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Sensitive Content
Articles in this issue deal with politically and culturally sensitive themes, including dispossession and colonialism, slavery and its aftermaths, abuse and murder of Indigenous women and children, and cinematic representations of rape.

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Research Articles

Foreword

I was delighted when asked to contribute the foreword to the second volume of the SOAS Undergraduate Research Journal. Developed under the guidance of my predecessor Professor Deborah Johnston, the journal makes a significant contribution within and beyond SOAS, both in terms of the insights each article brings, and in the way it demonstrates good practice in the co-creation of knowledge. SOAS has a commitment to engaging our students in research and to research led teaching. The SOAS Undergraduate Research Journal is an important dimension of this commitment which is being reaffirmed in the ambitious new SOAS strategic plan which we are currently developing.

In my engagement with our students this year I have seen their determination to make an impact on the world through their actions, critical thinking, and skilled written and oral communication. Indeed, the articles in this volume speak strongly to SOAS's global and pluralistic outlook. Delivering the second volume of a new journal is always challenging because it means keeping up the momentum that has been generated through the excitement of a new project. But this has in addition been an extraordinarily difficult year for staff and students because of the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic and I have been continually amazed by the tenacity and creativity which everyone has brought to work such as this.

I would like to express my thanks to the colleagues across academic and professional services and in particular the Academic Advisory Board and Journal Project Team who have made the production of this second volume possible, working in partnership with our students. The original aims of enabling the work of our students to be read more widely and for them to gain a range of skills in research and publication have surely been met.

Professor Claire Ozanne
Deputy Director and Provost

Editorial Preface

Hilde Rønnaug Kitterød, Ada Özenci, and George E. Smith

It is with great excitement that we present to you the second issue of the SOAS Undergraduate Research Journal. We are thrilled to be able to shed light on the amazing research that is taking place at the undergraduate level at SOAS. In light of the global pandemic, this year's process has been at times a kaleidoscope of uncertainty and confusion. As for most people, the global COVID-19 outbreak has forced us to find new ways of working together and digital spaces have become integral to carrying out the project. With the challenges of our current social and political climate, we are thankful for being a part of a journal that contributes critical knowledge and that allows us to stay connected.

As the three co-editors of this second issue, we would like to express our enormous gratitude and appreciation to our wonderful editorial board—Miriam Addada, Tridib Bhattacharya, Nahda Tahsin, Leïla Martins Braga Monteiro, and Hisham Parchment—who have all stayed committed and dedicated throughout these challenging times. We would also like to thank the advisory board—Ben Mason, Naomi Leite, Maria Kostoglou, Senija Causevic, Matt Clark, and Alan Cummings—for their support and vision.

We were humbled to receive so many interesting submissions, and are delighted to present six papers, which represent a variety of disciplines and topics.

First, Maria Belén Ruiz, a student of Social Anthropology and Politics, presents a first-hand study of the dynamics of race in the construction of identities among Latinas at SOAS. Her paper deals with the processes of rethinking selfhood when embarking on new institutional spaces of higher education, covering themes of belonging, cultural values, and memory.

In her paper, 'Israel, Palestine, and FIFA,' Holly Christiana Sommers argues that questioning the legitimacy of Israeli football teams based in occupied territory highlights key tenets of Palestinian and Israeli identity, namely the Palestinian need for recognition and Israel's ontological anxiety. A student of International Relations, Sommers unpacks the logics behind a 2015 case made to FIFA by the Palestinian Football Association to suspend Israeli teams and scrutinises FIFA's response. Sommers problematizes the stance of neutrality and apoliticality that FIFA claims as an institution.

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Social Anthropology student Lula Wattam then takes us through an exploration of material culture, legacy, memory, obligation and 'the sticky bits' by looking at how people relate to objects of posthumous memorialisation. Wattam's ethnographic research within her own family makes for a highly thoughtful, personal, and honest piece of research. She takes us on a tour of several objects, arriving at some interesting conclusions about the logics of consumer capitalism and social obligation.

Next, Onika June Winston, studying for a BA in International Relations and Development, explores links between race, ethnicity, and capitalism. She sheds light on how colonial legacies have influenced the field of political economy and led to a tendency for these links not to be recognised. By pointing to the South African Apartheid regime and the tragedy of the Grenfell Tower fire in the UK, Winston exemplifies how racist hierarchical structures are closely connected to the capitalist economic structure.

Chinese and International Relations student Maria Magdalena Bastida Antich examines the portrayal of wartime rape in Chinese and Japanese cinema. Her gender analysis provides a critical understanding of national discourses constructed through the visual depictions of sexual violence on female bodies.

Freda D'Souza, who is studying for a BA in Music, examines Katajjaq, an Inuit vocal game, analysing its musical components and political significance. She explores the techniques and practices of Katajjaq and how it has been reclaimed and now used as a political tool and form of anti-colonial resistance in the fight for indigenous peoples' rights.

It has been a pleasure for all of us at the Journal to work closely with the thought-provoking and diverse research that SOAS undergraduates produce. We welcome you to dig in and hope you enjoy reading these papers as much as we enjoyed working with them.

The Editors

Construction of Identity and Dialogues of Race Among Latinas Studying at SOAS

Maria Belén Ruiz
BA Social Anthropology and Politics

This paper discusses the interracial dynamics of those who define themselves as 'Latin American' while studying at SOAS, focusing on their process of identity after migration and how they conceptualise their own 'race' in a new setting. My research shows that students go through a process of racial identification due to their social dynamics at university, suggesting that there is liminal process that students go through while studying. Further, this research shows how race is a dialectical and contextual concept that is experienced differently depending on where the subject is situated. Besides, I discuss how elements of identity—cultural values; music, art, and dance; culinary practices; and language—are a symbolic part of identification within a community. Moreover, the role of memory is presented as important in the process of identification for those who were not born in the region but identify as Latin American. Hence, this paper presents an important note that the lack of representation of Latin Americans at SOAS and in the UCAS system triggers a search for belonging to an identity, intertwined with alterations of the self-perception of race during the process.

Keywords: identity, race, migration, belonging, Latin American diaspora

Personal Motivation

> *'Was it anthropology or a personal quest?'*
> – Barbara Myerhoff, 1979, p. 12

This paper is linked to a personal journey I am currently on as well as builds on my previous research interests in interracial dynamics, the dialectics that shape perceptions of race, and the construction of identity. I migrated to the UK in 2017, looking for better opportunities. Although now obvious, I was not expecting to find

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myself looking to be part of a larger group related to my background. Interestingly, my perception of background has been expanded by becoming part of the larger Latinx[1] collective and the reason was and is to avoid solitude and cultural loss. In terms of race, I have always positioned myself as white in both Argentina and Brazil, however since living in the UK I do not feel that my self-perception as 'white' fits in in the same ways as before.

Consequently, I discuss the different perceptions of race by which my participants define themselves depending on whether they are in Latin America or the UK. Further, the participants in this ethnography are SOAS students, which reflects how some Latinx people feel in the university environment and their awareness of race dynamics. In this paper, I will discuss the methods used, provide ethnographic description, and offer an anthropological analysis of the racial self-perceptions of Latinas both before and after migration and their identity construction in the university. My analysis also includes the cases of two Latin American women who were born in Europe.

Methodology

Of my five interlocutors for this research, three were personal friends and the other two were people I met through the SOAS Latin American Society. Although my fieldwork started with the research topic 'Concepts of race among white Latinxs at SOAS', the new girls I met changed the direction of the research and, moreover, deconstructed my own ideas of who was Latinx: they were not born in Latin America—previously I was only considering as Latinxs those born in the region—and had never lived in Latin America, so would not have experienced the dialectical transitions of racial self-perception from Latin America to the UK. This changed the research topic and amplified the complexity of what race and identity mean in a transnational perspective. Certainly, this ethnography has helped me to face my own judgments. In terms of research, those who responded to my call for participants did not correspond to my own understanding of Latinx: rather, it attracted anyone who *felt* Latinx. Additionally, it is important to note that my respondents were all female, therefore this research focuses on *Latina* perspectives on race.

