosa said of the pictograph sites, "As we move into the future, there's no line that cuts it off. We will live and survive forever as… people in this part of the landscape" (Tosa 2016).

Handprints reflected Puebloan spirituality onto the landscape, also serving a practical purpose by indicating who owned the physical parts of the landscape. In the Pueblo II to Pueblo IV periods, handprints appeared as markers above individual cliff dwellings. Handprints also mark doorways on stone buildings and are also present on items like ceramic pots (Cole 1994). The practice of making handprints reaffirms humans' custodianship of places – it reminds people that one of their duties is to take care of the land, and one of their privileges is to use resources from it. This is another facet of the recursive role of the handprint.

Conclusion

The relationship between Ancestral Puebloans may have positioned themselves in their environment in a variety of ways, but some of this knowledge is inaccessible to outsiders. The Hopi guard many of the ways that elements of the landscape became meaningful to the Ancestral Puebloans. After all, the pictographs are sacred traces of the Hopi people's ancestors. It is worthwhile to consider the ethics of exploring a landscape subject that the stewards of the land want to keep secret. Whether or not the search for meaning in rock art is a task that archaeologists should undertake, I believe it is an interesting topic that evokes inevitable further research. The handprint is one of the most distinctly human markings in existence, and it carries the unique ability to make visitors feel as if they are "in touch" with their ancestors. Through greater technological advances in forensic analysis of handprint pictographs, our understanding of rock art – and therefore landscape – will undoubtedly increase in the future. However, I believe that there will come a point when the only untapped source of knowledge on the Ancestral Puebloan handprints will be the Pueblo people themselves. The sacred power of understanding handprints will return to the people to whom the Ancestral Puebloans were reaching out. As Paul Tosa stated, understanding the true meaning of handprints is "the specialness, the sacredness, and the spirituality we have. It's one of a kind to have this knowledge" (Tosa 2016).

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The Subjectivity of the Trees and the Animacy of the Landscape: An Iconographical Reading of the Olive and Pine Trees in Palestine-Israel

Dimitra Kolios

Author's Statement:

"My name is Dimitra Kolios (she/her), and I acknowledge my current positionality as a McGill University student who occupies the unceded territory of the Haudenosaunee and Anishinaabe nations. I also honour, recognize, and respect these nations as the traditional stewards of these lands and waters. I recognize my positionality as a white settler born in traditional Anishinabek territory in Northeastern Ontario. And finally, I want to note that the illegal and violent colonization of Indigenous nations' lands and the oppression of Indigenous peoples is ongoing. The issue of colonization goes beyond Canada, as well. My paper explores the colonization of Palestinian lands by the Israeli state, as well as the violence that Palestinian people endure on a daily basis.

"It goes without saying that I am not a seasoned ethnographer but a student of anthropology completing my final semester in the Anthropology Honours program. This paper represents a small portion of my original thesis, centered on acknowledging and taking advantage of the opportunity to further educate myself on the legal dimensions of the Jewish National Fund's (JNF) afforestation project and an anthropology that seeks to decenter the anthropocentric gaze. Thus, in treating the theme of landscapes as an iconographical medium, I wanted to connect subjectivity and iconography to illuminate how landscapes can be interpreted in the same ways as a photograph, with subjecthood extending itself not only to the human reader but to arboreal beings, as well. I hope that my analysis of the JNF's afforestation project as an extension of settler colonialism explains what pine and olive trees come to signify. I am not Palestinian or Israeli and have not done any original fieldwork in Palestine. Throughout this paper, I only speak to the impact the stories, images and politics have had on me throughout my undergrad. This includes my inspiration for this paper, the 2022 Souqs photographic exhibition held at McGill. The stories told by Palestinian activists and writers brought to my consciousness the reality of the suffering and injustices the Palestinian people have historically and presently are enduring. As a daughter of a Greek immigrant, returning home to Greece has never been impossible for my family. But for Palestinians, returning home has proved to be much more than an impossibility, rather, a distant memory.

"I wish to acknowledge the multitude of Palestinian peoples and voices that informed this project, as I feel responsible for doing so in speaking to a sliver of a much larger situation unfolding on the Palestinian-Israeli landscape. In this sliver, I speculate that the landscape hides more than it discloses and that a photographic view can become a way of seeing a reality that already exists."

Introduction

Last April, I wrote a column in the *McGill Daily* titled "Souq Stories: On Commons, Enclosure, and Freedom." (https://issuu.com/mcgilldaily/docs/tmd_20220404). The titular "Souq Stories" was a photographic exhibition curated by a group of Palestinian activists from researchers and writers which highlighted snapshots of Palestinian life in the region's historic street markets (called *souqs*). The motivations behind why I wrote the piece was because of the "negative epiphany" I felt after being wounded by the reality of Palestinian suffering I could not understand and the realization that there is nothing I could do to relieve this, in listening to the curators of *Souq Stories* and Helga Tawil-Souri's lecture on reclaiming the commons and the act of souqs as a space that is reclaiming Palestinian identity (Sontag 2001:20). *Honest Reporting Canada* published a response to my original article, titled "McGill University Must Cancel Its MOA With McGill Daily Due To Continued Anti-Israel & Antisemitic Content." The author accused myself and other *Daily* contributors of promoting antisemitism, arguing that I, in particular, "absurdly accused Israel of 'colonialism' despite the Jewish people's three thousand years of history in their ancestral homeland" (Fegelman 2022).

After reading this, I thought of anthropologist Michael Taussig's piece, *Two Weeks in Palestine* (2013) a collection of diary entries, notes and reflections on his experience in Gaza and the West Bank. He writes: "I saw olive trees by the side of the road that had been torched by settlers. Given the oil in the trees, it must be quite a sight for the settlers to see an olive grove ablaze, something biblical, you could say, biblical and prophetic, suggesting the wrath of God smiting the infidel, wreaking destruction on all sides" (Taussig 2013) The connection between the belief of Palestine as the Holy Land as the Bible has been used as a "history text of the Jewish people" and Taussig's account of the destruction of "divine punishment" paints vivid imagery of violence and destruction on the landscape under religious beliefs (Cohen 1993: 6, 39). The common thread that connects *Souq Stories* and the response published in *Honest Reporting*, is the realized force of religious beliefs, illustrated through Taussig's interpretation of the blazing olive trees as a prophetic is land, god and people (Lehn and Davis 1988:1).

Conflict itself can be viewed through landscapes. Through ethnographic accounts, legal ethnography, and landscape theory I explicitly argue that the Palestinian-Israeli landscape can be read through trees. In particular, pine and olive trees uniquely serve as iconographic markers indexing the violence and the political Palestinian-Israeli conflict. What happens when an anthropological endeavor requires honoring the subjectivity and humanity of non-human beings, such as trees? As Michel de Certeau notes, "writing begins in loss." My writing here begins with the loss of homes and human rights of the Palestinian people, the estrangement of mourning the olive trees that have been destroyed by the New Settlers, and the loss and resistance of the Palestinian people and the rootedness to their land (cited in McLean 2017:14). It was art historian Erwin Panofsky who defined iconology as a study of iconography which is the study of the meanings and context being images, exploring the ontology of images (Mitchell 2015:7). It should be noted that iconology is not confined to the visual images (Mitchell 2015:7). In W.J.T. Mitchell's work, *Iconology, Visual Culture and Media Aesthetics* (2015), iconology is found between language and visual representation, and belongs to the realm of visual culture which is the study of perceptions and representations visually and the visual constructions of the social field (2015: 6). In keeping with the work of socio-cultural theorist Susie Linfield (2010:51), I ask you as my audience to "read outside the frame," in order to create an expansive vision of reality that cannot be obtained from visuals alone, but from our consciously created reading of them. It is outside the frame that I ask, what stories can the olive and pine trees tell?

Like photographs, trees can draw us into their stillness, record time and stop it. As Linfield notes, it is the freezing of time that allows us to contemplate. This stillness creates a space between the image and the viewer, and it is within this space that the viewer can engage and reflect on their feelings of proximity (Linfield 2010:154). But it is only outside the frame that we can understand the context in which a landscape has developed. The trees and the landscapes they inhabit, despite their ephemerality, can be placed under the same critical observation as one would observe a photograph. After tree-planting has ended, there is a feeling of immortality and continuation of life, even if only tree stumps remain after they have been cut down or set aflame. Ultimately, in approaching landscapes as one would photographs, our political consciousness becomes capable of complex interaction with our environments. It was Robert Capa, a Jewish and Hungarian-American photojournalist, who wrote that visually, "ruin can be endowed with subjective meaning"– made with equal parts of hope and fear (2010:191).

Photography's invention is connected to our desire to see nature "fixating itself, revealing itself, [...] and drawing itself spontaneously with its own pencils" (Pisapia 2017:193) In other words, *nature*, understood as a pictorial landscape, is typically imagined as speaking via its imprints onto photosensitive surfaces. But which part of these photosensitive surfaces is the literal landscape in which the trees grow? By looking at 1) the constructed quality of landscapes as a product of human imagination, 2) an archetypal image of Palestine as a land of "milk and honey" and, 3) the Jewish National Funds' (JNF) afforestation project, it's clear that trees are indexical to larger political situations, often behaving as media (See Peters 2016). In discussing *landscapes*, however, there is not as fixed of a definition. Rather, as suggested by Joanna C. Long (2009:62) in her work on the Zionist landscapes of Palestine and Israel, scholars dealing with the subject of landscape should not seek to define its boundaries, but rather contend with "its various tensions as a mode of representation, subjectivity and practice, exploring how these come into effect with particular relations of power." In effect, approaching the study of the bifurcated Palestinian landscape through Zionist pine

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trees and Palestinian olive trees affords viewers the opportunity to explore the aesthetic, material and symbolic manifestations of landscape. Additionally, in a Benjamanian sense, it allows for the realization that trees are used to connect the state of Israel with its subjects, and Palestinian identity with the people who have been forcibly effaced from their land.

This dialectical image here is contradictory: "objective and subjective, found and made (…) withholding and revealing" (Linfield 2010:237; Long 2009:62; Taussig 2013). In thinking about this contradiction and its relation with the Palestinian

people, a particular French term comes to mind: *dépaysements*. This word signifies, in both concrete and abstract terms, "a change of scenery; a sense of astonishment towards (cultural) disorientation; of being uprooted from a country (*pays*), perhaps even a particular "landscape" (*paysage*)" (Pisapia 2017:193). This concept of *dépaysement* is the basis of my paper. It defines the metaphorical and literal implications of Palestinian people being uprooted from their land, as well as the sense of astonishment from my negative epiphany after observing the suffering of the Palestinian people within the Nakba

Archives. The ongoing colonization of Palestinian land is exemplified in the iconographical reading of pine trees, associated with the Israeli state and Jewish National Fund (JNF) afforestation project, and of olive trees, as a symbol of Palestinian people.

Brief Legal Tree History

The Jewish National Fund (JNF) is a quasi-governmental body that acts as an arm of Zionism in the establishment of a Jewish state. The origins of the JNF– also known as *Keren Keyemet L'Yisrael* (lit: "Perpetual Fund/Capital for Israel) in Hebrew– can be traced back to the First Zionist Congress in Basel, Switzerland on August 31st, 1897 (Braverman 2009: 47; Cohen 1993: 1). The goal of the conference itself was to establish the aims of the Zionist movement in order to create a home for the Jewish people in Palestine (Braverman 2009:47; Cohen 1993:1). At this gathering, Hermann Schapira, a mathematics professor and rabbi proposed the idea for a fund that would "acquire Jewish territory" (Lehn and Davis 1988:1). Schapira argued that land acquisition was a requisite step in the so-called redemption of the Holy Land, because according to him, land-owning and land-holding had "biblical origins'" (Cohen 1993:8; Lehn and Davis 1988:1). Four years later at the fifth-annual Zionist Congress, these ideas resulted in the creation of the JNF. Essentially, this institution was established for the sole purpose of obtaining land for the Jewish state in what was then Ottoman-controlled Palestine. As legal ethnographer Irus Braverman explains, it became a significant component and facilitator in the World Zionist Organization through having the power to acquire and settle on Palestinian land through the presence of Jewish people or *arboreal proxies* (2014: 47-48; Jewish History 82-83).

The JNF's purpose is "to make the desert bloom," a statement that is rooted in the belief that Palestine is an uninhabited space. In other words, "a land without a people for the people without a land." (Cohen 1993:5-7; see also, Braverman 2014; Bisharat 2009; Braverman 2009; Lehn and Davis 1988). The implementation of the JNF also led to the foundation of an "agrarian regime," or what is now referred to as the Green Belt Afforestation Project (Cohen 1998:1-2). Geographically, the "Green Belt" consists of a broad swath of land surrounding the city of Jerusalem, and it topographically contains several Palestinian villages. Its deceivingly colourful name comes from the JNF's work in colonizing the region, through the planting of approximately 260 million trees to date. (JNF, 2023). The JNF describes itself as a Jewish charity, "unique" in the fact that its "long-term vision has grown to include building new communities in the desert." This "green self-portrayal" demonstrates how the JNF frames itself as a charitable "environmental movement" (Braverman 2014:48). However, the history of the JNF is much more convoluted than simply depicted as an environmental movement.

The concepts of *law* and *nature* have both been used to normalize the violent displacement and dispossession of Palestinian people from their land– both before and after the 1948 Arab-Israeli War (2014:809). The enactment of new legislation was a vital component in the "ethnonational geographies of power" (Braverman 2014:49; Forman and Kedar 2014:811). Between 1948 and 1960, Israeli authorities expropriated and seized Palestinian lands through a complex, shrouded legal mechanism that both allowed for and legitimized Israel's colonization project (Braverman 2014:49; Forman and Kedar 2014:811). As Palestinian historian Nur Masalha notes, the general endorsement of the transfer in the 1930s and 1940s was to clear the land for Jewish settlers and to establish an ethnocratic and homogeneous Jewish state, while simultaneously dismantling Palestine through the ethnic cleansing of Palestinian people (Masalha 2012: 7; Masalha 2022:324). This 20th-century conflict is also referred to in Arabic as *nakba*, meaning "catastrophe" (Masalha 2012:11; Forman and Kedar 2014:813).

The *Absentee Property Regulations* deemed all Palestinian lands abandoned as a result of the violence of Nakba as "absentee" property, which was subject to the possession of the state of Israel (Forman and Kedar 2004:815). In 1950, two further pieces of legislation were developed: the *Absentee Property Regulations Extension of Force Bill* and the *Transfer of Property to the Development Authority Bill* (Forman and Kedar 2014:817). These laws effectively placed land within a closed circle of ownership between three bodies: the JNF, Israel's Development Authority (IDA) and the state of Israel (Braverman 2014:50; Forman and Kedar 2004:811-819). Notably, the JNF could not sell land, the IDA could only transfer land to the state of Israel, and the state of Israel prohibited the transfer of any agricultural land to any institution other than the IDA or JNF (Braverman 2014:50; Forman and Kedar 2004:818).

By 1951, this closed system encompassed 92.6% of land in Israel. This was accomplished through the legal appropriation of land that ultimately worked towards creating a "centralized governing body."

This body, known as "Israel Lands" bestowed itself the right of policy planning and land administration in the region (Braverman 2014:50). This final phase of colonization was marked by "resolving inconsistencies and redundancies in Israel's land administration system," which helped to construct the Israeli state as the "undisputed guardian of Jewish national interests" (Forman and Kedar 2014: 823). Israeli land acquisition policy institutionalized the dispossession of Palestinian people from their home territory (Forman and Kedar 2014: 825). It is the Absentee Property Law of 1950, the Land Acquisition Law of 1953, the Law for the Requisition of Property in Time of Emergency in 1949, and the Prescription Law of 1959 that collectively work in tandem to forbid Palestinians' ability to freely travel, lease land from Jews and to be freely educated. The Israeli state continually subjugates Palestinians to martial law, with checkpoints now scattering the landscape (Said 1981:105-106; Tawil-Souri 2011:6).

Today, the Palestinian people are still facing dispossession, as it is clear that trees are only a small fragment of the deep-seated conflict on the land. Amidst the violence that followed the post-WWII United Nations *Partition Plan* (1947), as well as the Nakba of 1948, thousands of Palestinians fled their homes to seek refuge elsewhere. Under the newly implemented Absentee Property Regulations, any "citizen of Palestine who abandoned his or her normal place of residence" would have their property redistributed to Jewish settlers via the JNF (Forman and Kedar 2004:815; Long 2009:73). Unfathomably, many Palestinians *within* the imposed borders of Israel were still categorized as "absentee," and their land was given to the Custodian of Absentee Property. Over time, this has resulted in the illegal sale of over one million dunams of land to the JNF (Long 2009:73). The revenue from these illegal sales were used by the Israeli state to purchase military equipment (Long 2009:73). Within a year after the passing of this legislation, the JNF acquired "as much land as it had [ever] acquired in the long period of 47 years of unremitting effort" (Long 2009:73). From this point on, the "mighty afforestation effort" was undertaken by the JNF (Long 2009:73). The trees they planted acted as capital, an Israeli investment in the land (Ettinger 2018:5). Today, out of the 418 villages destroyed during the Nakba, over half are covered by JNF-planted forests (Long 2009:73). In total, over 240 million trees have been planted since the founding of the JNF 120 years ago (JNF https://www.jnf.co.uk/plant-trees/; Braverman 2014:164).

The tagline of the JNF website reads, "plant a tree, make a memory." The somber reality, however, is that each tree planted is meant to forcefully augment Palestinians' memories of landscape (Long 2009:73; Said 1994:253). In addition, trees are entitled to special protections under environmental ordinances and natural park laws that selectively curate a list of protected and unprotected tree species from felling. In 2005 Ariel Sharon, the Israeli prime minister and acting Minister of Environment, made changes to the *Nation Parks and Nature Reserve Law* (1963), which declared that all non-domesticated species in Israel would be protected. However, this excluded the domesticated olive trees as well as most pine species, except for pinus *halepensis*, the Jerusalem pine (Braverman 2014:41). Sharon justified this choice by claiming that the Jerusalem pine was listed as a wild species before the JNF started the national planting project (2014:42). The distinction between "native" and "domestic" trees reveals a binary between field and forest, and the ideological belief that the forest is a previous embodiment of the wild. However, the olive tree has been a part of the Palestinian landscape for well over a thousand years. Therefore, this change in legislation is intentional in the colonization of Paleistinian territory, as it demarcates the olive tree's presence from its traditional, "wild" landscape (2014:43).

Going back in time, we can see that the origins of this legal tree history can be traced to Article 78 of the *Ottoman Land Code* (1858). This provision states that "everyone who has possessed and cultivated *miri* land"– a form of government-owned property that could be leased out to Ottoman subjects– "for ten years without dispute, acquires a right by prescription, and he shall be given a new title deed gratuitously" (2014:167). In other words, Article 78 encourages land cultivation by individuals. Land settlements in the region were built on temporariness, with settlers having no ownership of their homes. All uncultivated land was deemed as belonging to the state. Article 78 is significant to the Israeli colonization of Palestine because it reflects the state's legal power to reorient the physical landscape by categorizing what counts as cultivation– thus making trees a visible marker of legitimate Israeli control over the entire territory (Braverman 2014:165). Since the start of Israel's occupation of the West Bank, Article 78 has been implemented to seize Palestinian land "legally" (2014:168-170). As land that is not cultivated is state-owned according to the military zones in the occupied territories (Braverman 2014: 170; Taussig 2013). In all the legislation and legal mandates implemented surrounding trees on the Palestinian/

Israeli landscape, "nature" and the landscape serve as a form of naturalization to the colonial and occupational motivations of the State of Israel.