As Myerhoff (1979:18) writes of her own fieldwork—'My closeness to the subject would be both troublesome and advantageous'—I too found that some questions were asked back to me, probably on account of my relationship with the interviewees. I felt conflicted in responding, as I feared it would damage the research by altering the biases of the participants' answers. At the same time, a two-way dialogue shows familiarity between us. Also, my research was with Latin

[1] *Latinx* is a gender-neutral term for Latin American.

American students at SOAS who were born in Colombia or Venezuela or were descendants of natives of those countries. They have had differences and similarities to my own Argentinian-Brazilian experience. This is comparable to what occurred to Fadzillah (2004) while conducting fieldwork in Thailand. Although she had a Malay background, the closeness and historical background of those countries resulted in many similarities as well as differences (2004:35-6), and she assumed a series of factors as being characteristic of South East Asian countries in general (2004:38-9). Similarly, I am bringing together experiences of a few countries as a proxy for Latin American experiences, due to the shared history and cultural values.

Thinking about race as a colonial construction that is biologically and behaviourally justified (Bancel, David, and Tomas, 2014), I follow M'Charek's approach (2013), where *race* is understood to be a biologised term used to justify the social creation of racial distinctions that have been materialised through science. Thus, 'race' has become perceptible in immigrants by phenotypical colonial concepts, by the stereotypical characteristics of nationalities (clothing, location where the subject could be found, dance performances, and public behaviour), and as part of national identity such as through physical appearance, local histories, and religious background. Hage (2012:49) has argued that 'race' is a malleable and fluid concept that the European powers imposed on colonial subjects. In this paper, I discuss the fluidity of race and the impacts of the racialisation of 'white' colonial subjects in their immigration process. Identifying as white is a dialectical process of classifying the self and racialising others through social geography, cultural practices, privileges, and the perception of universal representation (Frankenberg, 1993; 1997; Dyer, 1997). Thus, this research explores the perceptions of 'race' and the self by my interlocutors in their home countries, and its racialisation in their migration.[2]

The second part of this research centres on discussions with interlocutors born in the diaspora. Their self-perception of racialisation is part of an ongoing identity construction process which is related to race not as a delimited concept, but as a developing identity performed through collective cultural norms, memories, and perceptions of the self in the diaspora. The identity performance of my interlocutors also had unifying and divisive characteristics, as the Latin American diaspora in London is diverse and mostly composed of Brazilians, Colombians, Ecuadorians,

[2] Similarly, Halej (2015) discussed the boundaries of 'being white' for East Europeans migrants in London. The author argues that the boundaries of whiteness are not phenotypical for East Europeans, but rather related to 'invisible characteristics' such as accent, name, labour, or presence in stereotyped spaces.

Bolivians, and Peruvians (McIlwaine, Cock and Linneker, 2011).[3] There are homogenising aspects of the diaspora due to shared Iberian colonial cultural influence, shared social and cultural capital (Block, 2009), and an emerging collective cultural identity (Roman-Velazquez, 2017). Thus, I argue that the dialectics of identifying as Latin American when born in the diaspora are a complex process related to identification and relationships within the interlocutors' families.

Ethnographic Description and Anthropological Analysis

Perceptions of Race

In the SOAS Junior Common Room (JCR), commonly known by students as the place to take breaks from their studies, the walls are painted with faces of incredible academics and political figures. Often, these walls are also covered with pamphlets and flyers inviting students to a large variety of events. There are chairs and tables around the room, and since it was close to the holidays, the space was almost empty. We sat near the pool table, facing the painting of Berta Cacéres.[4] Marlene,[5] Margarita, and I ate crisps while we talked about our migration stories. They migrated first from Venezuela to Bahrain, from there to Saudi Arabia, and from Saudi Arabia to the UK. Marlene and Margarita are sisters; however, they have different perceptions of how they are seen in Latin America but the same understanding of how they are seen in the UK. Margarita said that she is Venezuelan in Venezuela, as there is just one 'race': 'Some people are more white, some people are more dark, but we are all the same there'. Marlene, on the other hand, said in Venezuela she was *blanquita,* which in her words means 'what here [in London] is called light-skinned.' This shows the complexity of self-perception: even though they are twins, they have different understandings of how they are racially perceived. Meanwhile, both expressed that because London is such a multicultural city, others cannot correctly identify their background: 'People think we could be Middle Eastern or Southern European.' However, people do recognise they are not Londoners, as they 'do not have a British accent.' Therefore, while at home they are considered 'normal' and/or *blanquita*, in London they are seen as foreigners, not due to their appearances, but because of their accent. At that point,

[3] Due to many Latin Americans either holding European passports or being visa overstayers, it is difficult to know the size of the Latin American population in the UK (McIlwaine and Bunge, 2016).

[4] Berta Cacéres was a feminist Honduran activist and indigenous leader who fought for environmental causes and was killed on 2016 in her own bedroom by unidentified murderers (COPINH, n.d.).

[5] All interlocutor names are pseudonyms. They were chosen by my interlocutors as something meaningful to them.

I stopped recording our conversation and we took the no. 188 bus from Russell Square to Elephant and Castle, where we met up with Leticia.

After we finished having some *empanadas* with *malta*, Marlene and Margarita went to the theatre while Leticia and I stayed together to have a hot *milo* in La Bodeguita. Leticia's migration to the UK showed her the contrasts of others' perception of her race. She considers herself 'white' but has had different experiences of how people perceive her. In Colombia, in the city she is from, she is perceived as *mona* (blonde)—'like washed in bleach'—although she looks 'more like the norm' in Bogota due to her brown hair and pale skin. In London, she said that she is perceived to be 'Southern European'. However, she noted a big difference when she was living in Cornwall, as she felt out of place in a British rural context and found that 'people knew she was not from there'. In Cornwall, Leticia is perceived as someone foreign, in London she is considered Southern European, and in her home city in Colombia she is 'blonde.' These different perceptions of race in different regions show how our bodies and phenotypes are racialised depending on the cultural context and everyday life interactions which influence 'race-making' (Lewis, 2003:283).

Furthermore, Leticia mentioned that she has been stereotyped as Latina in London by attitude, rather than by physical appearance: 'We're normal, and they say that we're *escandalosas* [loud, boisterous]. I don't think I'm *escandalosa*!' Also, when she danced people recognised that she might be Colombian. This suggests that perceptions of race are also related to body movements (M'charek, 2013) or region and are not always related to skin colour or other phenotypical characteristics, with race being an effect of relations between differences. As M'charek (2013:435) says, 'it is thus that race is a relational object.' With this, we can see how ethnicity is related to an expected behaviour, rather than phenotype, as well as interpellated from what is expected from the agent, as in this case being 'boisterous' as a Latin American.

Construction of Identity

In the cases of Leticia, Marlene, and Margarita, I asked when they found themselves identifying as Latinas. Leticia commented that this happened more at university, and that it was about discovering similar things that Latinxs had in common: 'In Colombia we have *empanadas*, in Argentina as well, so it's interesting that you can try all this similar but different food,' indicating that cultural values are important in the self-recognition of identity. Marlene also added that she felt her Latin American identity more at SOAS: 'I noticed my ethnicity more at SOAS, as it's difficult to integrate into groups when you come from a different background than theirs. At SOAS it was one of the first times I felt alone.' With this, Marlene suggests that it was difficult to be part of groups that did not share the same background, which led her to reach out to those who were Latin American. Further,

in terms of lack of recognition, Margarita said that it was also part of entering university: ‘Even in the UCAS application, I felt unrepresented. Latin American is not an ethnic category you can choose on the application.’ Thus, the lack of representation in a cultural or social context triggered the process of searching for their own identity.