The Symbolic Landscape: The Holy Land, Tree Symbolism and Idolatry

Just as photographs can deceive us, so too does the facade of the JNF's blooming forest. Moving beyond this front, however, reveals the relationship between the landscape and the context in which it emerges (Linfield 2010:200). In *Landscape and Power*, W.J.T. Mitchell focuses on how the imaginary landscape is "woven into the fabric of real places," how these symbolic spaces become occupied by legal and military authorities, and the paradoxical link between landscape with idolatry (2002:xi). Despite Mitchell's focus on art history, his artistic approach to the topic can be extended to the symbolic dimension of the bifurcated landscape, following the fact that landscape can become an "idol" in and of itself (Mitchell 2002:262). According to the original Ten Commandments seen in the Bible, an idol is "a false god that displaces the true one with a material image, and leads inexorably to the violation of every

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commandment, not just the prohibition on idolatry" (2002:263). It is Mitchell's focus on stereotypical representations of landscape that have "considerable power to mobilize political passions," going beyond the surface of Zionist identity to unearth the political passions that inform the JNF's seemingly "innocent" tree planting projects that collectively shape the desert into an idol (Mitchell 2002:263). In this tradition, the land becomes punctuated by the emptying of space. This practice is comparable to European landscape painting, wherein an artist brushes a story of disappearance and dispossession onto canvas, constructing an "icon of nature" that deems the landscape as "purified" from idolatry (Mitchell 1999:245). Ultimately, such a lens allows us to see how the territorialization of Zionist powers in Palestine becomes a symbolic historical and ideological representation serving in the interest of naturalizing power relations, the erasure of history, and the establishment of legibility through idolatry (Braverman 2008:3; Manzini 2009:342; Mitchell 2002:262).

The belief of landscape as fixed and inert invites speculation on space and place. Henri Lefebvre's *Production of Space* (1991) can be conceptually applied to discourse surrounding how a landscape became *iconic*, and how the JNF's afforestation project legitimizes Zionist colonization. As I've discussed before, this relies on the centrality of pine trees, with all of the symbolic dimensions and religious imagery that they possess (Long 2009:61). In this sense, the iconological dimension of the JNF afforestation project transforms the trees into a form of media. They become representative of an "empty" Palestinian landscape, transmitting an image of the Holy Land through the institution of afforestation (Belting 2005:305). Further, Mitchell explains that the Zionist program of conquest, colonization and expulsion of the Palestinian people is cultivated *beautifully* by projecting the symbolic imagery of the "Land of Milk and Honey." He notes that the "Bible speaks in the language of nature," making it an imperial landscape, reifying Israelites belief that the land belongs to them because of their contract with God (Mitchell 2002:251). But what is the use of wandering into the wilderness of landscape theory? Mitchell's answer emphasizes his hope for "equivocal poetry," poetry that could have the ability to "disenchant the evil eye that fixates and fetishizes the land in idolatrous forms of symbolic landscape," and via the unearthing of the symbolic soil of the Zionist landscape the argument can be made that landscape is ultimately a "natural scene mediated by

culture" (Mitchell 1999:252; Mitchell 2002:5).

In addition to Mitchell's landscape theory, Tim Ingold notes that landscape is made through activities, making it a *taskscape*. This is best illustrated through the implementation of Israeli tree donation projects. These projects directly support the JNF's afforestation efforts commissioned by the Israeli state, thus perpetuating the symbolic propagation of Zionist ideology through the metamorphosis of trees (Ingold 1993:158). These programs facilitate tree donations, planting, environmental protections and mapping projects, leading to increased Jewish domination of the Palestinian landscape (Braverman 2009:319). The JNF tree campaigns act as both fundraisers and a medium for Zionist education (2009:322). The first of which launched as a "tree certificate" project. Essentially, this involved the sending of certificates to donors, and the commemoration of a tree to a newborn– all of which was sponsored by the state. The certificate suggests a connection between the individual and the nation, as well as themes of "birth and renewal," as it connects the iconography of a newborn baby with that of a Jewish national identity and landscape reborn. This alludes to the notion of "growth" for both humans and trees, with child and tree representing coexistence (2009:321).

Another of these programs, The Blue Box, was founded by the aforementioned founder of the JNF, Herman Shapira. He advocated for the placement of a donation box "in every Jewish home, and that everyone contribute to the newly created national fund at every possible opportunity" (https://jnf.ca/support/blue-boxes/). The tin box design consists of a borderless map of Israel in blue and white, representing an imaginary landscape and creating a link with the Jewish-diasporic community (2009:323). The JNF website states that "the very act of collecting funds in a special box aroused in Jews everywhere a longing for the tastes and fragrances of [...] Israel, and strengthened their yearning for the homeland" (https://jnf.ca/support/blue-boxes/). Blue Box donations have decreased in practice, they are nonetheless significant. The Blue Box campaign, in its accessibility, highlights the JNF's populist method of gaining support for Palestinian dispossession. This is best exemplified through the words of JNF director Yechiel Leket (2009:324) who stated that she told her subordinates: "We are not only raising funds, but we are also raising people, and that to raise people is more important than to raise funds [...] if he is a young child, he can later decide to plant a whole forest, or to donate his entire life's savings to the JNF."

The sale of memorial stones also amplifies the importance of the tree-donation program as an economic vehicle for supporting Israeli colonization. As it stands, the system for donating is two-tiered. The aforementioned first tier gives the donor(s) a reward in the form of a certificate. The second tier involves an actual forest being dedicated to the donor(s) in question. The JNF website states that donations over $5000 receive a plaque for display, with a designated name inscribed on a wall within the American Independence Park in Jerusalem (2009:326). In fact, it is important to note that this website is available in English and is easily accessible to anyone with internet access and a computer. The front page is littered with buttons calling viewers to "Plant a Tree," "Donate," or "Purchase Tribute Cards." With one click of a button, you can be implicated in Palestinian land dispossession. Within seconds you are redirected to a page displaying payment options to donate or purchase the planting of a tree. Ultimately, the act of donating materializes as a reminder of the responsibility of Jews to cultivate the Holy Land, and connects said cultivation with coins dropped in a blue box, and a symbolic, faraway landscape (Long 2009:61;326).

These donation projects and the subsequent act of tree planting are ritualistic and signify the relationship between presence and absence. The absence of Jewish Israelites from the physical landscape of Palestine is remedied by the presence of the pine tree, as they serve as "living memorials" and placeholders for those who have yet to return to their "Holy Landscape" (Braverman 2009:327; see Kertzer 1994). These trees symbolize purity and serve as a lifeline between Israeli settlers and the natural desert environment. The materialization of the symbolic, in this way, lends itself to the creation of an aesthetic harmony within the imagined Palestinian landscape, masking the reality of ruins underneath the freshly planted roots (Long 2009:62). As Mitchell (2002:252) notes, the idol is the empty, depopulated landscape in which God speaks the language of nature. The JNF is taking this role, speaking the language of nature not to communicate the truth of colonialism and violence but to the cultivation of the Holy Land, as well as the "greening of the desert."

On Tree Vandalism and Palestinian Resistance

The olive tree does not weep and
does not laugh. The olive tree
Is the hillside's modest lady. Shadow
Covers her single leg, and she will

not take her leaves off in front of the
storm.
Standing, she is seated, and seated,
standing.
She lives as a friendly sister of
eternity, neighbor of time
(...) The portrait, for the olive tree is
neither green nor silver.
The olive tree is the color of peace,
if peace needed
A color. No one says to the olive
tree: How beautiful you are!
But: How noble and how splendid!
And she,
She who teaches soldiers to lay
down their rifles
And re-educates them in tenderness
and humility: Go home
And light your lamps with my oil!
But
These soldiers, these modern
soldiers
Besiege her with bulldozers and
uproot her from her lineage
Of earth. They vanquished our
grandmother who foundered,
Her branches on the ground, her
roots in the sky.

This is an excerpt from a poem titled *The Second Olive Tree*, written by Palestinian poet Mahmoud Darwish. Darwish illustrates how identity is deeply rooted in Palestinian soil by personifying the olive tree as a figure capable of weeping, associated with peace, but all at once an object of violence, subjected to war and bulldozers uprooting her from her lineage. As a tradition, Palestinian poetry behaves as a form of oral/aural resistance countering the "memoricide" and "toponymicide" of Palestinian cultural memory (Masalha 2018:27). Further, poetry, as a form of oral history, serves as an alternative medium to archive and tell history through voices that are otherwise subject to colonial erasure (Shwaikh 2018:277). Thus, it is clear that the natural landscape is not separate from Palestinian cultural memory– but is animated through human sentiments, actions and ideologies, as a way of resisting Zionist efforts of ethnic cleansing (Braverman 2009; Desai 2018). One project responding to this systematic erasure is the Nakba Archives, an aural history collective established in Lebanon in 2002, aimed at documenting the experiences of those who lived

through the expulsion from their land following the 1948 Nakba. The collective has recorded over 650 video interviews with first-generation Palestinian refugees in Lebanon, who recall their displacement in the years after 1948. Their stories are pulled from their lived experiences in Palestine, telling history "in a way shaped not by political symbolism, but rather by the rhythms of personal memory" (Nakba Archives).

The state-sanctioned planting of pine trees and the destruction of olive groves underscores the Zionist belief in the temporariness of rootedness (Said 1994:253). As explored in the previous section, pine trees are seen as representative of the Israeli state and Jewish ties to the Holy Land (Cohen 1993:39). At the same time, acts of uprooting and burning are referential to God's "displeasure" with the people. As the Book of Isaiah reads: "the days of a tree shall be the days of my people" (Cohen 1993:39). This reflects a biblical understanding of how identities are transposed onto trees, transgressing the boundaries between human and non-human in the same way the natural landscape embodies its own inhabitants. The olive tree, on the other hand, has been symbolically linked to Palestinian identity. Legal anthropologist Irus Braverman (2014:115) interviewed a Palestinian refugee named Ismat Shbeta who told her quite plainly that "the olive is the Palestinian tree. That's the olive's nationality."

Braverman also conducted fieldwork in the occupied West Bank amongst *fellahin* (farmers) who told her that since the second Palestinian uprising in 2000, they had become increasingly financially dependent on olive trees in order to survive. In addition, anthropologist Ted Swedenburg concluded from his time in the West Bank that the *fellahin* were perceived as symbolically representative of Palestinian's struggle against Israeli occupation. This is because the peasant has long been a pivotal figure in revolutionary discourse, emphasizing intimacy with the and thus naturalizing peoples historical link to the soil. The relationship between *fellahin* and the olive tree is best exemplified through the Palestinian description of the olive tree as "*shajara el-fakir*," the tree of the poor. (Braverman 2014:122; Swedenburg 1990:18).

The Israeli "New Settlers" of the West Bank have repeatedly instigated violent encounters with Palestinian *fellahin* their olive groves. If one Googles "tree vandalism in the West Bank," many articles appear showing the numerous incidences of centuries-old olive trees being torched and felled (Braverman 2014:119). Also amongst these search results are protests from human rights groups like Rabbis for Humans Rights (RBH), which takes a grassroots approach in fighting for the liberties of Palestinians (2014:119). During the 2010s, several activists from Rabbis for Human Rights escorted farmers to their olive groves during harvest season as a way to encourage Israeli police forces to protect them from attacks made by the New Settlers (2014:120). Another group, B'Tselem (also known as the Israeli Information Center for Human Rights in the Occupied Territories), conducted interviews amongst the *fellahin* and collected hundreds of testimonies regarding the violent acts of New Settlers (2014:120). One such testimony was made by a father of five who owned property in the town of Salft in the West Bank. His property had been surrounded by an Israeli "security settlement fence" for some time, preventing his family's free movement and often requiring them to pass through a gated checkpoint (B'Tselem). The man describes that in the summer, farmers are only given three days to prune and spray weeds and between three and four weeks to pick the olive trees. At the same time, Israeli settlers are frequently granted permission by the IDF to freely enter Palestinian groves and damage the olive trees. In October of 2021, the man went to check on his property and spotted a car and harvesting machines out front. After obtaining permission at the checkpoint to enter, he recalls:

> When I got to my land, I saw a settlers' car. Inside it were sacks of olives they'd picked on my land. The car immediately drove out of the plot. I told the police officer who was there that he had to stop the car because it had sacks of my olives in it, but he didn't care. They only allowed me to stay on my land for about an hour. When I checked the grove, the damage was obvious. There were olives and broken branches strewn on the ground, and it was clear the settlers had picked the olives with new harvesting devices. I checked the area that was harvested – about five dunams of large olive trees. I estimate that they stole 1,700 to 2,000 kilograms. They'd probably started harvesting a few days earlier. The sight broke my heart. I'm still angry and sad (B'Tselem, October 6, 2021 testimony).

The awful truth, however, is that this story is not unique. Quantitative data collected by B'Tselem in 2002 shows that 45% of arable land within Palestinian settlements is occupied by olive trees (Braverman 2014:122). Most are located in the West Bank, where olives account for almost half of the total revenue made from agricultural produce. Additionally, over 70,000 Palestinian farmers cultivate olive groves, with 90% of these groves being designated for olive oil production (2014:122; Cohen 1993). It is evident then that the olive tree carries both economic and cultural significance, highlighting the rootedness of the Palestinian people to their territory in the West Bank. The destruction of olive groves is both a massive loss of income, and an emotional travesty. In another testimony collected by B'Tselem, a 90-year-old man recounts how he felt after he discovered that his forty year-old olive groves had been sacked:

> I felt my heart tearing apart. I sobbed over the years of toil gone down the drain. Years of work, wiped out overnight, with only some remains left. I lost 140 trees and felt pain over every single one of them. It's a blow to the soul that I can't describe. It makes me feel like I'm suffocating. I'll be heartbroken for the rest of my life. I pray I'll be healthy enough to rebuild the plot with my sons and grandsons, restore it to its former state and fight the settlers' greed that way. They're doing everything they can to make us abandon the land so they can take it over (B'Tselem, October 19, 2021 testimony).

These testimonies strengthen Palestinians' territorial claims, as well as their deep-seeded sense of belonging to land (Braverman 2014:124). The testimony of this elderly Palestinian man in particular is a true illustration of *tsumud*– an Arabic word describing steadfastness, resistance and connection to the land (Braverman 2008:450). This man also notes that the olive trees require the presence of Palestinian farmers so that they can continue to grow. Without the care of their cultivators, the trees would simply not survive.

Land acts as a sort of "patriotic emblem," that reflects upon its inhabitants a sense of nostalgia, nationalism, and a sense of yearning for home (Braverman 2014:125). Thus, the notion that Palestinians are only as rooted as their olive groves shows that Israel's commitment to uprooting olive trees is a punitive tool of colonization and displacement. Uprooting, however, is justified by the Israeli state as a security measure. The "Separation Barrier" was built in 2003 after the second Palestinian uprising in order to isolate Palestinians from the rest of the West Bank. The creation of this barrier called for the removal of thousands of olive trees in order to increase visibility and make way for military checkpoints and watchtowers. Under this regime of separation, the relationship between farmers and olive groves is mediated by the Israeli military, who requires the *fellahin* to apply for permits in order to access their own land (2014:138). A representative of Rabbis for Human Rights argues that Israel's New Settlers do not care so much about the olive trees themselves, "the real issue for them is who gets to control the land" (2014:148). Recognizing the importance of the relationship between farmers and their trees, RBH started the "Olive Tree Project," wherein their goal is to donate as many olive trees as possible to Palestinian farmers (2014:152). To date, this project has planted more than 25,000 olive trees in the West Bank (2014:152).

Despite such resistance efforts, olive grove vandalism is an ongoing issue. In 2002, Rabbi Ashcerman, a prominent activist within RBH, brought a case to Israel's Supreme Court of Justice on behalf of Palestinian farmers. The farmers argued that access to their land is a fundamental human rights issue, with the army having the duty to protect this right. On June 26, 2006, the court ruled that the Israeli Defense Force was required to protect *fellahin* and their olive groves from New Settlers. (2014:156). By 2008, Israel's Attorney General Menachem Mazus established a committee to investigate uprootings that were still occurring in the West Bank at the hands of "lawless" Israeli settlers (2014:154). This implicated an increase in the presence of Israeli security forces in this region, leading to an increase in surveillance. The distinction between the olive and the pine trees is not only rooted culturally but agronomically, the pine is quick to grow but short-lived, and the olives are slow to grow but long-lived. The acidity of pine needles kills what falls beneath, and the fruit from the olive tree provides life in the nourishment from the oil and for livelihood (2014:116). What becomes clear is in the ongoing battle of Palestinian resistance to dispossession and the destruction of olive groves by New Settlers, the result of the violence towards the trees is not only historical or economic but is symbolic as the trees behave as a physical embodiment of Palestinians and the violent attacks

made by these settlers are not on the trees, but on the Palestinian people themselves as the tree is equally a representation and an embodiment (2014:161; see also, Mitchell 2000).

Conclusion: Memory and Landscape

In *An Oral History of Palestinian Nakba*, anthropologist Diana Allan (2018:66) discusses the ways human bodies engage in "sensorial remembering." She draws upon Palestinian poet Mahmoud Darwish's autobiographical prose, a portion of which reads: "a place is not only a geographical area; it's also a state of mind. And trees are not just trees; they are the ribs of childhood." Darwish's work thus illustrates how the past becomes archivable through our embodied experiences. From this framework, it becomes clear how, in the bifurcated landscape, the metaphorical and literal embodiment trees come to represent both Palestinians and the Zionist New Settlers. The destruction of the olive trees becomes representative of lives to be grieved. This is reminiscent of Judith Butler's (2009:15) notion of the "grievable" and the "non-grievable" life. An ungrievable life has never been acknowledged as lived; it has never counted as life. The olive tree, however, has lived, and so too do the Palestinian people, in spite of expulsion by Israeli forces. Just as the olive tree is an inheritance, it is also a "living history" of the Palestinian people's connection to the land (Shwaikh 2018: 277).

Reading the conflict through the trees offers an opportunity to explore themes central to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. Both pine and olive trees are bearers of national memories, symbolic of collective identities, and visual markers of ownership over contested land (Zerubavel 1996:83). As W.J.T. Mitchell (2002:265) notes, "landscape is something to be seen, not touched. It is an abstraction from place and a point of view, a prospect that dominates, frames and codifies." In taking an iconographical and anthropological approach to the bifurcated landscape, my own reading the landscape through the olive trees and pine trees has hopefully showed you that if studying landscapes teaches us anything, it is that nation is *nature,* and culture is not simply the referent of the landscape but also the product (Pisapia 2017:201). Just as in picture theory, where the photographer makes representational choices that asks us as viewers to look outside the frame, we need to read Zionist claims to the Palestinian land not as an image of purity but of *erasure*. It is the erasure of the Palestinian people that the JNF's afforestation project

seeks to naturalize through the destruction of olive groves and the planting of pines (Linfield 2010:53). The pine trees are the surface layer of skin within the bifurcated landscape, representative of the colonial expansion of the Israel state.

In reading below the surface and beyond the trees, one can consciously create and formulate an expansive view of the colonial project unfolding in Palestine. French essayist Roland Barthes (1982:199) once said of images, that they are "messages without a code." Thus, in studying visual perception and representation– and most importantly– the "social construction of the field of visibility and (equally important) the visual construction of the social field" can lead us to decode the hidden messages and myths beneath the soil (Mitchell 2015:6). Edward Said (1981:5) said, "The fact of the matter is that today Palestine does not exist, except as a memory or, more importantly, as an idea, a political and human experience, and an act of sustained popular will." Just like photographs can draw us into their worlds with their stillness creating a distance between the viewer and the image, trees can pull us into their stories standing as living archives of the histories of the places they are rooted. The inanimate image of the landscape is animated by the subjectivity of the trees. And even in their absence, the Palestinian's memories remain rooted in place, becoming a presence of the past, and an unfinished narrative for the future.

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Road Trip *by Lilly Crownover*

"My dad insists we take the back roads. Thanks to him, I appreciate that my home country's expansive views are full of delicate detail, living color, and complex history. These are roadside views from recent drives out West. Clockwise from top left: California, South Dakota, Nevada, Oregon."

Legacies of State Violence and Social Death:
The Exploitation of Political and Physical Landscapes in Brazil Through the Forced Removal and Dispossession of the Guaraní

Eva Lynch

Author's Statement:

"I'm a 3rd year student, majoring in Anthropology with a minor in Latin American and Caribbean Studies. In my free time I like going to concerts and am taking art classes in ceramics and metal working. At McGill, I've focused mostly on socio-cultural anthropology, Latin American history, and archaeology, but regardless of what I'm studying, it's always important to me to take an intersectional approach. I am really interested in how these fields offer the chance to recenter alternative lived experiences which have been obscured in history or reconstruct lives which may have otherwise been silenced. I grew up in Ottawa and moved to Montreal three years ago and acknowledge that I am a white Settler who lives and learns on the unceded territory of the Kanien'kehà:ka, and do not take the violent colonialism and oppression which has resulted in our presence here today lightly. This history is especially important in a journal which is centered around at landscapes, and having contributed a piece which looks at the structural violence which has exploited generations of Indigenous communities through the physical and political landscape of Brazil. It's crucial to acknowledge the privilege that comes with my position to be able to do so, as a white, able-bodied woman who has the opportunity to be in university right now and share my work."

In the 19th and 20th centuries, the explosive rise of Brazilian coffee production led to Brazil's heightened global visibility and importance as it established itself as one of the largest coffee producers in the world. As a consequence, the Brazilian government took the opportunity to introduce policies to accomplish demographic whitening by encouraging European immigration as a new labour force. This momentum of European immigration instigated the violent removal of Indigenous communities through the creation of 'demographic voids' which allowed European immigrants to purchase and settle on expropriated Indigenous land. The Guaraní, whose agricultural practices and land were highly valued and economically productive, became the target of forced relocation and expropriation of land to support these new immigration policies, which further encouraged the assimilation of and control over Indigenous peoples. State agents tortured and eliminated hundreds of Guaraní in an effort to whiten the nation, supported by official state media which framed the genocide as an opportunity for political and economic development. The Brazilian State's appropriation of Guaraní land and control over labour in the region reflects the racist descrimination and determinism of Brazilian elites and administrative officials. The tactics employed by the Brazilian military and many other governmental agents reveal the motivations behind policies of selective immigration and the ensuing state-supported genocide of Indigenous populations, which were masked as efforts to expand agribusiness in Brazil.

At the end of the 19th century, the Brazilian government began to invest more in chosen immigration policies (dos Santos 2002:62). These new immigration policies were first officially presented at the 1878 Congresso Agrícola as a solution to a 'manpower shortage crisis' in the new free labour market, however it became clear race was central to the discussion of new immigration policies (dos Santos 2002:63). These selective immigration policies were prepared to potentially offset lost labour in the event of abolition, and rather than centralize around realizations of equality, the abolition of slavery was widely perceived as a means of replacing enslaved workforces with European immigrants, which both served political agendas of whitening the nation as well as introduced a new exploitable group. Prominent figures such as abolitionist Joaquim Nabuco amplified this rhetoric
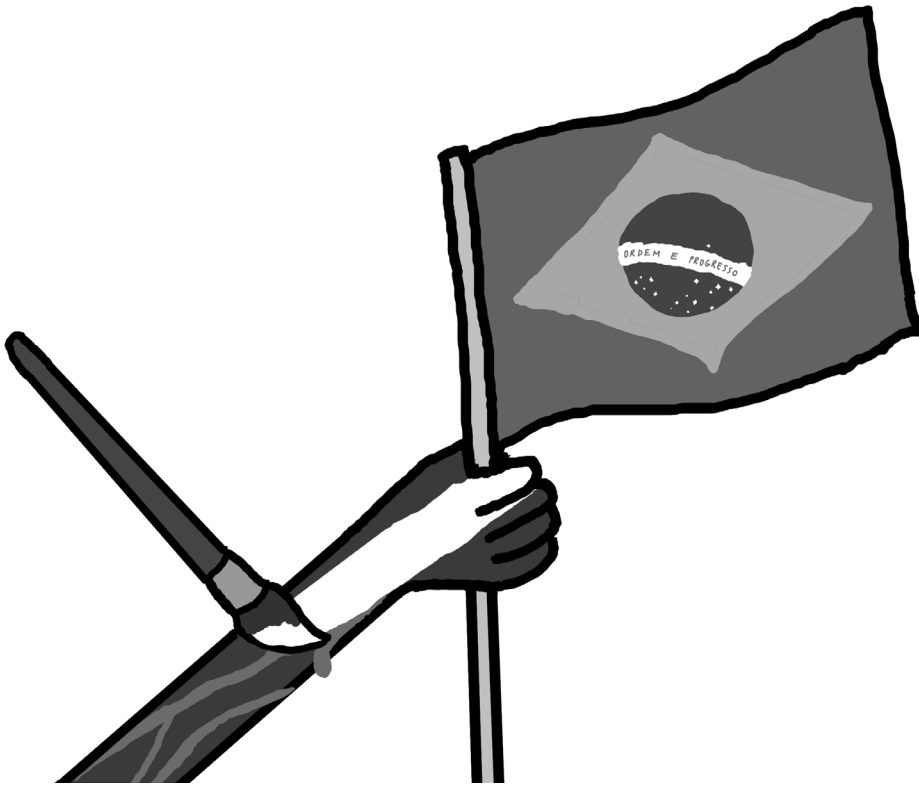
in a series of speeches beginning in 1879. Nabuco claimed that unless policies changed, the more Brazil's enslaved population grew, the greater the Black majority would be following the abolition of slavery, and he feared for the future of white Brazilians when they'd be confronted by the "Africanization" of Brazil (dos Santos 2002:67). He also believed that upholding slavery morally compromised Brazil's progress and efforts for modernization, despite the fact that Brazil's states and national economies were built on enslaved labour (Nabuco 1995:143). The hostility of Brazil's voting elite towards nonwhite labour importations radically changed the racial composition of Brazil by the end of the 19th century (dos Santos 2002:68), with policies such as Decree No. 528, published in 1890, which aimed to "regularize" immigration by prohibiting the entry of non-white immigrants.

Brazilian sociologist Sales Augusto dos Santos explains that until the 1930s, racial diversity was seen "as evil itself," (2002:72) and the solution to Brazil's racialized demographic was to "wipe out the Black and Indigenous populations and reinvigorate the Brazilian race by whitening it," (2002:72) demonstrating the motivations behind these policies and structural changes in Brazil. Theories of 'racial determinism,' which considered racial differences the result of scientific and natural inequalities and suggested that whitening the population would allow for greater social, cultural and economic development of Brazil, legitimized this discrimination in the eyes of the nation (dos Santos 2002:73). These policies supported the interests of the political and economic elite in Brazil and their efforts to construct a white nation (dos Santos 2002:75).

Regional myths and the State-sponsored media's characterization of Indigenous territories as available 'demographic voids' were key to these immigration policies, which depicted the land as uninhabited and open for the taking. Official documents and public speeches systematically ignored the presence of Indigenous communities and neglected their legal rights over the area as outlined by both colonial and national legislation. Even the Indian Protection Services (SPI) reinforced this hegemonic narrative and officially claimed there were no Indigenous peoples in the region because with the creation of the Brazilian Federal Republic in 1889, all "uninhabited land, which paradoxically, also included Indigenous occupied land, became the State's property, as well as the catechism and education of Indigenous peoples," (Naccache 2019:126) and transformed Indigenous people into 'foreigners' to their own ancestral land which was illegally expropriated. These claims failed to acknowledge Indigenous sovereignty and the cultural importance of connecting with their traditional land.

While Decree No. 528 officially ended in the 1930s, the lingering preference for white European workers resulted in a radical demographic and structural change throughout Brazil. This structural prejudice was most evident in the continued mistreatment and oppression of specific Indigenous communities, such as the Guaraní people, through the late 20th century and into the 21st with the revamping of state projects and continual Indigenous relocation under Jair Bolsonaro. The Guaraní are one of Brazil's largest Indigenous groups; the majority of Brazilian agribusiness production today occurs on land which once rightfully belong to the Guaraní, and demonstrated how these communities have been highly impacted and targeted by generations forced relocation, as their land is still occupied by settlers and state ventures (Ioris 2020:10). The violent removal of Indigenous peoples from their land had two purposes: it freed up hectares of fertile land for agribusiness and colonial settlers, and promoted "state control of Indigenous people under an assimilatory lens," (Naccache 2019:127). Their violent removal sent a further message about the relative unimportance of Indigenous people to the State and reinforced their marginality from society.

While the military's tactics varied community by community, many Guaraní had their villages burned to the ground and the survivors would be thrown into trucks and forcibly relocated to small and confined reserves, to make the land available for colonization and purchase by European Immigrants (Naccache 2019:123). Certain Guaraní communities had strains of smallpox intentionally introduced so upon their death, their land could be sold and redistributed amongst government authorities (Naccache 2019:122). By 1928, the SPI had demarcated nine reserves for the Guaraní, beginning a systematic and violent confinement of Indigenous peoples within these reserves, which continued until the end of the 1970s (Naccache 2019:127). Indigenous reservations became a concentrated labour force because of their proximity to newfound and converted agro-industrial areas from which the Indigenous inhabitants had been relocated (Ioris 2020:7). Individuals who were not killed or expelled were left with almost no other option but exploitation as estranged labour (Ioris 2020:8), meaning Guaraní labour forces, even once removed, remained an important pillar of the regional economy of their ancestral lands to ensure they were economically productive (Ioris 2020:10).

Those who resisted colonization or entered into land conflicts were punished and tortured by being displaced to the military detention centers such as the Krenak Reformatory and Guaraní Farm — segregationist and punitive correctional facilities which were intended to 're-educate' Indigenous prisoners (Ciccarone 2018:4). There, the Guaraní along with other Indigenous group from all throughout Brazil, underwent physical torture and would often succumb to natural afflictions, such as snake bites and sickness. Reserves and reformatories acted as an obstacle for the continuation of the Guaraní cultural model and served as a form of cultural genocide and social death beyond the physical violence they suffered. Homogenization of these reserves meant sub-cultures disappeared, and the SPI further disrupted the Guaraní cultural model of succession by nominating new leaders or 'captains' within Indigenous communities and reserves (Naccache 2019:128). They attempted to secure the success of governmental projects by elevating the status of someone cooperative to the State, upsetting Guaraní cultural practices and challenging the sovereignty of Guaraní communities.

In 1967, the Ministry of the Interior commissioned public prosecutor Jader de Figueiredo Correia, to investigate the actions and crimes of elite landowners and the State, executed by the Ministry of Interior's own Indian Protection Service, against its Indigenous populations between 1946 to 1968. The resulting 7000-page document, referred to as the Figueiredo Report, detailed the graphic physical and cultural genocide which completely massacred and decimated Indigenous groups, covering mass murder, torture, enslavement, bacteriological warfare, sexual abuse, land theft and more. Over the 20 years of genocide covered by the Figueiredo Report, the number of Guaranís diminished from 5000 to 300, with over 4500 dead at the hands of state violence (Naccache 2019:122).

This state violence continued into the 60s and 70s with the rise of the Brazilian military dictatorship which continued to remove and expel Indigenous communities in order to expand Brazil's agricultural and infrastructural frontier, and supported land policies which enabled Indigenous land dispossession in favour of military projects. In 2015, the Brazilian Truth Commission presented a final report on the harmful violations committed during the Brazilian military dictatorship, which confirmed once more that this relocation not only enabled state expansion but was a systemic and intentional plan to undermine Indigenous rights (Naccache 2019:123).

As the government's growth program developed and the military's state projects evolved

over time, Indigenous communities continued to be forcibly relocated by the military or independent militias for state infrastructural projects such as the construction of hydroelectric dams and highways through their territories, and more of the land was seized and exploited by illegal logging and mining as well as agribusiness (Verdum 2022). Brazil's 38th president, Jair Bolsoanro, who was elected in 2018 and only recently lost re-election, has been outspoken in his admiration for the Brazilian military dictatorships and expressed clear intentions of employing similar tactics in his political efforts to profit off Indigenous natural resources. Bolsonaro took steps to relocate significant portions of the population from their traditional territories, and invade Indigenous communities in voluntary isolation in efforts to make them disappear -- akin to the creation of 'demographic voids' (Verdum 2022). He reinforced his position by cutting funding for Indigenous foundations, minimizing systemic support, beginning to dismantle protections for Indigenous communities which are encoded in the Brazilian constitution, and opening up their land for armed militants, new land owners, squatters and loggers in his hope to expand the opportunities for commercial development (Verdum 2022).

Looking at the constant and evolving presence of state violence against Indigenous communities in Brazil and the consequence of Brazil's politico-economic pursuits on Indigenous land, labour and ethnicity, the ambitions of elite and popular power in Brazil manifested in the exploitation its natural resources and reinforcement of social marginality to enable the continuation of their power, and prioritize state expansion. Land is fundamental for the construction of identity and way of being for Indigenous communities (Naccache 2019:125), and Indigenous removal for the creation of 'productive state land' shows the neglect to develop an inclusive cultural model. State and administrative officials continue to exhibit the same sentiments of racial determinism and superiority through their rhetoric, compromising Indigenous lives and land for state economic growth and development.

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The Experience of the Enslaved:
A Comparative Study of Ostia and Pompeii

Alec Robinson

Author Statement:

"Hello! My name is Alec Robinson, and I am a U3 Joint Honours (Anthropology & History) major who is currently most interested in spatial theory. As an individual coming from a family who has long been able to attend and succeed at university I am in a position of privilege when it comes to doing research. This is especially important to consider when examining an institution as fundamentally unequal as slavery. Though I can only imagine a fraction of the pain that was undergone by enslaved people, I nevertheless strive to capture the reality of their lived experience in this text."

Please Note: This paper includes a discussion of sexual violence.

Introduction

While Roman cities were built using the same standardized cultural model, no two were completely alike, and the experiences of enslaved people within were similarly variable. Comparing a few key locales in Ostia and Pompeii in the 1st and 2nd c. CE, I will demonstrate how enslaved people were able to work within varying spatial contexts to create their own distinct communities. Exactly who participated in these communities, the spaces they moved through, and how they spent their time were all influenced by the spatial contexts they were structured under. In Ostia, the spatially delineated and mercantile Garden Houses community created an advantaged community of bondpeople with a distinct identity. In Pompeii, the highly elaborate House of the Centenary encouraged a diverse community of bondpeople who were able to exercise their autonomy independently from their enslavers. Examining these contexts is only possible due to the exceptional preservation of both sites. While written sources are essential to any examination of Roman society, this is heavily supplemented by spatial graphing techniques that situate the sources within a spatially aware understanding of the enslaved experience.

Historiography

The paper will be informed by the spatial turn, a movement that began with Henri Lefebvre and his seminal work, *La Production de l'Espace* (Filippi 2022:71). This involved the revelation that space is an integral productive force for how society, actions, and identity are structured (Filippi 2022:1). While the study of Pompeii and Ostia has benefitted from this framework through a litany of research, the potential for its integration with slavery remains unrealized.

An exception to this trend is *The Material Life of Roman Slaves,* which populates Roman ruins with an active social environment that is cognizant of built space (Joshel and Petersen 2014). This necessitates an understanding that not all individuals have the same capacity to shape the world around them. Enslaved people lived in a world where, for the most part, they had a limited ability to physically influence their environment. Therefore, bondpeople had no recourse when the buildings that housed them forcefully managed their autonomy by inhibiting their privacy. This perspective orients built space as a phenomenon that can empower some while simultaneously repressing others (Grahame 2000:3). The consequence is that space itself is revealed to be political and social in nature (Elden 2007:108).

Tied to the spatial turn is access analysis, a collection of techniques used to help identify and describe social relations that are inscribed in built environments. These methods were pioneered by Hanson and Hillier in *The Social Logic of Space* (1984) but have since been expanded upon and refined. This strain of scholarship has seen success in applications to Roman cities by authors such as Grahame and Laurence for its utility in "reading" architecture (Grahame 2000:24). These types of techniques are highly relevant to studies of enslaved people who left little trace of their existence beyond the buildings that once housed them (Laurence and Wallace-Hadrill 1997:24). However, criticism has been levied at access analysis for its tendency to essentialize space and reduce human relationships to values on a spreadsheet. Even so, the means to deduce social relationships in space remains valuable in ascertaining the nature of bondperson identity.

This project's historiographical intervention

is to integrate the treatment of bondpeople as real human beings with a place-specific treatment of space. Place, being space imbued with perceived meaning, is crucial to the experience of enslaved people (Pred 1984:2). This view lends a more accurate portrayal of Roman life while also highlighting the humanity of those who suffered. The intent is to put social and physical relationships in conversation with each other to examine how bondpeople navigated the urban landscape to create distinct, place-based identities.

Methodology
The Spatial Context of the Urban Environment

Cities, with their dense networks of social and physical infrastructure, are the ideal environment for examining enslaved communities. This is because cities are inherently social creations; they cannot exist without the high frequency of interpersonal engagements of countless individuals (Harvey 1990:213). A city is a palimpsest too complex to fully grasp, and each individual's engagement with it is based on innumerable unknowns. How individuals manage this engagement is a part of how identity is created, maintained, and expressed. However, there are of course rational practices that govern cities. Lefebvre witnessed the expanding urbanism of the late 20th century and identified ideology as an integral element of its composition (Elden 2007:105). In the Roman context this insight holds true since the ideology that saw slavery as unquestionably natural was an integral element of the Roman city (Knapp 2011:141).

It is important to take a historically specific attitude to cities as each case study has unique social and economic factors that shape its spatial expression (Pred 1984:6). Research in past decades that incorporate space has often resulted in the examination of physical space itself without relating it to historically contingent meaning or belief (Smith 2003:33). This ignores architecture's ability to freeze time, representing the historically specific attitudes of its creator and the society it was produced in (Harvey 1990:207). However, this does not mean that architecture cannot be erroneously interpreted through the lens of contemporary attitudes. Roman cities are especially prone as their ruins are deceptively familiar and can easily engender modern conceptions of space (Laurence and Wallace-Hadrill 1997:138). The reality is that the locales being examined are inseparable from the society that socially and physically structured them (Pred 1984:5).