Moreover, their recognition of themselves as Latin American at university can be related to the liminality that Turner (1969) discussed. In this case, liminality is the process of alterity that subjects go through when they are away from their common social setting and in a temporary environment where identities suffer alterations. When the subjects are reintroduced into their common social settings, they have incorporated new meanings to themselves. I consider university as the liminal moment: most participants are living away from home and are part of a larger group of students who have also left their homes; they are going through a process of identification within groups inside university. Thus, being at university is what gives participants space to reconstruct their identities. Additionally, we must also identify when we feel we are part of a group with which we have shared cultural values. There are emotional attachments related to ‘belonging’, a concept analysed by Yuval-Davis (2006:197). Yuval-Davis argues that belonging is related to ‘social location’, which in this case is to be young, have Latin American roots, and be a student (2006:199-200). This was further confirmed by another participant, Mar, who felt a change in her identity when moving from Spain to the UK to study at SOAS.

Findings: The Process of Belonging

The cases of Mar and Palmira are different from the previous cases, as they have not migrated from Latin America. It was their parents who did.

Mar was in Spain when we did our interview through Skype. We had met twice before, at the Latin American Society ‘Meet & Greet’ and in the SOAS Paul Webley Wing, where we talked about having the same interests in music, cheesy TV programs, and academic studies. She was born in Tokyo and has known herself as Swedish-Spanish-Venezuelan since childhood. Her mother was the one who emigrated from Venezuela. When Mar moved to the UK to study at SOAS, she found it difficult to define *what* she was: ‘The problem in England is that there are such defined lines of race, that when you see the questionnaire forms, I don’t know what to put.’ That started to become a journey of finding herself: ‘I wasn’t able to put a tag on who I was, and that was the moment I began to question what I am.’ As mentioned before, the liminality of being at university and the lack of representation in official categories affects the situation of the self in relation to an identity. Mar commented that due to shared cultural characteristics and physical appearance she started to see herself as Latina, and that external perceptions also had an influence. She told me that someone at SOAS said to her, ‘you look Latina,

but painted on white'. External interpretations of the self can be internalised into an inner discussion of recognition, an interpellation from the exterior to the understanding of the self (Althusser, 1971). Further, she said that having fewer Latin cultural references in the UK, compared to Spain, made her rethink and redefine her identity. We can then consider that in the identification of the self the being also has the agency of choosing an identity, and that is what the person feels closer to. This argument is related to Leite's (2017:8) concept of *identification,* 'the process through which one comes to think of oneself as belonging to or essentially connected with a particular social category.' Therefore, Mar's identification with a Latinx identity was determined by internal and external influences.

However, in the case of Palmira, this has been intertwined with her British identity, resulting in her feeling part of both. I met Palmira after her work shift near Victoria Station. Palmira's case is distinctive from the other cases. She was born in the UK and never migrated, instead her father and his family migrated from Colombia. Palmira told me that she has changed the way she identifies over time: 'At the beginning of my youth I used to say I was just Colombian, I never claimed my English side. But then, I needed to claim who I am: I am British, I am Colombian.' In her case, she said that in the past she used to recognise her Colombian side more than her British heritage. She started feeling that it was unfair to her mother's side to ignore their presence in her life. Thus, the recognition of identity also involves matters of affection and emotion for the person; for Palmira, being Colombian-English was a racial, emotional and cultural process of self-recognition.

Furthermore, I found that Mar and Palmira have experienced their Latin identity in similar ways. Both grew up listening to Latin American music, eating food, and having an understanding of the culture. However, they have heard the stories of migration in a different way. Mar comments that 'I know the full story through my mum.' Meanwhile, Palmira does not know the details of the migration process: 'We don't talk about it. I think it is not to relive the trauma. It is quite painful for us.' However, they select the good and funny memories to talk about. The case of the selection of memories that are good to remember and relive in Palmira's case, instead of the 'full story' as in the case of Mar, shows selectiveness by the interlocutors' families. This selectiveness caused Palmira 'pain about the migration,' even though she was not part of that process. This is related to how subjects choose to remember memories, including the emotions felt throughout that time, something Uehling (2004) brings into discussion with regards to the Crimean Tatars' forced migration movements. Here, Uehling further discusses how memories can be absorbed by descendants who listened to their parents' stories. Therefore, memories and feelings passed through the family can still influence descendants and be part of their feeling of belonging to the diaspora.

Conclusion

In this paper, I have discussed how perceptions of race are subject to migratory and social context and to the social elements by which the self defines its identity. With this, I considered how Latinas studying at SOAS experience their process of ethnic and racial identification. First, I discussed how perceptions of 'race' differed depending where the individual is situated. This is because race as a social construction redefines itself through dialectical interaction: when subjects migrate, it readjusts to the new setting and disparities may exist between previous and present perceptions of their own race. Therefore, we can see that the social construction of race is not a fixed term in the self, as it is subjected to the context the person is in and the interactions within it.

Further, I discussed the elements related to defining identity. Shared cultural values; music, art and dance; culinary practices; and language are the elements by which the participants feel identified as Latinas. Furthermore, memories are important for identity perception to one's belonging and emotional attachments of the diasporic journey. Finally, as the participants were students, the lack of representation in the UK and at SOAS triggered the search for an identity and perception of belonging, which can be related to processes of liminality and identification.

This paper has shown how students at university go through a liminal process in relation to their identity and feeling of belonging, and how external processes and interpellation can influence the location of the self in social groups. The influences of external perception and interpellation of what is to be Latin American go together with the preferences and agency that subjects use to locate themselves within that category. Hence, this research has shown how identity is an ongoing dialectical process that involves both self-perception and the perception of ourselves by others, and that in the case of race and being racialised as a result of migration, the new social setting has other values for the concepts of 'race'.

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Israel, Palestine, and FIFA

Why questioning the legality of Israel's West Bank-based football clubs highlights the Palestinian need for recognition and Israel's ontological anxiety

Holly Christiana Sommers
BA International Relations

This paper argues that a 2015 case made to FIFA by the Palestinian Football Association to suspend Israeli football teams based in the occupied territories and settlements aptly illustrates key tenets of Palestinian and Israeli state identity: notably*, the Palestinian need for international recognition and Israeli anxiety over both international stigma and its own domestic national identity.* On the one hand, the FIFA case highlights the Palestinian desire for institution-led international recognition of the existence and legitimacy of Palestine both territorially and through the development and maintenance of a Palestinian national biography. Conversely, for Israel, the FIFA case incites a substantial degree of 'ontological anxiety' through two conditions: firstly, its fear of international stigma and delegitimation, and secondly, a domestic identity crisis, in which choosing between playing international football or territorially defending the settlements causes the sort of internal rupture that the Israeli state has meticulously attempted to avoid.

Keywords: Israel/Palestine, FIFA, national identity, recognition, ontological anxiety, football

Over the course of 2015 and 2016, the Palestinian Football Association (PFA) made various calls to FIFA (Fédération Internationale de Football Association) to suspend the Israeli Football Association (IFA), and thus Israel, from international football on the grounds of three major issues: firstly, as a result of restrictions

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imposed by Israel on Palestinian players and officials; secondly, due to ongoing racism in Israeli stadiums; and thirdly, over the question of Israeli football teams based in the occupied territories and settlements. The third claim will serve as the basis for discussion. This paper will argue that the PFA's continued campaigning to FIFA (and its subsequent responses) aptly exemplifies key tenets of Palestinian and Israeli state identity, notably, the Palestinian need for international recognition and Israeli anxiety over both international stigma and its own domestic national identity. In order to establish this central argument, this paper will begin with an outline of the case itself, as well as an explanation of the principal actors and interlocutors involved, including organisations acting on behalf of the state, and what they served to lose or gain from this campaign. Secondly, by drawing on Taylor's theory of recognition, this paper will discuss how the case emphasises the Palestinian desire for international recognition, the importance of this for the development and maintenance of the Palestinian national biography and the central role of institutions in this process. Thirdly, Israeli 'ontological anxiety'[6] will be explored in relation to Israel's fear of international stigma, alongside the subsequent reaction of the IFA to the campaign. Finally, through the use of social identity theory, this paper will reveal how the FIFA case crucially spotlights a domestic crisis for Israeli national identity, as having to choose between playing international football (which plays a huge role in Israeli society) or territorially defending the settlements would cause large domestic complications.