Ostia and Pompeii make for a compelling comparison as both cities maintain differences while deriving from the same cultural model (Kaiser 2011:13). The biggest distinctions are due to their disparate economic roles. Whereas Pompeii was a moderately sized provincial town, Ostia served as a central commercial hub specialized to service Rome. This meant Ostia had a more diverse and dense population paired with a streamlined arrangement designed to facilitate trade (Kaiser 2011:106). The seasonal population that streamed in during the busy summer months would have also lent the city a certain chaos (Aldrete 2004:213). Consequently, in the 2nd c. CE Ostia became dominated by high-rise *insulae* while Pompeii had far more low-density *domus* (Aldrete 2004:226). This has implications for the enslaved experience at home, with many *domus* facilitating their position as objects of conspicuous consumption (Knapp 2011:164). These differences are only observable due to excellent preservation at both sites and the comparison has the potential to reveal how enslaved social networks adapted their behaviours, beliefs, and composition to their specific spatial context.

My paper will be centered on two elite *domus* and their surrounding neighbourhoods as the best space for uncovering enslaved communities. The two chosen case studies are the House of the Centenary in Pompeii and the House of the Muses in Ostia. These are socially and physically expressive structures that use distinct spatial orderings. This is because elites had the resources for greater ostentation and architectural elaboration in their dwellings, which facilitated distinct servile areas (Laurence and Wallace-Hadrill 1997:20). Much has been written about how these buildings were meant to reflect the status of the patriarch, or *dominus*, and their guests with the *fauces*, *atrium*, *tablinum*, and *peristyle* arrangement (Pollini 2010:295). It was a format based on maintaining differences and, when not relegated to the unseen household margins, one where bondpeople were displayed as a status symbol (Knapp 2011:165). While the *fauces*, or monumental entrance, and *atrium* were public and social, the large open space of the *peristyle* was reserved for private guests. This made the house into a stage that spatially ordered its inhabitants based on social status. The identity imposed on bondpeople as lessers was baked into the very materiality of the *domus* they lived in.

Spatial Graphing

Access analysis will be used to describe social meaning in how enslaved people moved through the household and city. The validity of these techniques has been demonstrated by their application to Pompeii and Ostia by Grahame, Wallace-Hadrill, and Laurence.

Their work includes citywide mapping of important data such as fountains, street impediments, and traffic levels (Laurence 2007). These results are critical to establishing shared services, entertainment venues, likely paths of movement, and the general social loci of the enslaved community. My work will incorporate these factors and apply them to the enslaved members of the highlighted *familia*. In addition, access analysis will be applied to describe the physical layout of the *domus* and path movement through it. In addition, it will illustrate potential opportunities for community building as bondpeople moved between the *domus* and the city street.

The access analysis concepts that will inform how power was exercised when applied to the spatial arrangement of the household are depth, symmetry, and distribution. Depth describes the number of spaces an individual has to travel through before reaching their desired location. A high depth implies controlled access while a low depth indicates ease of access (Stockett 2005:390). Similarly, symmetry refers to the number of routes available to reach a specific space, denoting ease of access (Grahame 2000:29). Distribution refers to the pathways needed to reach the desired space, with a linear path indicating hierarchical organization (Stockett 2005:390). All these concepts are presented on justified graphs, with dots indicating distinct spaces and lines representing routes of access. The *y-axis* is depth, and thus the graph serves to represent pathways of movement through the structure (Stockett 2005:390). To avoid essentializing this is performed in tandem with written sources.

Roman literary sources are a necessary resource in establishing what city streets were like and what Romans thought of slavery. That these sources come from an elite perspective is a barrier, but not an insurmountable one as they remain a window into Roman society that the material record cannot replace. Juvenal's satirization of Rome's streets is an instructive example as he describes the clamour of the crowds, filth, rampaging carriages, and labouring slaves (Stockett 2005:391). While this is likely an exaggeration, other authors do affirm the chaotic and unsavoury nature of the street. There were few limiting factors when it came to slavery and through writers such as Columella, we are given the impression that enslaved people were largely seen as tools to be used (Roth 2007). Even Seneca's desire that enslaved people be treated with respect cannot be divorced from their status as property, from whom absolute loyalty was expected (Seneca and Motto 1985:11).

Character of Roman Slavery

The brutal nature of Roman slavery created a shared experience that formed a powerful basis for solidarity among bondpeople. The majority of enslaved lived a harsh existence with expectations of ruthless discipline, sexual abuse and near non-existent rights (Knapp 2011:133; Saller 1991). Bondpeople were seen as a lower order of human, and one whose identity should be subsumed by that of their enslaver (Knapp 2011:8; Saller 1991:160). Even once manumitted, freedpeople were expected to be clients and middlemen on behalf of their enslaver (Aldrete 2004:69). These individuals would have retained their links to the enslaved community and their patron could reclaim them if they were deemed to have acted ungratefully (R. Friggeri et al. 2012).

Furthermore, since servility was seen as an inalienable part of an individual's identity, freedpeople could not leave the enslaved community and their former status followed them as a socio-politically enforced reality. While the wealthiest of freedmen such as Publius Decimus Eros Merula could dedicate rich public monuments to create a new elite identity, barriers remained (Laird 2015:219). The stain of servility was inescapable in Roman society, and this encouraged those it touched to form an interconnected social network. They shared friends, and family, and frequented the same establishments. However, freedpeople were more economically independent, often working in a trade or mercantile occupation (Aldrete 2004:70). The presence of freedpeople was a necessary element of an enslaved community.

Case Studies
House of the Muses
Background

The first case study is located within the "Garden Houses," a luxurious dwelling complex that catered to the Ostian merchant community. It was built around 128 CE and its relatively upper status is indicated by the size of the residences and its location within the city (Watts and Watts 1987:265). Ostia was a bustling port town with constant traffic whose mercantile, cosmopolitan character would have brought in a diverse population with constant movement in and out (Aldrete 2004:213). This resulted in severe noise, filth, and danger on the road leading up from the port toward Rome. However, the Garden Houses are spatially isolated and mitigate these consequences. According to Kaiser, the streets around this complex have a depth of 3 or 4, meaning access to these areas was some of the most controlled in the city (Kaiser 2011:123). In this case "control" simply refers

to the fact that one would be unlikely to arrive at the complex without direction. It lies to the south of the port and just off the main road, meaning it avoids most Rome-bound traffic while retaining access to the road from a comfortable distance. The complex maintained a spatially bound community within the wider urban unit. Among this community the House of the Muses (see Fig. 1) was the largest and richest, possibly belonging to the owners of the entire complex (Watts and Watts 1987:268). Though structured differently from the classic Pompeian *domus*, the House of the Muses remains a richly decorated, elite-managed space. It possesses a line of workshops on the more active Via Delle Volte Dipinte and the *fauces* that leads straight to an internal, colonnaded courtyard (2). From here one had views of the many rich murals throughout the surrounding rooms ("Reggio III"). Not only was the house more richly decorated, it only dedicated a single, unimportant window (11) to a view of the communal gardens. The emphasis was instead placed on its own internal courtyard.
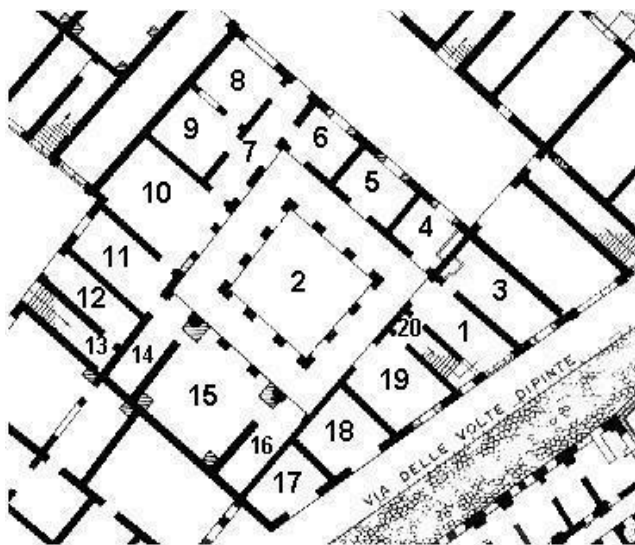
Figure 1. Map of the House of the Muses. http://www.ostia-antica.org/regio3/9/9-22.htm.

Identity and community in the Garden Houses

The isolated and spatially bound nature of the Garden Houses facilitated a unified sense of identity among bondpeople. An important element of this was The House of Muses' side entrance, which opened into the Cardo Degli Aurighi, a street lined with the backs of several shops and connected to the gardens (Stevens 2005:121). The Garden Houses blocked cart traffic, turning the Cardo Degli Aurighi into an *angiportum*. This is a type of marginal street where there is less concern for public display and a greater expectation for privacy (Kaiser 2011:41). As an ideal pedestrian

space for casual social interaction, enslaved people could engage with each other and escape household surveillance (Kaiser 2011:130; Juvenal 2004:187). There is an external staircase that has direct access to the garden and fountains, but bondpeople may have opted for the longer route.

This environment would have stood in stark contrast with the chaotic one outside the complex. Enslaved people benefited from this ordered calm, though it was created first and foremost for wealthy mercantile individuals (Watts and Watts 1987:265). While bondpeople had a strong sense of self outside of their owners, they often identified with the household where they lived and built close bonds. Frederick Douglass noted how bondpeople would passionately argue, and even come to blows over whose enslaver was richer or more important (Douglass 1994:20). The Garden House bondpeople likely felt a difference, if not superiority, between themselves and other enslaved Ostians. This feeling would only be heightened for the enslaved of the House of the Muses as they belonged to the wealthiest household in the area. Regardless, there still would have been interaction with a diverse population of bondpeople.

The proximity of stores, and accessibility through an informal spatial context, would have provided the opportunity for the existence of a relatively wealthy, well-informed, and integrated freed-enslaved community. These stores may have been staffed or even owned/rented by this integrated community (Laurence and Newsome 2011:253). In fact, many epitaphs and authors attest to the proclivity of freedpeople to engage in mercantile activities (Knapp 2011:11). This is made more likely by the fact that the community of the Garden Houses was a class that can more easily afford to manumit their enslaved and teach a select few valuable trades (Laurence and Newsome 2011:253). It is possible that in such a mercantile community there would have been a greater proportion of freedpeople or at the very least, skilled bondpeople. This would have provided greater economic freedom as they earned a limited income and collected information. The income would mostly come as incentive money offered by their enslavers because Ostia, as the trading port in service to the capital, was a prime spot for far-reaching networks of intel (Aldrete 2004:66; Ripat 2012:57). The bondpeople of the House of Muses might also have laboured in the two workshops (17,18) attached to the residence. Another avenue for prosperity, and one commonly complained about, was through "theft" (Knapp 2011:155). While all enslaved had the opportunity to "steal" from their enslavers, there was

an even greater ability to do so in the Muses household (Knapp 2011:155). The easy access to an *angiportum* along with economically independent freedpeople and wealthy households made fencing goods a real possibility. This is an example of how the streets are never divorced from the household; for bondpeople they were interconnected and need to be examined together.
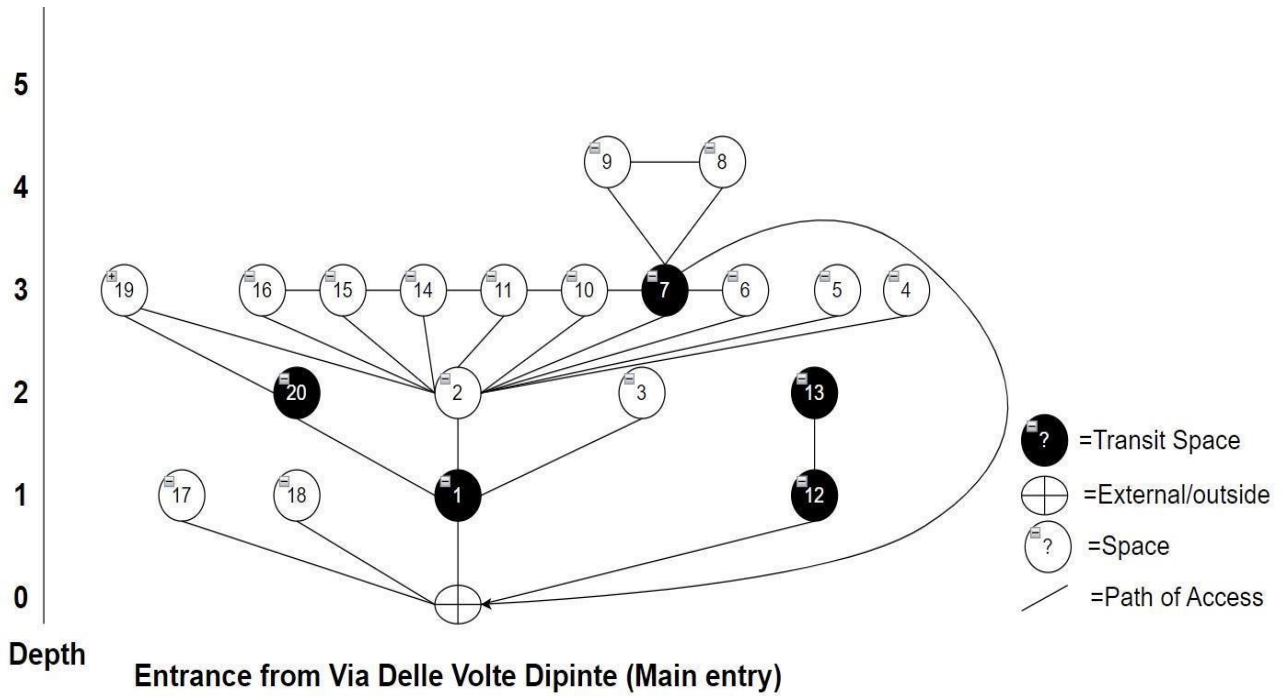

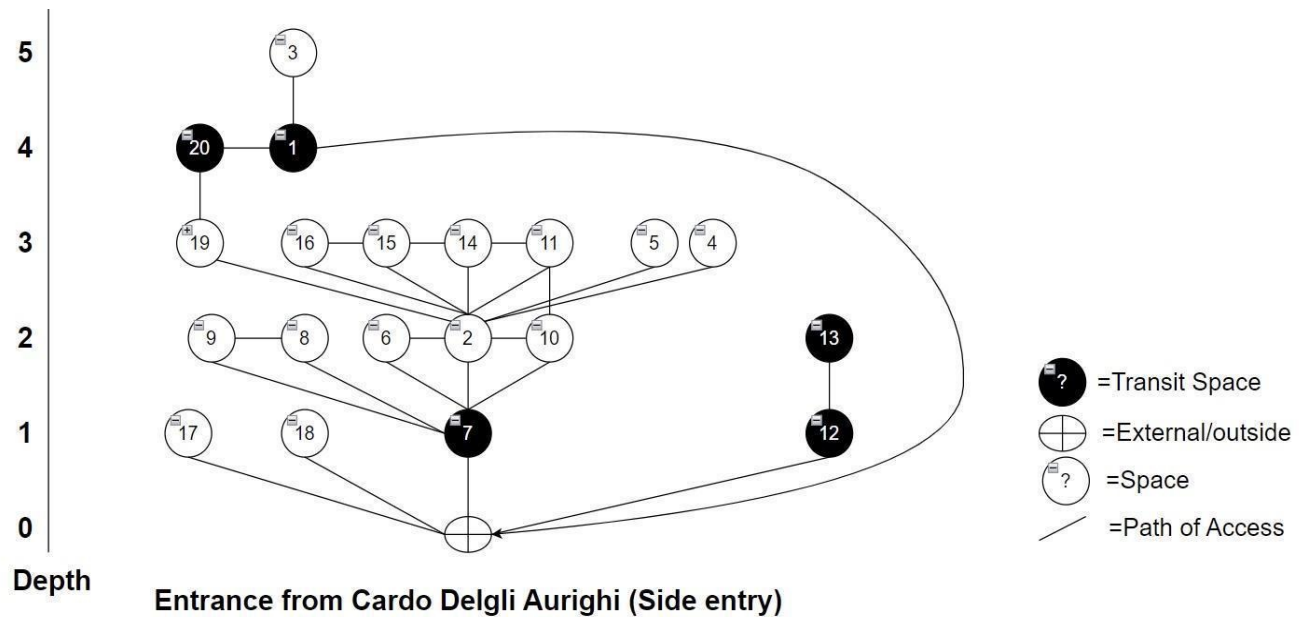Figure 2. Justified Depth Chart of The House of the Muses, From the Main Entrance

Figure 3. Justified Depth Chart of The House of the Muses, From the Side Entrance

The House of the Muses was designed as anexercise in maintaining difference through vision. The justified depth charts demonstrate that the porticus (2) is a highly distributed and symmetrical space, facilitating both physical access and vision (see Fig. 2). It was a space that emphasized power through access to information about occupants with movement through it indicating status (Filippi 2022:71). While guests and freeborn had the luxury to stroll and sit, enslaved people would be moving through quickly (Hartnett 2017:95). This is by design, and the side entrance is deliberately at a distance from the kitchen (3), forcing bondpeople to cross the courtyard as they performed their labour. The sight of bondpeople going about their duties, especially visible from the *tablinum* (15), would have acted as an enhanced display of status, as well as a visual expression of the enslaver's power over their bondservant. By contrast, the elite private bedrooms (8,9) have walls strategically placed to break the sightline while their position, with the highest depth from the *fauces* but lowest from the side entrance, allows for monitoring any movement to the backstreet. The kitchen (3) can also not be seen from the main body of the house, though movement in and out remains visible. This prevents sight of actual food production but allows the monitoring of the service, not only from guests but also from passers-by on the street (George 2013:60). This sense of surveillance was enhanced by an unusually large number of windows, a rarity in elite Roman architectural design that typically stresses the inward presentation (Aldrete 2004:75; 228). This was a household where bondpeople were visually vulnerable and made to feel inferior.

However, enslaved people were able to create a "rival geography" around the household as an exercise of autonomy (Camp 2004:7). Upper floors may have contained more servile spaces where enslaved people had more freedom. Unfortunately, these are rarely preserved (Joshel and Peterson 2014:117). However, the depth charts are instructive in hinting at bondpeople's chosen paths of movement. There does not appear to be space for slave quarters on the ground floor and while bondpeople might have been forced to sleep in impromptu corners, the placement of stairs hints at an alternative (Laurence and Wallace-Hadrill 1997:22). The internal stairs (20) provide easy access to the kitchen and primary exit while the external stairs (13) lead to the plaza. The plaza held gardens where bondpeople could have worked and a nearby fountain for water (Stevens 2005:116). This stairway allowed bondpeople to avoid the prying eyes that were so present on the ground floor. While the regime of control might be looser on the top floors, both stairways are low depth, and they primarily facilitate labour. However, these stairs were also used to access social spaces. Socializing would have been frowned upon as not reflecting the loyalty expected from bondservants. The elite bedrooms being placed near the backstreet exit may have been an attempt to curtail this social behaviour. While the house might have been designed to be highly distributed and open to centralized surveillance, bondpeople effectively created their own social geography.

The regime of vision that made enslaved people out to be lessers also provided a shared experience that defined the bounds of their community. The Ostian Garden Houses had a greater proportion of freedmen, proximity to privileged social spaces, clear geographical boundaries, and access to economic resources. This would have helped create a unique communal identity whose members had recognized value. This identity could have been founded in the sense of superiority that came from servitude to an elite class, to a particularly worthy owner, or as a "subversive" who slowly accumulates wealth through intelligence and theft. This is not to mention the familial relationships and friends made in the quiet streets and hidden corners of the Roman household. More than likely, it was some combination of the above mentioned. The House of the Muses and its neighbourhood helped to structure a spatially bounded community of enslaved people that was unlike any other in the Ostian landscape.