Context

Outlining both the content and actors of this particular case is central to understanding what is at stake for all three interlocutors involved (the PFA, the IFA, and even FIFA). The three principal actors are important because they represent a greater body than solely their institution. The PFA acts as an important representative of the 'increasing international recognition' for Palestine and constitutes a central 'cultural component of Palestinian identity' which has provided a tangible 'symbol of statehood and representation on the international stage' (Duerr, 2012:661). Both the PFA and IFA represent the states of Palestine and Israel respectively on both an international and domestic level, with their participation in institutions such as FIFA serving to reify their identities as functional members of the international community. ('States' in this instance takes Max Weber's definition of the state as 'a human community that successfully claims the monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force within a given territory' [Weber, 1946:77]). FIFA is an interesting interlocutor, which, as an important international institution, does not wish to be seen as incompetent, and as a result would prefer the issue to disappear, arguably favouring the Israeli position. The

[6] *Ontological anxiety* is my own amalgamation of Giddens' (1991) 'ontological security' and 'existential anxiety', discussed below.

stakes of the campaign are exceptionally important for the PFA, and more broadly, for Palestinian identity. A victory in their campaign would result in both the recognition of Palestine as a legitimate actor on the international stage, and, crucially, international recognition of Israeli wrongdoing, which serves to both damage Israel's international image and bolster the Palestinian cause. These outcomes will be simplified, for the case of brevity, to the Palestinian 'demand for recognition' (Taylor, 1994:25). For the IFA, and consequently also for Israeli identity, a loss in the campaign would result in 'international shaming', the results of which would be extremely harmful to Israeli international image and its identity as a compliant and lawful member of the international community (Adler-Nissen, 2014:143). Furthermore, as football is 'the most popular sport in Israel' (Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs), the choice between playing international football or defending the settlements would result in the kind of internal entanglement that Israel's settlement policy has assiduously avoided over the years.

Focusing on the third section of the suspension campaign (the question of the Israeli football teams based in the occupied territories and settlements), the case by the PFA utilised FIFA's own regulations (Articles 11, 72, and 73), which state that 'one national football association cannot play on the territory of another football association without the latter's and FIFA's consent' (FIFA, 2019). Without the consent of either the PFA or FIFA, the clubs are in clear violation of FIFA regulations. The case was substantiated with the evidence of other existing football clubs in countries such as Crimea and Northern Cyprus, who, due to territorial disputes, are excluded from FIFA. The first attempt by the PFA to suspend the IFA from FIFA on the abovementioned grounds was in 2015, and although the attempt failed, it led to the creation of a FIFA-led special monitoring committee to deal with the dispute. In 2017, after a report by the monitoring committee was submitted, FIFA released a statement declaring that the situation between the two states had 'nothing to do with football', that 'interference might aggravate the situation', and that, as a result, they would 'not take any position' regarding the dispute (FIFA, 2017). FIFA's decision concerning the campaign is important, and the reasoning for why these conclusions were made will be explored, but the failed nature of the campaign is not central to this discussion.

Palestinian Desire for International Recognition

In order to best understand how the PFA's campaign highlights the Palestinian desire for international recognition, it is first necessary to explain what is meant by the term recognition and the reasons for its significance (Taylor, 1994:25). Recognition is multifaceted; however, a process of recognition involves an acceptance of the existence, legitimacy, and validity of a given thing. For Charles Taylor, whose classic essay 'The Politics of Recognition' (1994) provoked much discussion on the theme, the 'demand for recognition' is a direct result of the

interdependence between recognition and identity (identity, for Taylor, designating 'something like a person's understanding of who they are, of their fundamental defining characteristics' [1994:25]). Although there are multifaceted reasons for a state's desire for recognition, at its core is the notion that their identity is dependent upon 'dialogical relations with others', and thus, through the very acts of dialogue and participation, there is a recognition of both parties as legitimate and valid (1994:34). This is particularly central to the Palestinian case, as opposed to Israel, for whom the nature and characterisation of recognition by international interlocutors is of paramount importance: the Palestinian state simply craves a recognition of its existence, legitimacy, and validity.

Through the international recognition and legitimisation of a state identity, the development and maintenance of what Berenskoetter (2014:279) calls a 'national biography' takes place. This is especially dominant in this case, where the legitimacy of one state's 'national biography', and thus its legitimacy as a state, rests upon the delegitimization of the other (2014: 279). These competing 'national biographies' are central to the conflict between Israel and Palestine, especially concerning territory. This is made clear through the central national biographies of the Jewish Holocaust (or *Shoah*) and the Palestinian *Nakba,* which concern the return to and expulsion from the land, respectively. Both events are what Berenskoetter labels an *Erlebnis,* the German term for an emotional lived experience which then becomes a core piece of one's life story (2014:271). The recognition of each *Erlebnis* is central to the legitimacy of both states, and the continuation of these narratives is a dispute that is pursued both domestically, through individual identifications with the narrative, and, crucially for this case, internationally, through recognition and acceptance of territorial claims based upon these founding events. As the dispute over Israeli football teams based in the occupied territories and settlements was one of the central arguments of the PFA's campaign, it highlights the centrality of the territorial narratives in the national and cultural biography. The PFA's attempt to gain recognition of the Palestinian narrative by highlighting and voicing the illegal territorial nature of the Israeli football clubs serves as further evidence of the need for international recognition of Palestine's existence, legitimacy, and validity.

The Role of Institutions

It becomes clear then why international institutions play an important role in state recognition or 'misrecognition' (Taylor, 1997:25). For interlocutors whose recognition is both valuable and meaningful on the world stage, the importance of the act of recognising and overlooking these individual national biographies cannot be overestimated. In this particular case, the existence of a Palestinian team that plays within the institution of FIFA furthers the image of Palestine as 'being as equal and legitimate as any other state', as it plays matches alongside other recognised states, and serves to legitimise Palestinian identity through participation

and dialogue within the institution (Duerr, 2012:659). However, this particular case also highlights the influence of the international interlocutor, based upon what may or may not be in their best interests. With the power to supply the 'narrative material infrastructure' for either party, international institutions such as FIFA have the capacity to render 'some voices and representations as dominant' whilst side-lining others (Berenskoetter, 2014:279). This was evident in FIFA's eventual response to the PFA's claims, which stated that the organisation would 'remain neutral' on the matter by not imposing any form of sanctions (FIFA, 2017). Significantly, however, FIFA's lack of action favoured not a neutral approach, but instead served to reify Israeli claims to both the land and legitimacy, as it showed international acceptance of the status quo, where Israeli clubs remained on the occupied territories. This is also significant as there is a blatant imbalance of power (including legislatively, financially, and militarily) between the two states, rendering the necessity of the international body as essential for the less empowered actor, in this case Palestine. FIFA may have deemed its response neutral, but the Palestinian state has little or no leverage in legislative standing, whilst Israel has little use for such institutions as it has the capacity to challenge the smaller state unaccompanied. As a result, FIFA's response of neutrality benefited the Israeli state.

Israeli Ontological Anxiety on the International Stage

To best highlight what was at stake, not only for the IFA, but also for broader Israeli state identity, it is necessary to understand and consequently utilise the notion that scholars have termed 'ontological security' (Giddens, 1991). Attributed largely to the work of Anthony Giddens and Ronald Laing, a position of ontological security implies that states have both a 'stable sense of self' (Berenskoetter, 2016:1) and 'know virtually all of the time, in terms of some description or another, both what one is doing and why one is doing it' (Giddens, 1991:35). States pursue ontological security through what Giddens terms 'routine', alongside their relationships and actions with other important actors and institutions (Mitzen, 2006:341).[7] This results in a defined sense of identity within the state, and consequently the state can act as a coherent and confident body within the international sphere. As a result, if anything arises that threatens that ontological security, the state is thrown into a situation of ontological 'anxiety', whereby that 'stable sense of Self' is suddenly questioned, and thus the legitimacy of the state as a whole (Berenskoetter, 2020:273). In this particular case, what arose was a claim that the IFA was breaching the regulations of an institution that Israel takes great pride in being part of (as will be later explored). The heart of Israeli anxiety over this case was caused

[7] Mitzen's text contains a very thorough introduction to the concept of ontological security.

by the state's fear of stigma from the international community, which would result in a questioning of its legitimacy.