House of the Centenary
Background

The House of the Centenary is a sprawling elite *domus* situated close to the most active districts of Pompeii. Located along the Via Del Nola, a major commercial artery, the house was well-positioned for public display. Where the House of Muses is placed to avoid traffic, this *domus* prioritized conspicuous consumption through its integration with city movement. With a citywide depth of 1, the house was undoubtedly prominent in public display (Kaiser 2011:78). The space directly in front of the house had especially deep street ruts resulting from the hordes of carts that passed by (Laurence 2007:56). This is to be expected from an important road leading to the forum, the beating heart of the city. This allowed the *dominus*, surrounded by their entourage, to make long walks to the forum in a show of power (O'Sullivan 2011:55). In contrast, while offering anonymity for enslaved people, these streets would have made for an unpleasant walking experience (Hartnett 2017:88).

Regardless, the presentation of the *domus* made it clear that its owner was among the upper echelons of the elite.

The House of the Centenary is a classic example of Pompeian architecture as an extension of its owner's status. The owner was likely T. Claudius Verus, the highest-ranking official in the municipal government of Pompeii (Pollini 2010:294). His monumental household articulated status through variable accessibility to spaces within the house. This included an entire wing, based on the secondary atrium, that was dedicated to luxury. This centre for leisure contained a bathing complex (31-34), a large dining room (38), and bedrooms with erotic frescoes (39-40) (Pollini 2010:296). Guests or clients who were not considered worthy of entering this area would mostly be limited to the main atrium with the *peristyle* one level above that (Pollini 2010:295). Meanwhile, the servile quarters are located at a depth of 6 and 7, firmly secluded in the private sphere (see fig. 5).
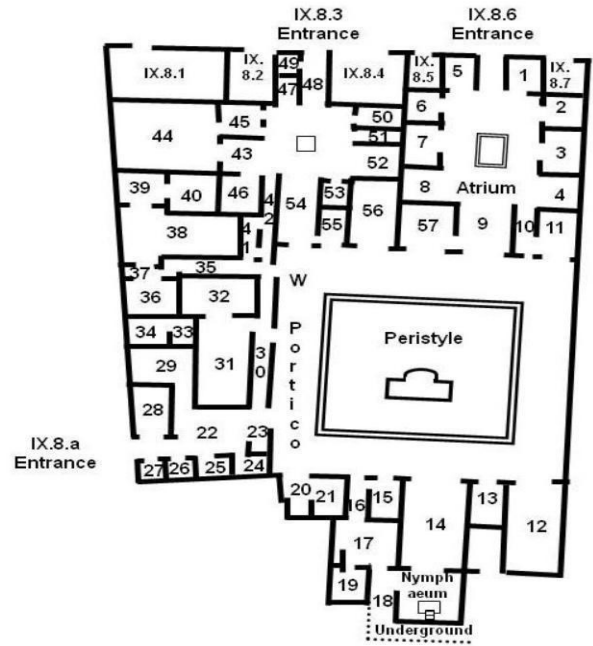

Figure 4. Map of the House of the Centenary https://www.pompeii-inpictures.com/pompeiiinpictures/R9/9%208%206%20plan.htm.
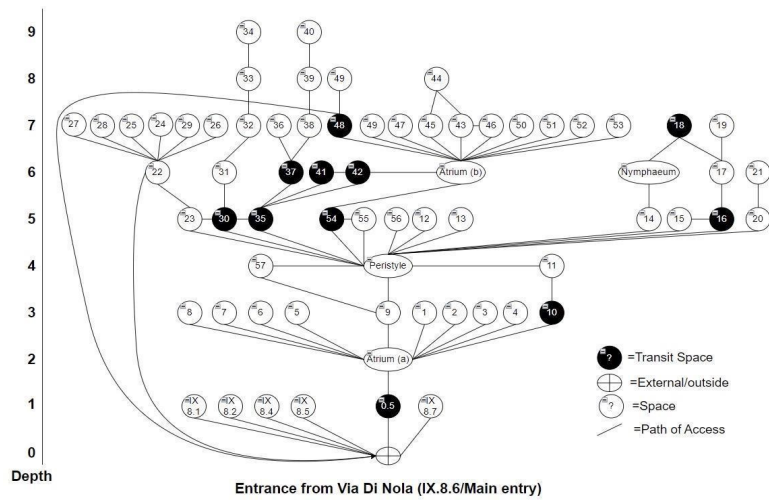

Figure 5. Justified Depth Chart of the House of the Centenary, From the Main Entrance.
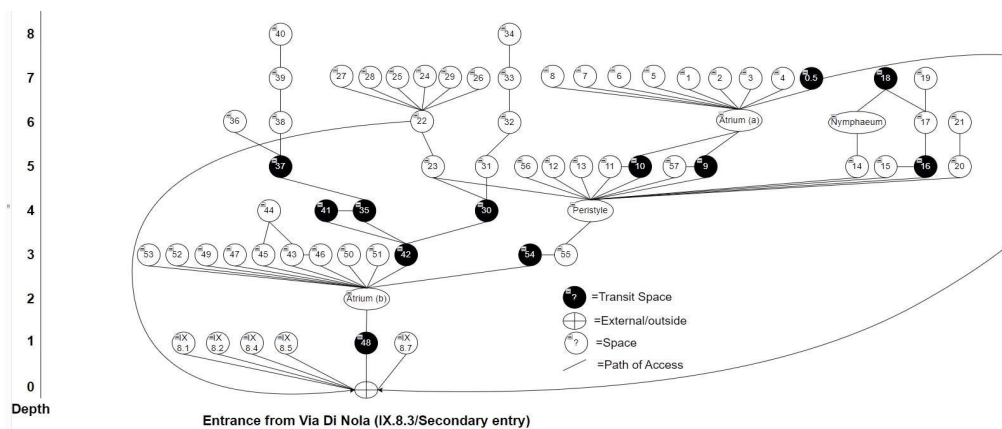

Figure 6. Justified Depth Chart of the House of the Centenary, From the Secondary Entrance.
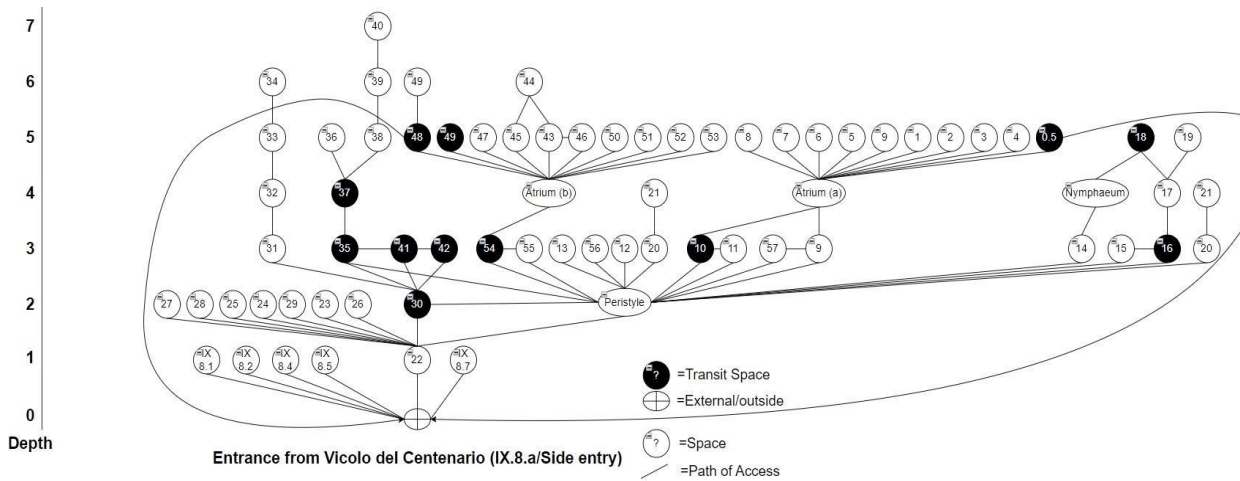
Figure 7. Justified Depth Chart of the House of the Centenary, From the Side Entrance.

Identity and Community Around the House of the Centenary

The House of the Centenary reinforced its bondservants' subservience through demeaning strategic concealment. It attempted to make enslaved people feel objectified and marginalized in order to reinforce obedience. However, rather than doing this through intense surveillance, bondpeople were manipulated based on maximal displays of control. This is most clearly seen in the kitchen (19), which provides different visual experiences through control of enslaved movement to the various *tricliniums*, or dining rooms. The atrium dining rooms (57,11) are presented with the most overt display despite being for the use of less prestigious guests. These dining rooms are oriented toward the *peristyle* and by extension the bondservants who moved across it to serve them (see fig. 4). This treatment of bondpeople as objects of conspicuous consumption reaffirmed the social order of all actors involved (Donahue 2003:428). All three rooms have a depth of 4, and while not equally accessible due to social norms, they remain architecturally integrated (see fig. 5). Meanwhile, the large dining room (14) at the back of the *peristyle* is given no view of enslaved people until they enter the room. This is unexpected given that this space served prestigious guests and, as indicated by the nymphaeum, prized display. While enslaved people would be visible going to the other dining rooms when multiple were in use, the enslavement-derived pomp came not from vision, but from creating an atmosphere of luxury. In this room, lack of visual access is countered by rich ornamentation and service that appears instant. With the kitchen only around the corner (see fig. 4), bondpeople could meet demands quickly while dishes would have arrived from around the corner without warning. Bondpeople were instruments of the *dominus*' will as they were physically and mentally forced to orient themselves around service to elites. The bodies of bondpeople were for the consumption of elites. While this could be achieved in a variety of ways, the one consistency is the disregard for individual autonomy.

There were many household stresses that might induce a bondperson to seek distance, one prominent possibility is sexual abuse. A locus for abuse may have been a large dining room (38), with an exclusive depth of 7 (see fig. 6), that is accessed from the luxury wing through four narrow hallways (35, 37, 41, 42). This is a non-distributed and asymmetrical space that mandates an intimate mode of entry; it is not for public consumption. The only other similarly restricted space in terms of depth and distribution are the baths (31-34). In any case, the tight corridors lead to a waiting room for presumably anxiety-ridden servants (36), and enclosed, isolated bedrooms with explicit love-making scenes (39,40) (Pollini 2010:296). While bondpeople were treated merely as objects of conspicuous consumption, movement into these erotic spaces would have transformed them into objects of sexual abuse. This was a common enough occurrence for it to be satirized in the depiction of Trimalchio, a freedman who remained traumatized by his treatment long after manumission (Petronius 1970:89). This was a space created to induce congeniality in elite men, but for enslaved people it induced an anxiety that made exit from the household desirable.

In contrast, while the spatially segregated servile quarters may have been intended to conceal,

they also provided an opportunity for bondpeople to exercise autonomy through the construction of social networks and community (Laurence and Wallace-Hadrill 1997:17). In most *domus* bondpeople are not given dedicated rooms, but in this case, their lack of decor and position at the back of the house suggests servant-only space (Laurence and Wallace-Hadrill 1997:17). While this space might be considered marginal by the *dominus* and his guests, it was anything but for the enslaved. For bondpeople, the "side entrance" is the main entrance, and the one that provided them the most utility and allowed them to bypass the house entirely (see fig. 7). It gave them easy access to nearby fountains and shrines, allowing people from the surrounding households to gather and socialize. This might even be followed by a visit to the local bar (Joshel and Peterson 2014:100). Alternatively, bondpeople from other households could use this isolated entrance to visit friends (Joshel and Peterson 2014:102). This is at odds with the House of the Muses, where enslaved people were encouraged to use the main *fauces*. This might be the result of a lower population density in Pompeii, allowing additional space for the articulation of architectural control (Filippi 2022:95). The deliberate concealment of bondpeople simultaneously allowed room for greater individual autonomy through access to the city streets.

The ease of street access combined with opportunities for entertainment encouraged a social network that was widely dispersed and included low-class freeborn Romans. The principal locus for this interaction were the ill-reputed *popinae*, of which the block to the east (IX.9) alone held three (Laurence 2007:97). The elites of the Centenary viewed these establishments with concern given their reputation for gambling, prostitution, and criminality (Hartnett 2017:274; Laurence 2007:93; Laurence and Newsome 2011:326). However, the more significant implicit threat was the lack of hierarchy at the *popinae*, since enslaved people and freeborn socialized freely. These establishments never closed and thus would have been especially appealing at night when elites were off the streets (Laurence 2007:93). The side entrance is also close to a block to the southwest (IX.6) where a narrow street holds two brothel *cellae*, and an abundance of graffiti (Filippi 2022:127; Laurence 2007:88). Even if the local enslaved did not frequent these establishments, as an isolated space it undoubtedly remained on their radar when looking to engage socially. In sum, this community was less restrictive as members engaged with a spatially and economically diverse population. However, the above activities were male-centric, and women were largely denied access (Laurence 2007:113). Even during the day women were restricted to household tasks and the regime of discipline and control fell more heavily on their shoulders (Fagan and Riess 2016:264). Nevertheless, male bondpeople could travel far within the city in search of entertainment, making connections across class and social boundaries in the process.

Conclusion

While the core experience of enslaved people remained consistent, the character of their communities and expressions of identity varied with spatial context. The Garden Houses were a dense and spatially defined mercantile environment. This would have resulted in an enslaved community that incorporated more freedpeople, offered greater economic opportunity, and helped to foster a distinct identity from the bondpeople outside the compound. Meanwhile, the bondpeople of the House of the Centenary had greater opportunity to walk the city streets, thus creating more connections with freeborn and having less spatial definition to their communities. Nevertheless, both populations were used as tools to elevate their enslavers' status with attempts to architecturally prescribe their physical movement. In the end, the biggest consistency is that enslaved people continued to seek out autonomy and find value for themselves no matter the environment.

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A Letter to Troubling Researchers

Fernanda Arenas Suxo

Author's Statement:
   "My name is Fer (she/her), and I am a U2 Joint Honors student in Anthropology and International Development Studies. A fun fact about me is that I was born at 3600m above sea level.
   "I am from La Paz, Bolivia; my identity and my background as a Latin American woman has significantly shaped how I approach knowledge and research. Being an international student from a privileged background, I believe it is important for me to acknowledge my privileges, such as the high quality education that I have been able to access. My privilege also takes shape in the form of underlying biases that I aim to address. Lastly, I also would like to recognize my position as a foreigner occupying unceded Haudenosaunee and Anishinaabe territory."

Dear future researcher,

   My name is Fernanda, I am a second year Anthropology student at McGill University in Montreal, Quebec. I imagine that you are probably busy studying, reading academic journals, or planning your next research proposal. I am writing to you as part of an assignment that Professor Sabiston gave us for ANTH 338: Indigenous Studies of Anthropology, and the purpose of this letter is to talk about your job as a researcher. In particular, I'm curious to know– do you consider yourself a "troubling" researcher?

   I draw this concept from Eve Tuck´s "Suspending Damage: A Letter to Communities" (2009), an important article that addresses the ethical complexities of conducting research by focusing on how the communities involved in research projects are implicated. According to Tuck, a troubling researcher is someone who conducts damage-centered research. The damage-centered approach overemphasizes the study of trauma within marginalized groups, and researchers leading such projects typically see the people they study as broken or lacking. In this sense, the troubling researcher cannot grasp the complexity of the identities and lived experiences of the people at the center of their studies. Ultimately, this focus on damage is problematic as it assigns and limits research participants to the category of victim, perpetuating a cycle of violence that further marginalizes people by condensing and confining their identity and life experiences. The groups that have historically been victimized in research have often been at the center of historical injustices that have marginalized them given their nonconformity with the order sought by those in power. It is important to acknowledge how historical processes have shaped the present conditions that govern people's lives. However, limiting people to those historical processes would be a mistake, as if there were no alternatives for them. To be honest, I am worried about the role you and I could play in maintaining this damage-centered approach.

   One of the potential outcomes of leaving the damage-centered approach behind is the creation of roles that are mutually beneficial for both researchers and research participants. This is an ideal situation, in theory. In practice, how can this be made possible? Academic research will remain flawed if researchers cannot admit when they are wrong or cannot accept opinions that go against their own.

   As a researcher, would you be able to accept an approach that does not align with the one you are trained to follow? Can you prioritize the goals of research participants that Tuck mentions over your own intentions? Would you be able to respect the wishes of a community that does not find a purpose for your research? These questions are worthy of consideration. If you don't want to be the type of researcher that perpetuates this damage-centered focus on participant communities, then you need to be capable of humbly stepping back and taking the time to interrogate your own wants, goals and intentions. You also need to be able to accept refusal, in situations where you, or your project, are simply not welcomed.

   Humility is one of the things that Tuck's article made me think about, as it is a principle often lacking in research. Reading her words, I realized that just because you think you know what "bad" research is, does not mean that you know how to conduct "good"
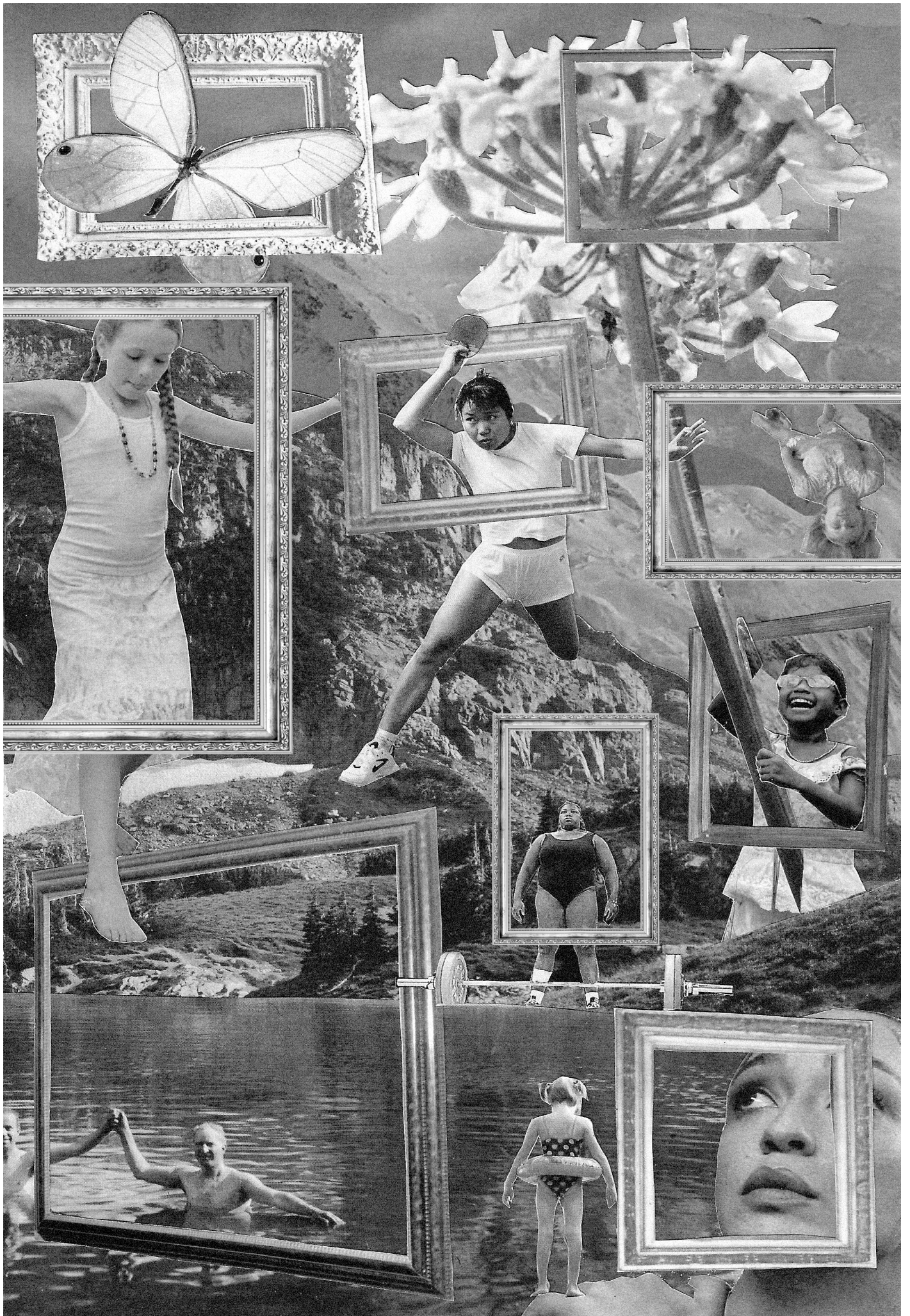
Illustrated by Hollister Rhone, Mixed Media Collage

research, either. I don't think that most researchers today have malicious intentions when conducting damage-centered research, but that does not mean that their work does not cause or perpetuate harm. That is why it is essential to question the practices we undertake and be humble about our assumptions and biases as researchers educated in a field that has arose in a specific colonial context.