As a powerful function of maintaining order within the international community, stigma has the ability to produce 'status loss and discrimination' against a state if it behaves in a way that is seen to break norms (Adler-Nissen, 2014:147). Significantly for this case, whilst the mere existence of the claim is anxiety-producing for Israel, if further action were to be taken it would be internationally embarrassing as the state would be seen as incapable of following FIFA guidelines, and thus be rendered as a deviant state. Secondly, as mentioned above, it harms both the legitimacy and national biography of the state in terms of disputing its territory. Due to the anxiety over the potential for international stigma, the discourse of the Israeli response to the campaign made sure to highlight that sport and politics were separate spheres, therefore severing the link between the IFA and Israel's national biography. This was evident in comments made by the IFA president, Ofer Eini, who stated, 'Let's leave politics to the politicians while we play soccer the best we can' (Beaumont, 2015). Again emphasising the importance of the international interlocutor, the Palestinian side had a contrastingly vested interest in the state being central to the campaign, and thus to football, which meant that FIFA could be utilised as a higher governing authority. However, Israel's eagerness for the issue to be fairly silent and remain largely culturally based serves as evidence of its anxiety over the ramifications of international stigma for its ontological security.

Domestic Israeli Ontological Anxiety

Israeli ontological anxiety over the campaign was not limited to the realm of the international, but also permeated into the domestic. To better understand why the dilemma of the campaign for Israeli identity is so important, it is necessary to utilise a particular aspect of social identity theory (SIT), as pioneered by Tajfel and Turner (1986:7). Importantly for this case, SIT stresses the way in which a sense of self (which includes national biography and ontological security) is based upon membership and participation within a social group; these can take the forms of religion, nationality, or notably, sport. In this case, the important links between patriotic sentiment and football emphasises the way in which football, as 'the most popular sport in Israel' (Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, n.d.) plays an important role in the maintenance of Israeli identity. The right-wing football club Beitar Jerusalem, which 'traces its historical roots back to the nationalist Herut party', is a fitting example of this, and serves as a direct contrast to Israel's narrative that sport and politics shouldn't mix. Beitar 'refuses to field Arab players', is infamous for its 'anti-Arab chants', and is the 'team of choice for right-wing politicians' (Buck, 2010). As a result, football within Israel is steeped in political and national sentiment, which then serves, as Tajfel and Turner's SIT suggests, to further

reinforce the Israeli national sense of self. As a result of this strong connection, and by stressing the illegitimacy of the Israeli-based football clubs, the PFA spotlighted an important internal crisis for Israeli national identity and sense of self. In having to choose between playing international football or defending the settlements, Israel would either have an important part of its internal identity damaged or lose claims to its territorially based national biography on the international stage.

Conclusion

This essay has shown how the attempts by the PFA to ban the IFA from FIFA on the grounds of Israeli clubs being based in the occupied territories emphasises both the Palestinian need for recognition and Israeli ontological anxiety. In order to frame the subsequent discussion, this essay began with an explanation of the case itself, as well as stating both who the principal actors and interlocutors involved were and what was at stake for them. The Palestinian desire for international recognition was then discussed within the context of the case and, drawing on Taylor's theory of recognition, the argument focused on the importance of recognition for the development and maintenance of national biographies, as well as the important role of institutions in aiding (and hindering) this process. Next, Israeli 'ontological anxiety' was explored in relation to its fear of international stigma, alongside the important 'sport and politics don't mix' reaction of the IFA to the campaign. Finally, this essay revealed how the FIFA case crucially spotlighted the domestic dilemma for Israeli national identity, for which football and politics are clearly intertwined, and thus the dilemma created by having to choose between playing international football or defending the settlements. At the time of writing, all five Israeli clubs (Ma'aleh Adumim, Ariel, Bik'at Hayarden, Givat Ze'ev, Kiryat Arba, and Oranit) remain based within the West Bank

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Death and Stuff

An Exploration of Inherited Material Culture, Legacy, Memory, Obligation, and the Sticky Bits

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This paper explores material culture inherited after death and raises questions about what these objects mean to people. This material culture can facilitate grieving processes, memorialisation and construction of legacy whilst also often creating an impasse for individuals to 'move on'. Using my immediate and extended family as my key interlocutors there is also an exploration of the issues surrounding carrying out a very personal and delicate ethnography and navigating these existing familial relationships as an anthropologist. The objects became entry points for stories and emotional expression highlighting our complex understandings of our connections to those who have passed away. These ethnographic examples also highlight our situation in a wider consumer-capitalist framework and explore how wider social pressure and norms impact our interaction with inherited objects.

Keywords: ethnography, material culture, consumer capitalism, legacy, memorialisation, obligation

This project was conceived following my own experience of my family's reaction to death. I had two questions going into this project: why do people keep the material culture that was passed down from a deceased relative, and what does this material culture mean to people? Initially, I wanted to look into how objects facilitate the grieving process, but this wasn't an aspect in which people were very forthcoming and it wasn't a 'current' issue, as my interlocutors were not in the early stages of grief. So, I decided to look at different negotiations between death and material culture: objects as facilitating memorialisation and objects as helping us

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construct legacy, but also objects that are problematic and how consumer capitalism creates an obligation to keep these inherited objects.

Fieldwork and Methodology

'Guinea Pigs': Ethical Considerations

I took on the role of being a 'native' anthropologist (Jones, 1970), as my family members were my key interlocutors. At first, especially within my immediate family, I was met by a mocking suspicion. It felt very hard to make them take me seriously. When telling them I was going to be conducting fieldwork, my sister responded, 'weirdo'. Whilst I knew that they were fully supportive and interested (sometimes overly interested, as my mum tried to persuade me to turn my project into a business venture), it was hard to judge whether they were comfortable, and they accused me of making them my 'guinea pigs'. However, this was only initially.

My close relationship with my interlocutors was largely a benefit, as that layer of comfortability was essential when discussing intimate matters. In addition, because the discussion of inherited or memorialising objects often led to discussions about family history, it became a more personal conversation, with me morphing into the role of a granddaughter and away from that of an anthropologist, making my questioning more palatable and less annoying whilst still relevant to my project. My role within the family hierarchy, especially in more patriarchal branches of my family, was limiting, as when questioning I was told to 'shush, you', being seen as the 'cheeky granddaughter'. Also, perhaps my questions were seen as threatening: at several points in my conversation with my grandmother, my grandfather said, 'Don't you feel like the vultures are circling?'

Methodology

Most of the information I collected was from spontaneous moments during visits to different family members' homes, and as it was Christmastime, these moments were numerous. Having the presence of my parents, who asked questions that I did not feel comfortable asking, initially was definitely an aid, as I joked to my dad: 'You've become an anthropologist this Christmas, too.'

I went to relatives' houses to conduct ethnographic conversations, which was an effective mechanism to gather 'data' as it was comfortable for them. Also, it enabled me to see inherited objects and the handling of material culture, which inspired and facilitated deeper conversations. The population I studied varied by gender, class, and age, which was helpful as it opened up avenues of questioning that I had originally not thought about. Interviewing people of different ages was particularly enlightening as it reflected different currents of material culture, such as the popularisation of tea sets as status symbols or objects that were connected to certain aspects of history. like sets of letters written over the First World War.

Fig 1. Grandma's Teacups. (Photo: Lula Wattam)

'Passing These Things on to You': The Anthropological Exchange

At some points the research felt difficult, as it became my responsibility and burden to carry the stories of family history forward. Whether it was conscious or not, my grandma Dianne strayed back to family stories, showing her desire to ensure that the truth of 'who we are' and 'where we've come from' is carried on. I believe this is because she fears to lose her memory and grow too old to relay these stories. Dianne literally motioned handing me knowledge and said, 'I'm passing things onto you… as my oldest granddaughter.' This was an important moment in understanding the anthropological exchange, the idea of 'giving back' to interlocutors and the anthropologist as a carrier of stories. This adds a very interesting element to the project, as I have a lasting role and responsibility, adding the opportunity for a 'fair return for assistance' (ASA, 2011:6) through the preservation and recording of these stories.

The Church of Stuff

Objects of grief were almost always treated with the utmost respect, kept carefully and safely: tea sets and pottery kept in grand glass cabinets and rings, bracelets, and broaches stored away in protective jewellery boxes. Much like Miller describes of his research participants' 'best clothes' (2010:12-41), it quickly became apparent that my interlocutors kept their 'best' objects very safe and not in practical use. When there is an interaction between memory and grief, it makes material culture even more precious because, as my grandmother said, 'Well, if it breaks, then it's gone and then the memories are gone.'

Fig 2. Great Grandmother's Jewellery Box and Tea Set. (Photo: Lula Wattam)

This setting aside of precious belongings also has a theological background, as 'sacred' objects are kept separately for religious service. Durkheim sees the sacred as a key characteristic of religion; sacred objects are 'things set apart and forbidden' (1915:47). With this in mind, as Belk (1993:75) states, 'with the secularisation of society we have relegated the sacred to the material world'. The public display and storing of material culture definitely ties into the desire for tangible legacies and memories of the dead to be respected and potentially glorified as sacred, their lives treasured, like 'holy' objects. I found this especially amongst my older interlocutors, who had cabinets filled with treasures, many of them passed down from their parents, like shrines to remember holidays and gifts and people that have died.

Material Culture as a Facilitator

Port Glasses

Above all else, material culture is used as a facilitator for wider conversations about memories and the people that have died. At dinner with a family friend, the hostess got out some tiny port glasses. She went on to say they were her late mother's, which led to her passing round photos of her mum, facilitating a telling of stories, a memorialising event. This is a strong element of why people have things to memorialise: they 'normalize conversations about something that would otherwise be a difficult dialogue' (Davidson and Duhig, 2016:69), allowing sadness to be reclaimed by stories in an everyday context through the presence of objects in the house.

Fig 3. Aunt Vicky's Sweetie Jar. (Photo: Lula Wattam)

Sweetie Jar

Material culture can also be used with the purpose of keeping someone's memory 'alive', such as a sweetie jar passed down from a grandmother. As we sat drinking tea, my aunt Vicky, a poetry teacher from Lincolnshire, explained that she gives her children a sweet from her grandma's jar and they get to experience the same exciting 'ritual' as she did when she was a little girl—at which point her 10-year-old son made a beeline for the jar. She reminisced that it was the 'feeling of getting a goodie out the jar' that she wanted her children to have, too, showing how material culture can be a transportative mechanism of memory. Because we construct our social identity through objects, after loss material culture can be used to symbolise an 'ongoing presence in the family' (Layne, 2002:117).

'I don't really want to know': Problematic Inherited Material Culture

A Bag of Letters

Whilst material culture is often a positive form of memorialisation of deceased relatives, it is not always so clear cut as being a 'good' thing. Certain objects can be problematic. Dianne, my grandmother, brought down a satchel full of letters bound up tight with string and wool. She said it contained all the letters written by her parents during the world wars. She's never opened the bag and read the contents

of these letters out of respect for her parents, as their content is ‘too intimate’ and she might find something she didn’t want to know about. The boundaries of their relationship thus remain intact, even after death. This difficult relationship to material culture cropped up several times, such as an iPad containing evidence of dating profiles that the children of the deceased, and his girlfriend, felt uncomfortable discovering, the object gaining an almost ‘black mark’. Ultimately, why would we ever imagine our relationship to things wouldn’t be complex when they signify the complex relationships we had with people?

Family History Albums

Material culture can also cause pain after death. Dianne had inherited a set of family history albums, twenty A4 folders, made by her mother while in the initial stages

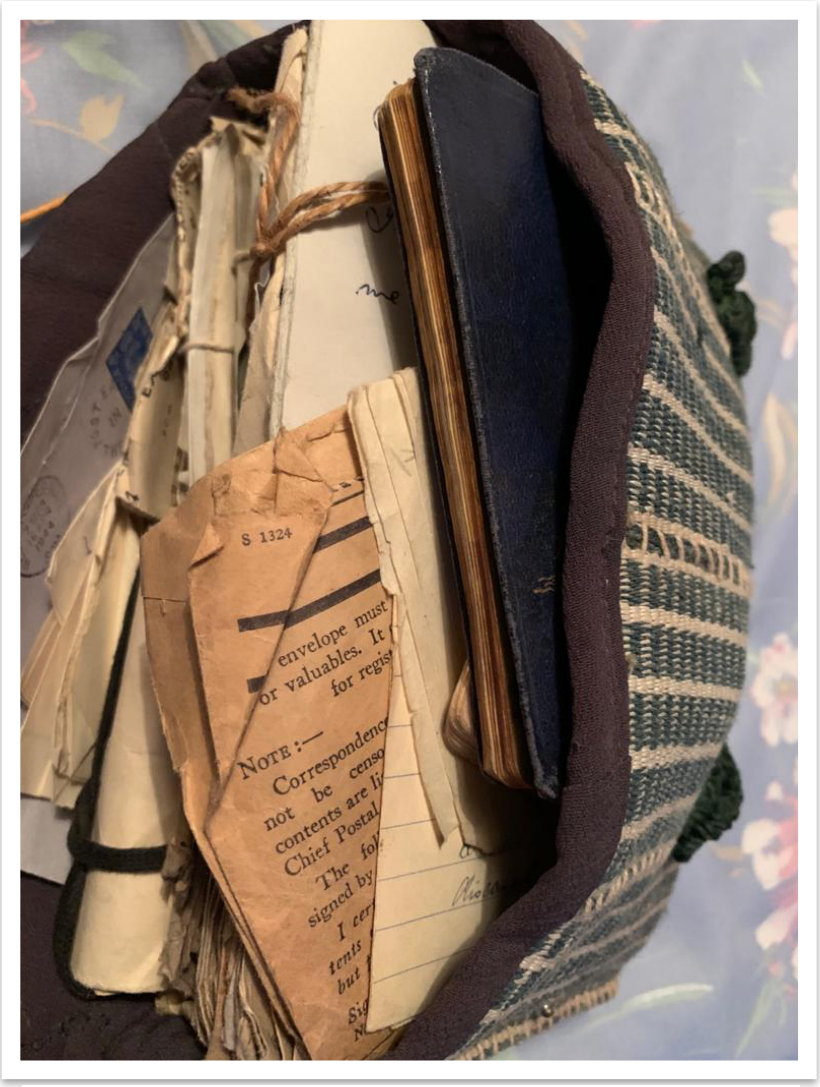

Fig 4. A Bag of Letters. (Photo: Lula Wattam)

of Alzheimer's. Dianne tensed up, looking frustrated and upset, when I asked why her mother had made them.

> D: Partly because of the Alzheimer's, and she wanted to put down what she remembered. So she'd stuck all kinds of photographs in, and stuck names on them, and I couldn't bear it.
>
> L: No?
>
> D: I couldn't bear that—all the names were wrong, what she'd written, a lot of it wasn't true, from what I could remember from my own life. It's weird, it used to make me quite angry. It used to make me angry that she was writing down things that aren't true—
>
> L: yeah
>
> D: —and I don't know, history can't ever be accurate because history is always written from a point of view and someone else might have a different perspective. But there's a photograph and that's who they are. So...
>
> L: Do you still have the chunky albums?
>
> D: I got rid of most of them, still have some. And it makes me sad, because she's written the same thing over and over and over again, because she can't remember that she's already written them. I used to have quite mixed-up feelings about that, and, yes, angry at the disease and what it did to her. But I was lucky, some people can become very different with Alzheimer's, aggressive, but she never did, which was a huge blessing. She retained her sweet personality.