If all this is important, it is because of how damage-centered approaches affect not only the people you study but also your view as a researcher. As I mentioned, when you study communities solely from the point of view where you consider them damaged, you cannot appreciate their complexity. However, it is in this complexity that actual knowledge about a person– about a community– can be found. People are multilayered, formed by their life experiences, backgrounds, communities, and themselves. You cannot fully understand someone unless you stop seeing them as merely broken. Consequently, if you want to conduct research that is not superficial but deep and informing, you must embrace complexity.

To go a step further, I dare to say that it is not only people who conduct or are subjected to this damage-centered approach that are affected by it; as students and future researchers, we are equally tired of consuming studies that overemphasize trauma. I attended a class conference a while ago where we discussed Canada's federal welfare system and its relation to the maintenance of Canada's power over Indigenous peoples. One classmate raised their hand and said: "We all know that colonization was bad, but how do we fix it?" Perhaps the formulation of their question was not the most appropriate, as people started saying that colonization is important and you cannot overstate its ongoing consequences. However, I believe my classmate's question was not about the importance of colonization but about how we can look beyond it. Most people in academia are aware that colonization has had profoundly negative impacts , and that Indigenous people – an often-marginalized community – have been subjected to the worst of it. However, acknowledgement is nothing without action.

Students, both belonging to marginalized communities or not, are tired of reading research reports that portray marginalized people as passive victims with no place in the future. Because of the reactions I've observed from my peers, I'm able to see that damage-centered research does not actualize any of its assumed positive impacts. Frankly, it is depressing and leaves people feeling guilty and useless. If you do not want your research to be redundant, repetitive, and depressing, you need to look beyond your conceptions of marginalized people as victims of history. Do not be the depressing researcher, but one that allows future generations to see further. Of course, these feelings are important, but what is more important is what you do with them. People want hope. They want to give purpose to their negative feelings.

These ideas relate to a crucial point of Tuck's letter: desire-focused research. Desire is neither good nor bad. It is simply there. It represents the multifaceted reality of marginalized people affected by historical injustices, as both "victims" of historical processes but also as writers of their own identities and stories. Further, Tuck explains that desire-focused research allows the community to be understood in all its complexity. This is an alternative to the simplistic and reductive lens of damage-centered research.

Desire is an expression of what we are looking for, not because it is something we lack, but because it is something we want. Desire-focused research has benefits not only for the community but also for us as researchers. As a researcher, embracing a focus based on desire opens the door for all kinds of research questions that are not limited by the short-sighted lens of damage. It allows our research to attain a deeper understanding of what it means to be human in all of its complexity. This is especially beneficial for anthropologists, who seek a deep understanding of what being human means, and is a more stimulating and challenging alternative than repeating the same damage-centered approach. Viewing research participants as complex also allows our research to become more nuanced. Tuck says that desire is "informed seeking," the search for something that we know we want, and why we want it. What do researchers do other than seek the truth? A desire-based approach also allows those implicated by our reports, including our audience, to have a sense of hope in the face of historical and ongoing suffering. Through our acknowledgement of the complexity of reality, opportunities can appear: if marginalized people are no longer relegated to the role of victim by researchers, they reclaim their role as sovereign creators of change. If readers of our research are able to sit with and process the difficult feelings that arise as a result of this shift in framework, and thus become appreciative of lived complexity, new and alternative pathways of action can be conceived. I leave it to you to imagine what those could be.

I hope this letter allows you to question yourself about your place as a researcher and to

reorient the way you conduct research if you realize now that it is doing more harm than good. And may this questioning be a continuous and reflexive process for you. As I mentioned, we tend to believe that we know what is better just because we understand what is wrong. "We know colonization is bad" does not mean we know how to address its consequences. By taking a step back and being able to reconsider the whole picture and the people that form it and learn it, we might be able to produce something that adds rather than rest. I hope you can think about some of these words and thoughts and reappropriate them as yours.

Wishing you all the best,

Your fellow future researcher,

Fernanda

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Right: Solukhumbu
Below: Khangba

Photographs by Lilly Crownover

Thinking with Geese, Becoming Sloth, and Other Tales on Relational Selves

Natasha Glisic

Author's Statement:

  "*My name is Natasha Glisic (she/her), and I am a first-generation student majoring in anthropology with a minor in biology. I was born in Montreal and thus raised by Western ways of knowing. It is through this Western position, along with my biology background that I aim at turning Western biological epistemologies on its head. In doing so, I write about several subjects to help illustrate alternative narratives. However, it is only as an anthropology student that I have gained the privilege to claim such voices. Therefore, I want to address my responsibility in taking the risk to speak for someone else for the sake of making other ways of knowing available. My intention is that they will offer a way to live better.*"

Story-Making

When anthropology gave up its desire to be a hard science that regards culture as a specimen to be dissected and objectively explained, it moved towards writing fictions (Geertz 1973:15). This is not to say its writings are now false. Rather, anthropologists validate subjectivities, through which they explore and tell the variety of ways of being in the world via storytelling. Therefore, there is a responsibility in paying attention to how these stories come to matter, for stories make worlds and worlds make stories (Haraway 2016:12). They make a particular way of knowing available, and it shapes the way we relate to the world around us. We consume and transmit it further, thereby enhancing a new way of being, from which more stories emerge.

If stories make a particular way of knowing available, then biologists tell stories too. They tell origin stories; stories that began 13.8 billion years ago as the start of *everything*. Everything that matters for the living world came from matter that got swept away, collided, and interacted from an explosion caused by a highly dense fireball. This beginning is the reason biologists can tell other stories like taxonomy, population ecology, and ecosystem metabolisms. We depend on such stories because they are the ones we refer to explain how we live in a living world. Biology's stories of how to measure when, where, why, and how living organisms eat, sleep, mate, exist are written with themes that often consist of bounded entities within a static system. Such themes are central to how the West interprets the living world and as such, they inform the ways we engage with it.

I, too, wish to tell stories. They are about barnacle geese, animals and mirrors, and avocado seeds. They offer alternative ways of being when our current stories about "bounded individuals plus contexts, when organisms plus environments, or genes plus whatever they need, no longer sustain the overflowing richness of biological knowledges" (Haraway 2016:30). We are in the midst of witnessing the consequences of living with such stories– the global environmental crisis and the conditions of our political system are the result of prioritizing stories where human exceptionalism is the protagonist and the nonhuman-everything-else are the supporting characters. In tending to these stories, we learned how to distance ourselves from those that are not categorized as "human", and it is these characters we deem exploitable. In the upcoming three stories, I offer an alternative way of living in a biological world— one that tends to its relations rather than its units. Instead of one isolated thought capable of thinking of formulas and laws to describe nonhuman-everything-else, what if *we* were part of the everything-else, thinking and existing relationally as part of a collective whole? In telling these stories, perhaps we can reimagine what it means to live in a living world.

Observing Vigilant Barnacle Geese

Let's start with a bit of birdwatching. Geese are an interesting subject for biologists when it comes to studying the tradeoff between foraging for food and watching for potential predators. When living in a group, geese will often take turns watching out for predators in their surrounding environment, while other members can occupy themselves with feeding. Since their brood size can vary, it makes a great variable for measuring whether the size of a group affects how

Illustrated by Hollister Rhone, Mixed Media Collage

often one individual will be vigilant (Forslund 1992). Their long necks make them fantastic subjects as well. What can be more convenient than watching geese move their heads up to look out for predators and move their heads down to forage. When long necks are up, biologists time for vigilance behavior, when long necks are down, they time for foraging (Black and Owen 1989). We watch geese watch predators watch geese. But who is watching us?

As their long necks go up, the barnacle geese cease foraging to watch their new acquaintance behind a large tripod, clicking away at their stopwatch and logging down the time. Up their head goes to watch the geese, down it goes to log the time, clicking the stopwatch in between. How can geese *not* stop feeding to watch such a comical sight.

"The flock has been vigilant for quite a while. Perhaps a predator is nearby."

This is a story about watching. More specifically, it is about what happens when we neglect to take into account our own presence when watching our non-human companions. For the biologist, it must be that the geese see a predator when they look up, because to acknowledge their own presence would impede the legitimacy of the experiment (Despret 2013). There is a concern that if scientists' bodies interfere with their observations, their behavioral research will lose its factual integrity. But what if our bodies as part of a collective space is simply how the world works? Like geese, humans move, smell, make noise, and do everything a body may do. More importantly, the presence of our bodies is perceived by animals and in turn affects how they engage and occupy such space (Despret 2013:52). Therefore, what do we lose when we neglect our presence from the network of reciprocal influence, for the sake of "objective" observations?

Having a living body means living reciprocally with other beings. It means our bodies make and unmake each other by attuning to one another's perspectives (Despret 2013:61). Therefore, watching another living being to learn what they are requires us to pay attention to the part we play in making what they are possible. Yes, we can sit behind a tripod camera and count how many times a goose lifts its head, but in truly *looking* at another being that has the capacity to look back, we can begin to see ourselves within a greater assemblage of thoughts. In doing so, we form a sense of responsibility towards the embodied connections that we are a part of (Dave 2014:434). After all, if the point is not to learn about the living world and how we can do our parts in making it a more liveable place, what other reason is there for counting bobbing heads?

Animal in the Mirror

Our previous story suggested that humans are not isolated from the rest of the living world but instead exist in an assemblage of other thinking selves. But what does it mean to be a thinking self? Behavioral psychologists ask this same question. To answer it, they have written stories about elephants, chimps, and animals of all sorts placed in front of a mirror. The story goes that these animals enter a lab to have a spot drawn on their head to see if they recognize their reflection in the mirror as their own (Gallup 1970). If they touch the spot on their forehead, eureka! They pass the self-awareness test and are deemed intellectually worthy of our praise. Very few animals have been able to pass this test however, with the exception of elephants, dolphins (Reiss and Marino 2001), chimpanzees (Gallup 1970) and of course, humans.

Humans are baptized with self-awareness between the age of 15 to 18 months (Amsterdam 1972). Having the capacity to recognize the self, to assume an autonomous self-taken as one's own is the foundation for what it means to be a person (Comaroff 2001). To be a person is to assume boundaries between the self and the outside world— I can point to the spot on *my* head because the thoughts that emerge come from *me* and not from my reflection in the mirror or anywhere else. To distinguish oneself from everything else is to be a rational, bounded person able to "say and do what we mean, and mean what we say and do" (Lambek 2010:730).

If to be a person means being able to recognize the self as a rational, bounded unit and this is something humans are exceptionally good at, then it seems like the mirror test is used as a yardstick to measure how human nonhumans can be. Humans are people because the spot on our head shows that we are units unmediated by reality and we can recognize that. Perhaps if other species can recognize this too, they would be close to possessing personhood as well! Pigeons, for example, have been known to pass the mirror test. They have done so remarkably well on our human-measuring assessment that they even outscored 3-year-old human children. Perhaps this is why we include them in our human lives, and indeed we are constantly so impressed by their capabilities. They are racers in human sports, scientists studying the neurobiology of orientation and navigation, spies who send messages across enemy territory, and writers transporting secrets (Haraway 2016:18). To say these birds are "bird-brained" would be an insult indeed.

But is this the best assessment for determining whether something is a thinking self? Comaroff (2001) argues that the idea of a self being a static, autonomous unit is a European invention. It can be doubted with an altered story of living: our being in the world is always entangled in social relations. We have been assessing the "intelligence" of different species based on the isolated self - an illusion of what we think it takes to be at the pinnacle of personhood. But if to recognize our self is instead to recognize the relations, we are a part of, are humans still the best test subjects to illustrate what it means to be a person?

Kohn (2013) provides insight on what it takes to be a thinking self and how to go about thinking with other thoughts. Selves exist though their interpretations of the world around them (2013:73). This means that one cannot be a thinking self in a vacuum: we learn, grow, and adapt by fitting to our surroundings (2013:76). For example, birds' songs depend on the shape of their environment. They are the result of fitting within the thick canopies and overall soundscape of the forest, so that their calls remain heard. If their songs were not an adaptation of their surroundings, birds would have quickly perished in evolutionary history. Moreover, selves are semiotic relations— they exist because they stand for something that preceded it and is a prediction for "what will likely come to be" (2013:76). In other words, selves are shaped by the world around them. If their shape did not represent what was and will likely come to be, they would no longer exist.

To be a thinking self is to think relationally. It is to emerge from the dynamic representation of the world around us. Therefore, it is not enough to imagine a self as unitary, nor can we reduce living thoughts to strictly symbolic relations which "narcissistically projects the human onto that which lies beyond it" (Kohn 2013:84). How, then, can we transform the mirror test to a better assessment that allows us to "know these other living selves with whom we relate?" (2013:86). Is there a model we can follow that does not worship animals like pigeons simply for how "human" they are but instead appreciates the thinking that is required for all living selves to relate with the world around them? Can we begin to realize that being a thinking human also means paying attention to our relations rather than concerning ourselves with spots on our forehead that isolates us from everything else? The goal, then, is to try to move beyond Western generalities of the self which ignores the relations we are a part of, to become grounded with the world around us.

Avocado Seeds and Giant Companions

What more masterfully executed can semiotic relations get than with fruits. Fruits can only exist through the result of what their animal partners need them to become. Fruits are gifts specially crafted for specific animals to disperse the seeds enclosed inside so that the plant can continue reproducing. They can vary in shape, size, seed thickness, and flavor, all to attract the perfect candidate suited for eating and thus dispersing their seeds. In sum, the shape of fruits are the result of the animals who propagate their genes.

Avocados, for example, have existed since the beginning of the Cenozoic Era, when megafauna like mammoths, horses, and giant ground sloths roamed the Americas. Like other fruiting plants, avocado trees require a mobile critter to eat their seeds and defecate them in new spaces to grow. Otherwise, the fruits would fall directly to the earth beneath, and the seedlings must compete for space and resources with the parent plant. Therefore, avocados needed to present themselves in such a way that would captivate a suitor large enough to swallow their seed whole. Among the few who were charmed by the fruit's fatty flesh was the giant ground sloth (Janzen and Martin 1982). Avocados thrived because ground sloths did too.

However, the word among scientists is that giant ground sloths, along with the majority of the Americas' megafauna, went extinct roughly 12 000 years ago. With giant sloths no longer around to tend to the survival of their companion, avocados should have gone extinct along with them. So why are avocados still around? Were giant sloths really wiped out from the face of the earth? In reality, as quickly as the sloth's numbers began declining, their population size increased once more. In fact, today, there are billions of giant ground sloths inhabiting every corner of the globe. They utilize the avocado's fleshy fruit for avocado toast, Tik Tok skincare hacks, and as garnish for overpriced vegan dishes. Yes, avocados thrived because ground sloths did too.

Let's indulge this idea for a moment and reflect on what it would mean to think about humans as giant ground sloths. One cannot live without the other. We know this because the shape of one affects the shape of what the other will become. 12 000 years later the thick-skinned fruit with a thin mesocarp and huge seed no longer satisfied their new-age sloths. As the sloths got smaller and more versatile with their avocado uses, the avocado's flesh got thicker, and their seed got smaller. The shape of one affected the shape of what the other became.

This story is intended to exercise the idea of

becoming. If we exist as embodied relations, then as these relations shift, so do we. We are not static units but rather always becoming by making and unmaking oneself to fit the world we are a part of. Several scholars have played with the notion of becoming. Kohn (2022), for example, provides an analogy of a bag. To think of the world and ourselves as a bag implies that we are in a sense an open container (2022:15). Through this openness, we are shaped by our surroundings and therefore we "represent the world in some way or another" (Kohn 2013:9). This is essential to our existence because it is what allows us to "remember" the important information about our prior states for the sake of our future selves (Kohn 2022:16). If living selves were indeed isolated from everything else, nothing would survive. Avocados have their shape because of the other living selves that consume it, and this reciprocal shaping for one another is necessary for avocados to continue living.

Similarly, Haraway (2016) describes the living world as a practice of becoming-with. For her, the "name of the game" is that we become who we are through relational material-semiotic worldings (2016:13). We, the material, do not preexist our relations. All living species are the result of subject-shaping entanglements (2016:13). Meanwhile, Tsing (2015) thinks about this in terms of contamination. Our encounters contaminate us and in doing so, "they change who we are as we make way for others" (2015:27). Contamination is about changing in relation to the world around us, and no one is immune to contamination (2015:27).

What does any of this have to do with our story about hipster sloths eating avocado toast? Why would I make such a strange suggestion? This thought experiment is not about changing our labels from "human" to "giant ground sloth". We are not replacing our taxonomic category with a different one, for this defeats the purpose. Perhaps this is why we do not like stories such as these. For those who live with stories of Western biology, labels are how we make sense of the world. Beings are defined by species, class, order, family, subfamily and more. Everything fits in a group and when they do not, we make more.

This story is proposing to think of living selves in a different way. It proposes becoming sloth, not for the sake of renaming preexistent categories, but because that is what we are in relation to another living self. Avocado trees *require* a sloth for their future selves to flourish– that is why they produce fruit in the first place. They are the result of a partnership between another being. We are sloths because that is what the survival of avocado fruits allowed us

to become. Put differently, thinking relationally feels more intuitive when we say we are daughters to our mothers or students to our professors. These categories do not make sense without their relations, and they do not require us to only pick one— we can simultaneously be a mother, a daughter, a student, and a sloth— so long as we are tied to another that makes it true. What would our world look like if we tended to our multispecies relations as well?

World-Making

Like many stories, there is a moral to these ones. So far, we have told tales where humans are not the only living selves, that to be a living self requires semiotic relations, and that living selves persist, flourish, and become in entanglements with others. Why, then, should we bother becoming available to stories such as these? At the moment, our world is in what Taussig (2020) calls a global meltdown— "meaning [our] environmental as well as political mayhem"– as the result of conceiving the world as nature, as a fixed container intended for our extraction (2020:46-47). We extract oil, we consume plastics, cotton, free labor, and then dump our excess in our oceans and under the ground. We gloat about how exceptional humans are compared to any other living species and indeed, we are the only ones capable of causing a mass extinction. Of course, this does not need to be the case. Therefore, can we not do something to change our habits, to allow for the possibility of living better?

My stories are an experiment towards such a goal. They offer a way of disrupting the stories that already inform the way we exist in the world and suggest another narrative. What if we did exist as an assemblage of other thinking selves? What if we flourished for the sake of others to flourish alongside us? What possibilities does recognizing ourselves as a larger whole offer (Kohn 2022:22)? My intention here is to demonstrate what kind of world we would live in where people looked *back* at geese, stopped admiring themselves in the mirror, and lived as sloths- for the sake of another to thrive. Hopefully, this alternative world is a good one. It is one where we can sustain one another and flourish together by recognizing the embodied network of living thoughts we are a part of, because that is what the world requires us to be.

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The Babri Masjid and the Rama Temple: How Archaeology has been used to Justify Political and Religious Agendas

Kimberly Nicholson

Author's Statement:

"Hi everyone! My name is Kimberly (she/her/elle), and I am a third-year Anthropology and International Development student minoring in Indigenous studies. I am thrilled to share my work with you, as I am passionate about politics and anthropology and how they intersect. I am privileged to study at McGill University, and I acknowledge that my perspective has been shaped by the academic environment in which I find myself. I became interested in the Babri Masjid and politics in India after taking a class on the colonial history of India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh. I acknowledge that the tensions around the Babri Masjid are a lived reality for many people and that my distance from the subject influences my perspective. I have no ties to the communities around Ayodhya, so my piece does not touch upon the lived experiences of people in the area.address my responsibility in taking the risk to speak for someone else for the sake of making other ways of knowing available. My intention is that they will offer a way to live better."

The 6th of December 1992 remains infamous in Indian history. That day, the Babri Masjid, a mosque in Ayodhya, was destroyed by right-wing Hindu fundamentalists. Believed to be the birthplace of the Hindu Lord Rama, the Babri Masjid remained a shared religious site for Hindus and Muslims alike until its demolition. Since the rise and fall of the colonial government, Ayodhya has been subject to heated debates between Hindus and Muslims, especially pertaining to whether the architects of the Babri Masjid destroyed the Ram Janmabhoomi in the process of building the mosque. This question was brought forth by analysis of the Ramayana, a Sanskrit text that describes an ancient Ayodhya as the birthplace of Rama. Whether ancient Ayodhya is the same as the modern location remains contested by archeologists and historians. Additionally, because political parties in India often employ religious ideology and symbols in their campaigns, the issue of Ayodhya has branched out from being religious to being political. This deep conflict between Hindus and Muslims has its origins in colonialism, with the creation of religious political parties during Quit India and Partition (Bates 2007:159). Although Ayodhya is by no means the center of this conflict, it represents hundreds of years of compounding and escalating issues between the groups. Not only do politics and religion take responsibility for the destruction of Ayodhya, but also the different movements in archeology. The archeology surrounding Ayodhya has been fraught with religious undertones which influence the conclusions made about the site. In this essay, I argue that the destruction of the Babri Masjid and the project to reconstruct a Rama temple at Ayodhya was primarily driven by the negligence of colonialist and nationalist institutions to understand the pluralistic and multicultural history of Ayodhya. Furthermore, I argue that since the colonial period, the religious and archeological atmosphere has been central to the bolstering of political extremism and the culmination of the demolition of the Babri Masjid.

Before delving into the archeology of Ayodhya, we must understand the political milieu that transformed the relationship between Hindus and Muslims. The fall of the Mughal Empire in 1858 beckoned in the rise of the British East India Company and the colonization of India. British historians started to document life and culture, completely ignorant of the complexity and religious diversity of India. Indeed, James Mill's The History of British India became a base for much of the British chronicles and command of the Indian people (Mukhopadhyay 2021:62). Furthermore, writings like Mill's aimed to split Indian history into Hindu, Muslim, and British periods. This periodization of Indian history encompassed the politics of Ayodhya. For example, conversions of low-caste Hindus to Islam were portrayed as forced conversions (Mukhopadhyay 2021:111). Muslims were portrayed by the British colonial government as brutal and violent; unwilling to coexist with Hindus. Vicious disputes over neighboring mosques and Hindu temples additionally intensified the division (Mukhopadhyay 2021:65). British officers propagated rumors that Aurangzeb, the last ruler of the Mughal

empire, destroyed Hindu temples at Ayodhya (Mukhopadhyay 2021:62). By pinning Muslims against Hindus and portraying them as merciless, the British produced anxieties and planted fear within the community.

Unlike European history, Indian history involves themes of religious, cultural, and ethnic continuation and cohesion. However, by basing Indian colonial archaeology off a European blueprint, colonial archeologists failed to acknowledge the multidimensionality of Ayodhya and other Indian sites. In her piece on Sacred Geography, Diana Eck argues that the disagreement in Ayodhya "arises from a discourse of exclusivity and uniqueness, more typical of the monotheistic traditions of the west" rather than a system of plurality, more commonly seen in India (Eck 1998:168). Ayodhya, perceived as the birthplace of Rama — Ram Janmabhoomi —was also the site of the Babri Masjid (Guha-Takurta 2007:271). Before colonial power, this place held little conflict for Muslims and Hindus who prayed there. The duality of Ayodhya is starkly contrasted with its division and politicization due to the rise of colonial government and archeology.

Along with political divisions, colonial archeology's biases and inaccuracies built the tension around Ayodhya and formed a base for future archeologists that excavated the area. Colonial archeology further solidified the restraints created by the British colonial government, in their neglect of Ayodhya's pluralism. Although the founding of the Archeological Survey of India was initially used by the colonial system to justify critiques of Indian culture, after independence, it was used to establish nationalist and religious ideas (Selvakumar 2010:469). Colonial archeology involved, at a fundamental level, euro-centric and Indophobic means of research. Specifically, by drawing upon ideas like Oriental Despotism, colonial archeology became biased and limited the accuracy of its research (Morrison 1994:184).

Archeology in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries also lacked solid archeological methods. Specifically, when Alexander Cunningham 'excavated' Ayodhya, he asserted that most of the Hindu temples around the area showed evidence of being destroyed and built upon by Muslims (Mukhopadhyay 2021:50) . However, Cunningham's observation was based upon rumor and oral tradition, not physical evidence. By claiming these stories to be proven fact, under the guise of archeological information, Cunningham further solidified the religious divide between Hindus and Muslims in Ayodhya.

Politically, religiously, and archaeologically, Ayodhya became more polarized after the rise of nationalism and the defeat of the British colonial government in 1947. More broadly, nationalism, Quit India (a movement demanding the end of British rule), and partition came during and after the First and Second World Wars, in which Indians were very discontent with the colonial government. The idea that Muslims and Hindus should live in separate countries further amplified the tension in Ayodhya. Although Ayodhya was not a major political epicenter, it symbolized a culmination of all the political and religious conflict occurring across the country. Furthermore, the melding of religion and politics in India was observed during India's independence and the subsequent creation of Pakistan (Bates 2007:167).

In 1949, a political party called the Hindu Mahasbha grappled for control of the Babri Masjid in attempt to restore the Rama temple (Mukhopadhyay 2021: 82). Subsequently, the temple was closed to prevent further instability. Already in 1949, tensions between Hindu government groups and Muslims in Ayodhya had reached a breaking point.

The emergence of right-wing Hindu fundamentalist political parties, starting with the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS), became a source of contention at Ayodhya. Along with the RSS, the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) and the Vishva Hindu Parishad (VHP) were key instigators of the communal violence and destruction of the Babri Masjid (Friedland and Hecht 1998:102). Ergo, the bridging of religion and politics is a central spark to the intensity of the violence between Hindus and Muslims at Ayodhya. These nationalist parties also used distinctly Hindu symbols to pronounce Hindu identity across India. For example, the Hindu goddess Bharat Mata, or Mother India, is used to assert the territorial righteousness of Hinduism. If Bharat Mata is the mother, Hindus are her children. The geographical implications are that other religions, particularly Islam, are depicted as the "other," not belonging in India (Menon 2010:11). The use of the Bharat Mata by Hindu nationalists has further increased the divide between Hindus and Muslims, especially at Ayodhya. Depicting Muslims as foreign implies that when the Babri Masjid was built around 1528, Hindu culture, which preceded Islam, was suppressed. The validity of these claims has been exaggerated by nationalists to rally Hindus and justify their goal of destroying the mosque.

In 1984, the Rama temple dispute was brought up again by the VHP, a decidedly Hindu extremist political group (Sand 2003:164). According to the VHP, the Babri Masjid was unequivocally built on top of the birthplace of Rama. The party thus identified the Babri Masjid as a symbol of Hindu oppression by Muslims (Lochtefeld 1994:588). They also actively campaigned for the destruction of the Mosque in order to build a new Rama temple (Bates 2007:269). This

Illustrated by Lilly Crownover

blatant villainization of Muslims by a Hindu extremist group turned the Babri Masjid not only into a symbol of religious oppression, but a symbol of the political party. Additionally, the VHP saw Islam as a foreign threat to India, legitimizing their destruction of the Babri Masjid as an eternal struggle against religious persecution (Menon 2010:3). Hindu nationalism represents the majority party in India, and it directly influenced the destruction of the Babri Masjid in the name of preserving Hinduism.

Although the mosque itself was not a significant site, its destruction demonstrates the prioritization of the Ram Janmabhoomi over the Babri Masjid, a prioritization of Hinduism over Islam. In short, the religious-backed political movements after the end of the British colonial government escalated the tensions between Hindus and Muslims, culminating in the destruction of the Babri Masjid.

Nationalist archeology remains the greatest instigator of the destruction of the Babri Masjid and the decided reconstruction of a Rama temple in its place. Archeology done by the widely respected B.B. Lal, in coordination with the Archeological Survey India, asserted that the Ramayana held a kernel of truth; Ayodhya had archeological evidence of a destroyed Rama temple underneath the Babri Masjid (Lal 1981:32). Moreover, Hindu fundamentalists took full advantage of archeology that they said scientifically warranted the destruction of the Babri Masjid (Lydon

and Rizvi 2010:230). The methods of archeology in India, specifically by the ASI, has been used to further political means. With politics and religion so closely tied in India, especially in right-wing groups like the VHP, archeology holds a great deal of significance in its use to rationalize the destruction of the Babri Masjid. Moreover, "certainty" of modern Ayodhya being the birthplace of Lord Rama evolved into the "certainty" of a Rama temple's existence. These two "certainties" expanded to the idea that Mir Baqi destroyed a Hindu temple and superimposed the Babri Masjid (Guha-Takurta 2007:271). Despite archeology being depicted as a scientific and objective subject, it is still susceptible to bad interpretations (Mandal 1993:9). The archaeology performed by the ASI confirms that it is closely tied to the government to "essentialize its objective authority over the Indian past" (Lydon and Rizvi 2010:231). Nationalist archeology, marketed as unbiased scientific research, was used to justify the destruction of the Babri Masjid in the name of a supposed Hindu temple that lay underneath. B.B. Lal's excavation in 1976-1977 asserts that pillar bases found correlate to a structure built in the 11th century, and two layers of flooring directly relate to a temple underneath the Babri Masjid (Mandal 1993:22). Work done by Dhaneshwar Mandal refutes this theory. Mandal asserts that stone pillars thought to have belonged to the Rama temple show a lack of contemporaneity, and there is no evidence of a

temple beneath the Babri Masjid (Mandal 1993:57). Furthermore, the juxtaposition between nationalist archeology done by the ASI and archeology by Mandal demonstrates its politicization at Ayodhya. By attempting to legitimize Hindu text through the scientific method, the ASI has actively excluded other religious groups and substantiated the destruction of the Babri Masjid by Hindu fundamentalists in the name of a Rama temple that likely did not exist.

The issue with the Archeological Survey of India is its bias and stubborn grip on history. The archeology conducted by the ASI and B.B. Lal that justified the destruction of the Babri Masjid was not only of archeological importance, but of political and religious importance as well. Because the ASI is sponsored by the Indian government, it is subject to the influence of the agenda of the ruling political. The ASI's methods face a lack of criticism from people due to its grip on historical documentation in India. Even more, any archeologist that wants to do research in India must receive a permit through the ASI and any archeological findings not approved by the ASI are normally not recognized in academia (Varma and Menon 2010:71). Thus, the archeology done by the ASI, especially at Ayodhya, is subject to politicization and injustice by the government. The case of archeology at Ayodhya brings the dangerous question of the construction of the past. The VHP's use of so-called scientific evidence of a Rama temple underneath the Babri Masjid is not a rationale for its destruction. The inherent flaws of ASI archeology and the excavations at Ayodhya demonstrate the politicization and polarization of different identities, specifically those of Hindus and Muslims, in India.

A broader theme of archeology in South Asia, specifically at Ayodhya, is the tension between text and physical evidence. Archeology is used to propagate textual evidence, thus severely limiting what can be drawn from archeological evidence. For example, B.B. Lal's objective in his project was to see if archeological evidence supported the Mahabharata and the Ramayana, two Indian epics (Lal 1981:27). In Ayodhya, the reasoning for the Ramayana neglects the fact that this epic has been passed down through oral tradition for hundreds of years and is subject to change. Tying a chronology to religious texts like the Ramayana can be extremely difficult (Varma and Menon 2010:71).

It is commonly understood that the sole role of archaeology is to find proof of what is written in texts and found in oral traditions, regardless of the robustness of the evidence (Varma and Menon 2010:70). While using textual evidence along with archeological evidence can provide context, there are dangers to it. Moreover, one of Hindu fundamentalists' main goals was to assert the certainty of Hindu texts

(Chattopadhyaya 2003:16). Written histories must be distanced from archeology to prevent archeology from becoming a legitimizing device. Additionally, the consistent prioritization of textual evidence over artifacts leads to a disregard of controversial archeological evidence. With the supposed Rama temple underneath the Babri Masjid, despite no sound archeological evidence of its existence, politicians and others continued to believe in the temple until the destruction of the mosque in 1992. The disproportionate emphasis attributed to the Ramayana and the politicization of the shared site contributed to the violent uprising of Hindu fundamentalists and the instability following the Babri Masjid's destruction.

Another aspect of the politicization of Ayodhya came in the form of prescribing religious histories onto excavated objects and architectural features. Specifically, ASI archeological data has focused on "specific historical moments and foci in the site's history, rather than constructing more encompassing narratives that would account for multiple identifications within a wider religious landscape" (Meskell 2002:292). Moreover, in discussions as to whether the Babri Masjid was constructed on top of a previously existing Hindu temple, questions of religious identity in relation to artifacts arise. Whether a structure or artifact was 'Hindu' or 'Muslim' is vexing, in that it implies that there are strict boundaries to artifact identities (Varma and Menon 2008:174). As previously stated, Indian pre-colonial identities were much more fluid. With the rise of the British colonial government and subsequent rise of nationalism in response, identities became much more cemented and polarized. The politicization of archeological evidence at Ayodhya was a culmination of many political and religious factors, with people justifying their opposing sides with archeological and so-called scientific evidence. Along with this, identity building has become a central aspect of archeology in Ayodhya – unnecessarily so (Bernbeck and Pollock 1996:140). The surge of Hindu nationalism in India meant that religious identity was linked with politics. Ayodhya presented a confounding issue, in which people believed it could only be of one identity, a decidedly Hindu identity. The escalation of right-wing Hindu nationalism and fundamentalism allowed for the politicization of archeology and the subscription of identity to archeological objects. That being said, archeology, particularly by the ASI, was passive in this intensification of violence. In short, the prescription of religious identities to archeological artifacts at Ayodhya exhibited a difficult and heightened political issue, leading to the destruction of the Babri Masjid.

The violence surrounding Ayodhya also stemmed from a processual approach to archeology. Processualism is a movement in archeology that

originates in a science-based and objective approach. Processualism was late to catch on in India, only getting there in the 1970s and 1980s (Abraham 2005:254). Processual archeology plays a key role in the pre-destruction archeology at Ayodhya. Moreover, archeology done at Ayodhya has emphasized the religious identity of sites based on a singular point in time, instead of a constantly changing dynamic (Shaw 2000:698). Instead of understanding the site's broader history, Hindu nationalists have selected certain points in Ayodhya's history and weaponized them for the greater benefit of their agenda. By using a science-based approach, archeologists have neglected the highly politicized history of Ayodhya. Additionally, Hindu nationalists have cherry-picked evidence to support their cause. Because their claims seem to be backed up by science, there are limits to the extent to which people can criticize them. Laypeople are less likely to double down on the specific archeology used. If Hindu nationalists say that scientific evidence shows a preexisting Rama temple was destroyed and replaced by a mosque, what are regular people to do but believe them? In this debate, we see the use of science to legitimize religion. In defense of the Ramayana, this combination is dangerous because it has been used to declare that Hinduism is backed by science, leaving nationalists to further assert their righteousness. Also, science restricts the fluidity of Ayodhya, thus neglecting its complex and dynamic history.

Clearly, one of the main issues of the archeology at Ayodhya is the "attempt to give historicity to what began as belief" (Thapar 1993:XIV). While Hindu nationalists have used archeology as a legitimizing device for their own political beliefs, they have also used it as a warrant for Hindu beliefs. Everyone is entitled to their own beliefs, but in no way should they be forcing them on others and labeling their beliefs as supreme. The politically successful attempt to objectivize the Ramayana with the intention of rallying people to destroy the Babri Masjid cost the lives of thousands of people. In the case of Ayodhya, archeology has been used to concretize a nationalist political agenda.

Eleven years after the destruction of the Babri Masjid, the supreme court ordered the ASI to conduct a survey to find out whether the Rama temple actually existed under the Babri Masjid. After a four-month excavation, the ASI concluded that indeed, there was a temple under the Babri Masjid. However, their conclusion did not come without controversy (Lydon and Rizvi 2010:231).The Supreme Court recalled the report in 2003, but its conclusions have still permeated the public eye (Mukhopadhyay 2021:6). In 2019, the land in Ayodhya that once housed the Babri Masjid, was turned over to Hindu representatives (Mukhopadhyay 2021:219). Now, a temple honoring Lord Rama is being built in its place (Slater and Masih 2020) .

In this essay, I have argued that the demolition of the Babri Masjid was directed by political and religious adversities dating back to the colonial era. The emergence of Hindu nationalism and its use of archeology as a legitimizing device has further erased the pluralistic and multicultural background of Ayodhya and represents an apprehensive warning of what can happen. Actively neglecting the site's history when analyzing artifacts and architectural features has led to the "othering" of Muslims and the vindication of the mosque's ruin. I further demonstrated the issue of combining religion and science, in terms of a political tool for Hindu nationalist parties. Archeology is a way of looking into the past. It is not a way for politicians to prove their points, nor for people to back their religious beliefs. It is the job of the archeologist to bring meaning to objects, and in the case of Ayodhya, archeology has mainly failed. In no way does the possible existence of a Rama temple excuse the utter violence and pandemonium experienced on the 6th of December 1992. The seriousness of the subject is shown by the thousands of people that died during riots in the aftermath of the destruction. Tensions between Hindus and Muslims have been building for hundreds of years. The demolition of the Babri Masjid represents a breaking point in that relationship, but perhaps not the breaking point that should be envisioned. Once the Rama temple is completed, around 2023, we will have to observe how religion and politics continue to interact in Ayodhya. Until then, it is essential to remain critical of archeological methods, and how objectivity and scientific research have been and continue to be used to justify nationalism and violence against religious and political minorities.