Not only were these albums disrupting Dianne's desire for memories to be accurate, but they also served as a painful reminder of the disease that infected her mother's mind to the point where she didn't even know the name of her daughter. Miller argues we keep memorialising objects that represent 'the moments when the relationship came closest to its ideal' (2010:151). It's apparent that when objects do not meet this ideal, they become problematic, to the point where they are thrown away.

A Dressing Gown

Clothing 'record[s] the body that inhabited the garment' (Stallybrash, 1998:196, cited in Layne, 2002:112), which can provoke painful and uncomfortable feelings. My sister was given our grandfather's dressing gown. She quite strongly doesn't enjoy owning it: it actively makes her feel more distant to him, 'makes me think of him in a dead way.' She doesn't know what to do with it, though: 'maybe I would

throw it away, but I would feel bad.' She says she 'wouldn't mind if it was lost', taking no part in its removal; active engagement in the throwing away would feel wrong. Perhaps she doesn't want to engage with the more physical aspects of his death, as a dressing gown is an item of clothing much more intimately associated with the body than, say, a jumper. Rather, she may want to hold on to the emotional and memory-based aspects of her relationship with him, 'the ideal state' (Miller, 2010:151). In her study of infant loss, one of Layne's interlocutors says, 'I don't know what I'm keeping [the baby's clothes] for, what I'll ever do with them, but I have not been able to determine a suitable alternative' (2010:126). This certainly heavily resonated in many conversations I had. Many other interlocutors enjoyed having clothes, as they felt as if the deceased was surrounding them, with jumpers and scarves almost being a 'hug' whilst also containing the smell of the person,

Fig 5. A Dressing Gown. (Photo: Lula Wattam)

even if ‘a bit musty’, producing olfactory memories. Furthermore, sometimes items that are intimately linked with the physicalities of the body are feverishly kept, like a handkerchief that was used to wipe the drool of a dying father, highlighting the subjective specificities for individuals in the wrath of grief.

‘Oh, am I going to have to keep this now?’ Material Culture and the Negative Side of Social Obligation

Piles

Sitting in Dianne’s house, discussing my research, we were surrounded by large piles of things covered in blankets. She says that having all these things from her parents’ house makes her feel as if she’s at ‘an impasse’ and cannot move forward with her own life, that the practicalities of clearing out things and also the pressure of guilt in clearing away her parents’ items is crushing, so much so that she can not stand to look at the piles anymore: as Lowenthal (1998:40) puts it, ‘living among ancestral echoes paralyzes present action’.

‘Death Value’

When clearing out his father’s things, James, my uncle, was given some items and said, “Oh, am I going to have to keep this now?”—as if the very event of death, and who the things belonged to, made them suddenly important, with the ‘death value’ meaning it would be wrong to throw them away even though it was clear he didn’t

Fig 6. Grandma’s House – Pile of Things Covered Up. (Photo: Lula Wattam)

want them. As Miller and Parrott reflect, objects' significance grows after death (Miller and Parrott, 2009). They are the only tangible physical evidence one has of a person that can be physically held. Our current attitudes to material culture as a manifestation of consumer capitalism, as we are taught that 'having possessions is the most important source of satisfaction in life' (Belk, 1993:75), and since 'our possessions are a major contributor to and reflection of our identities' (Belk, 1998:139), the throwing away of someone's things is like throwing the person away. Especially in the process of clearing someone's house out, where one is overladen with stuff, this can be a hard thing to do. Some people feel enormous obligation to keep things, the very fact that they belonged to a loved one instantly making them special and precious. One may even take random things as 'totalising mementoes' (Miller, 2013:148), because everyone else did, in a manifestation of social obligation. It could be argued that inherited and memorialising objects undermine Western materialist culture because they were not purchased and their value is often not monetary but heavily sentimental, making them more powerful. However, there is a clear tension between the undermining of consumer culture and the way it has socially sculpted us to value holding onto objects.

Keeping For Legacy

A Blue Glass Eye

A large part of keeping memorialising objects is also self-serving as a construction of personhood to understand how you fit into your legacy. This can be especially true in the case of photographs, where we try to identify ourselves in genetic commonalities. Vicky wants her great grandfather's false eye because her son has blue eyes, whilst she and her partner have brown. There is a need for her to allow her son to identify himself within a line of ancestry, almost the same way we like to look at photos of our great-great-great grandparents and say, 'Oh, she looks like auntie so-and-so!' Furthermore, I found that every conversation that started about material culture ended in lengthy descriptions of family history, displaying the importance of keeping ancestral legacies alive as 'familial roots remain our most essential legacy' (Lowenthal, 1998:31) and these roots can be facilitated through objects. I believe that the motivation behind keeping objects is in part because we would like people to keep the things that we feel are important. The conversations often led to my interlocutors telling me what they would like me to keep, such as rings or other jewellery. As we ourselves want to be remembered after our deaths, this is a kind of mutual assurance that we will keep in order to be kept.

Conclusion

Whilst some 'impractical' objects are kept, particularly when the death is still quite recent, it must be noted that material culture without use or beauty is not kept, overcoming the sentimental attachment. My mother, Clara, said, 'Some of my dad's

stuff is shite', while quickly clarifying that some of it is definitely real Roman treasure. There are also people who do not engage with material memorialisation, who throw away all items belonging to their dead, whether this is 'trying to avoid the pain or truly acknowledging death' (Layne, 2002:132) or they were just not raised to value possessions in the same way, choosing instead to memorialise differently. It's important to recognise that not everyone has the same relationship to things, thus to recognise the 'silent' areas in this project, too. As Meyer says, 'absence does things, it is performative [and] also, something we engage with' (2012:5).

In conclusion, over the month of research I conducted, I learned from talking to my relatives that people use material culture in many different ways depending on the object and their relationship to its previous owner. Material culture can be used to memorialise, ensuring the 'presence' of a person lives on as well as a mechanism to keep legacy 'alive' and as a construction of personhood. However, given our situation in consumer capitalism, the social value placed on inherited items creates a huge obligation, changing the importance of the mundane and potentially leaving people overburdened with things.

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Why Does the Political Economy of Race and Ethnicity Matter?

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The link between race, ethnicity and capitalism is not a recent phenomenon. Racism has been a key driving factor in the expansion of capital. The transatlantic slave trade created the economic development required to establish capitalism as a world system. Western racist ideologies have dehumanised African people both on the continent and within the diaspora throughout history, fostering an inseparable relationship between colonial conceptions of race and the historical development of capital. The increase of right-wing populism in today's political climate demonstrates the ways contemporary capitalism has manifested new expressions of racial animosity which continue to affect the descendants of the Africans who were victims of the earlier stages of capitalism. The consequences of a white supremacist world order has meant that the link between race, ethnicity and capitalism in political economy has been ignored. This paper will corroborate the ways in which whiteness has created a domineering, racist global order that places capital over the lives of Black people. Though separated by time and space the South African Apartheid regime and the fire that destroyed Grenfell Tower in UK are key examples of the racist exploitations that make an extensive analysis of race and ethnicity vital within the discipline of political economy.