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A Mixture of Libidinal Forces, Affect, Oscillation, Loop and Absorption

Meng Xuan

Author Statement:

    "Hi everyone! My name is Meng. I am a fourth year anthropology student with a minor in educational psychology. It is my second time working with my fellow anthropology students on the Fields/Terrains Journal, and I'm looking forward to seeing everyone's work. The reason why I submitted this interesting, but sometimes confusing, paper from my Psychological anthropology course is to draw your attention to how we, as individuals, interact with our environment in an unseen way. Although abstract, this paper relates to the theme of landscapes in the terms of psychic landscape, a topic which I find incredibly interesting.

    "As an international student at McGill, I acknowledge that "McGill University (Tiohtiá:ke/Montreal) is situated on the traditional territory of the Kanien'kehà:ka, a place which has long served as a site of meeting and exchange amongst many First Nations". If I were able to bring you something thought-provoking through this paper, it is because I am standing on the shoulders of giants."

As individuals who exist in the world, we must constantly engage with our external environment, sometimes in ways that we do not completely understand. This unexplainable process, whether it manifests in the body or in the psyche, is a phenomenon known as affect and libidinal forces. Drawing from my Psychological Anthropology courses, I will begin explaining this phenomenon by discussing the inside-out trajectory of libidinal forces by drawing on Anna O's case study. After that, Massumi's Affect theory will be discussed to exemplify the outside-in forces, which we rarely seem to be attentive to. The last section of my essay will discuss how these forces, rather than entirely separate, are inter-transformable. Individuals have the ability to not only interrupt, but create an entirely new loop movement between the psyche and our external environment.

The Vitality of the Inside-out Forces: Objects, Identification and the Individual

Sigmund Freud's libidinal drive theory laid the groundwork for the movement of unseen forces from within us to the outside world. Driven by a libidinal force, an individual's ego must engage in an identification process with their external environment. This process of identification allows an individual to create their own subjectivity, as they form a 'libidinal tie' between themselves and objects. The libidinal infrastructure consists primarily of an individual with two other objects occupying the father and mother positions (Collu 2022). It helps demonstrate how libidinal forces act toward objects, like a predator chasing prey, and how such forces sustain in its surrunding proximity.

When identifying with the object in the mother position, the individual is in the early stage of constructing the ego, introjecting characteristics that can, in return, define the individual. Thus, there is a continuity between the individual and that specific object, letting go of this object will threaten the individual's identity. Therefore, if one is forced to withdraw from the object in the mother position, one must start identifying something else, which usually leads to a transitional object. Another libidinal link points to the object in the father position. According to Freud (2010), identification with that object can be aggressive. In his most famous example, a young boy's identification with his father transforms into a desire to replace his father in order to be with his mother (61).

Example of Libidinal forces: Anna O Case Study

Anna O's case study provides some context for examining inside-out libidinal forces, as one of Freud's first psycho-analytic analyses. Bertha Pappenheim, working under the pseudonym Anna O, came to see Dr Josef Breuer in the late 19th century. As Sigmund Freud's close colleague, Dr Breuer diagnosed Anna with hysteria, a disease that operated in 4 separate stages. The first stage "Latent Incubation", began in July 1880. Her illness had distinctly peculiar symptoms, made worse by her father falling ill that same year. Her body gradually deteriorated while attempting to heal her father and by the second stage

of her affliction 'Manifest Illness', she suffered from severe headaches, partial paralysis and disturbances in vision, speech, and movement. By April 1881, Anna O's father passed away despite her efforts, causing severe psychological trauma and triggering the third and most dramatic stage of her illness. During the day, she would have short hallucinatory absences, then fall into somnolent states in the afternoon, followed by deep hypnosis after sunset. Her eventual recovery marks the final stage of her affliction, in which she improved with the assistance of Breuer's talking cure, an important part of Freud's psychoanalytic theory. A talking cure assists the patient in tracing personal histories that are the root cause of their physical ailments. Patients talk through their unconscious mind, thus learning how their personal historical events are related to their ailments.

Inside Out Forces and the Unconscious

For Anna O, forces are largely emitted from her unconscious realm, and thus we may call it the libidinal drive of the unconscious. The libidinal tie no longer forms between the subject's conscious ego and external objects, but rather connects the subject to a space full of infinite possibility, which is anchored in the subject themselves. The subject travels through the unconscious, attempting to capture traces of each memory that wanders within that realm. Anna O's *absences*, or *condition seconde* (Freud and Breuer 1985, 31) exemplify the libidinal drive of the unconscious. During her *absences*, Anna would behave madly and hallucinate terrifying figures, death heads and skeletons (27). They signify the different threads of her traumatic past experience. When she was in her *absences,* she always lived in the winter of

the previous year, 1880, during which she imagined returning to her old room. As Breuer recorded, when she wanted to go to the door in the new house where she was treated, she bumped up against the stove because it was in the same position as the door in the old room (33). The hallucinatory *absences* coexisted with her "normal" state and always invaded it (24).

Perhaps this could be interpreted as libidinal forces seeking ways out of Anna O's unconscious. Anna O's entry into her unconscious opens a door for traumatic memories to be released. Before, her repressed unconscious can only find a way out through her body, which became the symptoms of her illness. Thus, the presence of libidinal forces represent her desire to transform and detach from her dark past. They fuel her action to verbally express her traumatic memories. She created a healing space for herself in her auto-hypnosis state. It allows her to ease her imagination of psychical stimuli produced during her *absences* by giving utterance to them (29). When Anna O gave utterances of all her past traumas, her unconscious started to integrate into the conscious. By talking, traumatic memories succeed in escaping from within her unconscious without being manifested on her body in the form of her various symptoms.

The Cunning Outside-in Forces

One might wonder how memories can become lodged in Anna O's unconscious. Indeed, the inside-out trajectory can only explain one side of the story. Along with the traumatic experience, affects from outside invade one's consciousness and may subtly pervade the unconscious.

Massumi's Affect theory is a good starting point for investigating the trajectory of outside-in forces. There are several layers in understanding this concept. The first layer would be to see what 'affect' actually is. Affect, according to Massumi (2002), exists as "some sort of thing" out there, but it cannot survive on its own and requires an embodiment to which it can anchor, either humans or nonhumans (96). Nonetheless, one of its primary characteristics is its inability to be consciously detected by its host. Massumi describes this undetectable quality as affect's 'autonomy', by which affect acts as a vague intensity, something that is often difficult to put a name to but usually easy to identify as it felt within the body.

The atmosphere of a room provides a good example to explain affect. Affects have the ability to cumulate in a space, as they are transferred from person to person. Thus, imagine you are going into an interview. You and some other interviewees are asked to do a group interview, with a few interviewers looking at and recording each person's performance. The room feels tense, even though everyone talks excitedly. Imagine now that you walk into a classroom. You find a bunch of students sitting there watching their phones. There is no window in and the room is very dim. No one is talking to each other and no one notices your appearance. It is silent until the teacher comes in, who turns up the light and starts to give a lecture. There is an inherent difference between these two environments, both of which cannot be attributed to a feeling we can name.

The difference between these environments is the presence of different affects in the room. We can think of affect as an active force that passes through different entities on a micro-interactional level. Our bodies are porous, allowing affect to penetrate and impact us. According to Massumi, the human body can recognize affective impulses before we become aware of them (89). When the body successfully captures, or identifies, affects, such affect could be qualified as an emotion. Emotion is the most intense manifestation of affect, yet the movement of affect across through the body can also impact the unconscious, which explains Anna O's latent hysteria manifested as her chronic physiological maladies.

Outside-In Forces: The digital world and its consequences

Though, as previously discussed, affects are deposited into one's consciousness by being qualified into emotions, this does not imply that humans are alert to the invasion of such outside-in forces. Collu (n.d.) demonstrates in chapter IV *Oscillation* of his book how we are constantly hypnotized by the "master *dispositifs*" (Chapter IV 25) in this dataism era. Such master *dispositifs* orient us to objects carrying positive-like affects. Those objects will hit our consciousness, with affects being qualified as a pleasure feeling. For instance, when we immerse ourselves in a "scrolling binge" (Chapter IV 15) or start to dream about a TV show after spending a significant amount of time watching it (Chapter IV 17). Furthermore, "master *dispositifs*" have the potential to completely control one's psyche and think for us. If the master dispositifs is a heterogeneous ensemble, then our smartphones represent one part of such an ensemble. With smartphones, we can access numerous digital platforms and apps. We can possibly do "anything" and we seem never to be content. We desire more, so we keep coming back to our phone because it can give us what we want. Smartphones have become our external brain whose logic is to find something that can keep pleasuring the individual.

One is no longer satisfied with obtaining pleasure from a "scrolling binge", but also desires a pleasurable way of solving problems. In the chapter, Collu asks an ironic question, "Why go and talk to someone when you can access all the information you need through digital platforms?" (Chapter IV 20). Hence, our exposure to numerous digital data via the screen is akin to being passively hypnotized, during which our attentions are re-oriented to limited types of things that are fed to us. If we submit ourselves to the external "brain", we could become only affectable by a limited set of stimuli while excluding other possibilities that could also affect us. We will then, become resistant to transformation.

The Inter-transformation of Affect and Libidinal Forces in the loop

The analysis of our relationship with the "master *dispositifs*" gives us a glimpse of the loop movement. What will happen when we are pleased by the process of a "scrolling binge" on a digital platform? We are highly likely to return to the digital world (Collu 2022).

The concept of loop in Collu's (n.d.) book anchors on a system with two positions: the subject and the "machine". The subject will constantly return to the "machine" because the "machine" allows the subject to be in a state of coming out of oneself (Collu 2022). The "machine" externalizes one's perception, making it appears as if one is truly experiencing something one desires to do. Within the loop system, the two trajectories of forces, discussed in the previous sections, meet and intertwine with each other. The two trajectories of forces are inter-transformable. As Anna O's hallucinations and smartphones being the external "brains" demonstrate, outside-in forces can impact one's body, reshape one's mind, and cause chaos in one's unconscious. One can also internalize such outside-in forces and relieve them from within, like Anna O's affective discharge. Meanwhile, insider-out forces that root in one's psyche constantly seek ways to escape, whether through the desire for identification or the constant return to digital platform binge watching. Once out, they could become new outside-in forces capable of dragging oneself deeper into the loop system and impacting others.

Oscillation-Interruption

Perhaps it is impossible to stop different trajectories of forces from entering and escaping one's psyche while it is likely to interrupt the trajectory, and further, the return to the loop system. The idea of interruption comes from another chapter of *Into the loop* (Collu n.d., Chapter III 22). As Collu (n.d.) discusses, the concept of oscillation explains one's movement between different states of affectability (Chapter IV).Briefly speaking, oscillation is the movement between two mental states. One is the state of reduced peripheral attention (Collu n.d., Chapter IV). For example, when doing meditation, you are guided to only focus on your breath movement. The more you focus your attention on one single point, the closer you will approach a threshold. Beyond the threshold is the other state. Within this state, you could be much more affectable to a wider range of stimuli. An individual's current beliefs start to loosen and the rewiring of such a belief system also becomes possible (Collu). Going back to the era of the digital, "master *dispositifs*" are always orienting our attention toward a particular set of objects, indulging us to keep returning to those objects. As a result, when, and to what extent one can enter the second state of affectability is manipulated by outside forces that are culturally conditioned. We become impatient and weary to learn and encounter new things. Therefore, to interrupt the loop, we should start to rethink our relationships with the kinds of objects that surround us in our daily lives. Instead of being passively affected, we should embrace the arbitrariness of attachments by breaking free from the selective focus (Chapter IV 26). This helps us actively explore our own point of focused attention and the way to enter the second state of affectability. We will be prepared to learn and transform. However, if one remains in the latter state, it might simply end up repeating what "master *dispositifs*" bring to everyone-"selective focus and reduced peripheral awareness" (Chapter IV 25). To transform, one must be able to oscillate between such different states of affectability (Chapter IV 26). Oscillation does not prevent one from entering the loop but rather empowers the individual to freely shift between affectability states and know when to exit the loop. It is the oscillation between "a focus on selected stimuli" (Chapter IV 26), and "the very possibility of infinite stimuli you could be affected by" (Chapter IV 27). Thus, to oscillate is to attentively scrutinize one's current affectability and make adjustments when necessary.

The cone model, from Samuele Collu, further demonstrates the process of oscillation as shifting between states of affectability. Imagine a cone flipped upside down. The point of that cone, facing downward, represents the single point of our attention in the present moment. The rest of the cone, which expands from that point, represents anything which has come to shape our present attention; from our

personal histories to our memories etc. Now, think of this upside down cone placed on a flat surface. Underneath this surface is a reimagination of the cone, as a higher state of affectability. What goes on underneath the cone presents a state of being that we do not fully understand, whereas above the cone is a representation of our life experiences. Everything in this image I have depicted for you, the cone, the surface and the reimagination of the cone; is a process which occurs in our unconscious mind. What this model illustrates is transferring through the threshold,or the flat surface, into this higher state of affectability.

Reshape and Create Your Own Loop

Perhaps another way to interrupt the loop is to create a new loop system for ourselves. In this new loop, we should no longer submit to an object that is mediated to feed our desire, but instead, train ourselves to create a loop by involving an "invisible other" (Luhrmann 2020). The invisible other will then vary between individuals. I would like to build on the loop concept and propose a three-position loop that bridges one's inner mind and the outside world. It comprises the conscious, the unconscious and the invisible other. The loop could start with the conscious, then move into the unconscious, and finally to the invisible other. However, it requires repeated practice to truly feel the invisible other's presence. This repeated practice is what keeps the loop operating.

Luhrmann's book (2020) will contribute to better understanding the three-position loop. Being in the state of absorption is critical for people with faith to connect to their gods. However, absorption is not unique in religious practice. Absorption can be interpreted as a technique to open up one's psyche. It is the capacity "to be immersed in the world of the senses, inner and outer (60)", making it possible to blur the boundary between the inner and outer world. Something we imagine and visualize in our minds can become an object "that stands on its own in external space (76)," and we can also form a visual picture inside our minds by absorbing things we see around us with all of our senses. For example, "I like to think that the trees in a forest are talking with each other" (78), suggests a person's intention to project the inner world into the external surrounding. More importantly, absorption can make abstract and intangible things feel more real to a person by activating all of their senses. During absorption, the subject can temporarily move away from the point of present perception and traverse back into one's unconscious. One might start to recall one's family, school, society, or even the whole human kind. While some people might have a talent for absorption, the others must put incredible effort to make the invisible other real to them by cultivating their inner senses (58). They must practice immersing themselves in the worlds of the inner and outer senses (60). Inner sense cultivation will make it possible to blur the boundary between the inner and outer world. One can form a visual picture inside one's mind by absorbing things in the surrounding with all of one's senses. Also, something one imagines and visualizes in the mind can become an object "that stands on its own in external space" (76), explaining the notion of the "invisible other".

Prayer can be viewed as an inner sense cultivation practice because it necessitates paying close attention to one's psyche. Hence, if we scrutinize prayer through the lens of the three-position loop, the first stage would be to attentively reflect on one's conscious thoughts and be attentive to the praying environment. For example, people who pray for gratitude intend to shift their focus from negative to positive thoughts, reaffirming that their world is always good (143). Once the praying subject reaches the state of absorption, one is able to open up the unconscious and retrieve some traces of memories. This may relieve affects and trigger intense emotions. Finally, through absorption, the praying subject attempts to transform knowledge of the invisible other into a sense of its reality. Nonetheless, whether they have seen and heard God or not, prayers must leave the state of absorption and return to the current moment. This end of prayer is also the preparation for entering the loop again.

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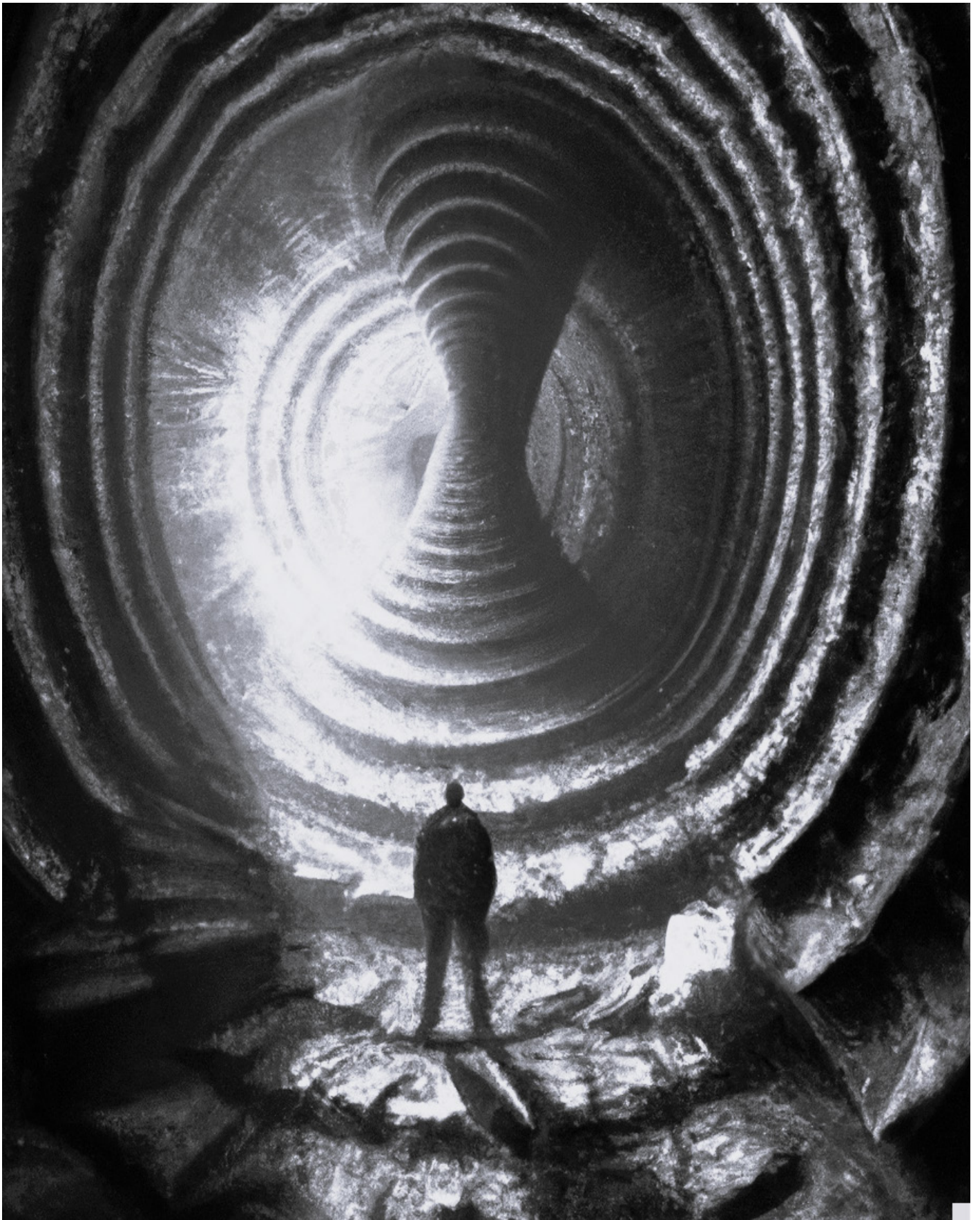
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