Keywords: race, ethnicity, political economy, capitalism, racism, Grenfell

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The true extent of Black people's contribution to capitalism is often discounted in traditional political economy. In this paper, the term *Black* refers to people of Black African ancestry, for example Black Africans, Black Caribbeans, Black South Americans, Black Americans, Black Pacific Islanders, the Black diaspora, etc. A look at the socioeconomic status of Black people today globally shows the

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disproportionate, uneven distributional consequences capitalism has produced. However, this phenomenon has not formed organically. It is the result of a world order that has systemically marginalised Black people to the point where an individual's race and ethnicity often decide their socioeconomic status. This paper will argue that an extensive analysis of race and ethnicity matters within the discipline of political economy. It will explore a selection of links between capitalism and Black people in political economy and the racist belief systems that have meant race and ethnicity have previously been ignored. It will do this firstly by identifying the contribution of the transatlantic slave trade to the weaving of early capitalist economies. It will also examine the ways 'racist othering' continues to economically marginalise Black people around the world. Secondly, this paper will explore the ways white supremacy has succeeded in creating an international hierarchy that is used to determine an individual's socioeconomic status based on race, including the normalisation of this process which has meant the effects of racialised discrimination mainly go unseen. Thirdly, this paper will review the colonial legacies of scientific racism in academia by confronting capitalism's inseparable relationship to racism and examining the importance of exploring this association in political economy. This paper will then identify the racial dominance displayed within social science 'melting pot' theories, and the 'colour blindness' of neoliberalism that has enhanced ideas of (white) racial superiority whilst contradictorily promising economic prosperity for all. Lastly, this paper will explore the failures of neoliberal policies using the tragedy of the Grenfell Tower fire. It will show the ways neoliberalism aided what happened that night, and why race matters in the recounting.

Capitalism and Colonial Conceptions of Race

The link between race, ethnicity, and capitalism is not a recent phenomenon. Racism has been a vital component to capital's drive for self-expansion. One of the most egregious expressions of racial inequality for the quest of economic development can be seen in the transatlantic slave trade—the displacement of African peoples by European slave traders. Capitalism as a world system first emerged through the racist ideologies needed to ensure the perpetration and reproduction of Africans as a 'free' labour workforce (Hudis, 2018). The Marxist theory of historical materialism argues that the material conditions of the mode of production, in this context enslaved Africans, governs the accepted political, intellectual, and social processes of life. Put differently, the material forces of production constitute the legal, political, and economic structures of society and 'unconsciously' form the social consciousness. Hence, the cultural institutions of Western societies are a consequence of their collective economic activity (Marx, 1904). Since historical materialism does not concern itself with 'what-ifs', and instead ascertains what did occur, the logic that a capitalist world system may have occurred without utilising race and racism is invalid. Furthermore, colonial

conceptions of race are inseparable from the historical development of capital (Hudis, 2018). The disposition of Europe's civilisation through capitalism was not to homogenise but to create the idea of an Other. Bhattacharyya (2018) argues that racialised exclusions, or 'racist othering', play a role in reinforcing the capitalist exploitation that ostracises populations—e.g., by race—to disproportionate wealth and privilege. The regional, subcultural, and dialectical differences of the enslaved were exaggerated into racial ones. This notion of racially inferior stock for domination was reproduced in order to finance the evolving capitalist system (Robinson, 2005). Additionally, the idea of Black people as human capital did not end after the abolishment of slavery in the nineteenth century. An example of the way economic marginalisation continued and contributed to racial capitalism can be seen in relation to the South African apartheid regime. The structural organisation of racist divisions constrained the social, political, and economic options available to Black communities (Bhattacharyya, 2018). The state-sponsored exploitation of Black people in South Africa supported an interdependence between a racist state and a racist bourgeoisie that had overlapping membership and deemed racist formations of capitalism as socially acceptable. Wolpe (1972) contributed to this argument by suggesting the Apartheid regime emerged as a means for the dominant white class to sustain their control over Black human capital at a reduced price. Bhattacharyya (2018) concludes that Wolpe's account suggests the South African apartheid is instead a safeguard of racist exploitation and not an expression of racism. This is a remarkable proposition as it states that racial capitalism is how the world, constructed through racism, forms capitalist development. Therefore, race does not affect the world, but racism does, making racial capitalism a form of racism in the economic field.

Structural Racialised Inequalities

Harrison (1995) claims the multiplicity of local and national racisms cannot be lessened to a consistent form of Western racial hegemony; however, it cannot be separated from Western cultural influence, either. This is due to the fact that subordinate racisms are rooted in the ideologies and materialism of white supremacy, as they produced the systematic mode of classifying and capitalising race. Racial capitalism has created an international hierarchy where wealth, power, and asymmetrical development are associated with whiteness, otherwise defined as the sorting of populations into hierarchies of disposability through the practice of racially categorising an individual's social status (Bhattacharyya, 2018). What then occurs is a normalisation of the misrepresentation that occurs in structural racialised inequalities in the economy, such as division of labour, wealth accumulation, and property ownership (Tilley and Shilliam, 2018). Since its inception, capitalism has been shaped by racial factors; it is not possible to oppose its effects without making racial injustices a priority. Since race and racism help create and reinforce the hierarchies rooted in class domination, subjective affirmations of identity that do

not include challenging capital will lose the impact of their argument (Hudis, 2018). As Fanon (2004) suggests in *Black Skin, White Masks*, racism cannot be prevented on economic class terms alone, as a racialised perception takes on a life of its own in the psychic, inner life of an individual. Both Black and white individuals are shaped and affected by class domination, although they experience it in very different ways. Additionally, Fanon points out a key difference between class and racial oppression, in that race penetrates deeper than the traditional class struggle. This is due to the fact that Black people are usually denied even a small amount of recognition when structures of domination are over-determined by racial considerations. Put another way, when capitalist class relations are structured along racial lines there is zero recognition, as when Black is the Other they are not seen at all (Hudis, 2018).

Extensive critical work exists to highlight the ways in which class operates in the economy. Marxists have published much research on the logic of capital, and whilst there are postcolonial historical narratives that have explored structural racism and ethnic discrimination, a political economic analysis has been granted less critical scope in academia (Tilley and Shilliam, 2018). Marxist accounts of capitalism often assume a one-sided class-reductionist analysis (Hudis, 2018.). Tilley and Shilliam (2018) attribute the absence of an analytical importance to race in political economy to the legacies of scientific racism. They argue that unless the racial ordering system that has evolved from colonialism into the present day provides an explicit analysis of capitalism, research will always remain partial. It is crucial to develop theoretical perspectives that conceptualise race and racism and the integral role they have in capitalism in a way that moves beyond identity politics; one only need observe the way right-wing populism has reared its ugly head in politics today, both in the US and in Europe, to see the ways contemporary capitalism has manifested new expressions of racial animosity (Hudis, 2018). It is necessary for an explicit critique of capitalism and its inseparable relationship with racism to take place in order to confront the importance of race and ethnicity in political economy. James Yaki Sayles (2010) puts it another way in his analysis of *The Wretched of the Earth*, Franz Fanon's famous book:

> The existence of Manichean thinking doesn't make economic relationships secondary to 'racial' ones—it does exactly what it's supposed to do: It masks and mystifies the economic relationships…. [It] performs its role as a superstructural element by making 'race' appear as external to … the economic motive of colonial relations. (2010:304)

Sayles is arguing that the duality of race and the economy is a deliberate attempt by the dominant (white) society to separate the relationship between race and capitalism, as the bourgeoisie that led capital development are the same people who profit from it today.

Nationalism, Neoliberalism and Racialisation

In the 1960s, social scientists in the West, particularly in the US, argued that the conditions of Western life and its opportunities for socioeconomic improvement would create a 'melting pot'. This is a term to describe the assumed assimilation that they believed would take place amongst different racial and ethnic groups and the (white) common culture—i.e. developing common values, attitudes, beliefs, and lifestyles (Bisin and Verdier, 2000). This white racial dominance otherwise referred to as 'whiteness' is a key structural location that grants exclusive privilege to those belonging to the same group. From this position, an assessment of cultural reality of themselves as Self and anyone else as Other is usually unchallenged and normatively given. This invisibility or 'colour-blindness' enhances the effect, as well as the dominance of racial superiority, to the extent that whiteness is never questioned (Bisin and Verdier, 2000).

The racialisation of difference provided the starting point for the inception of nationalism. This is where the concepts of race and nationality began to be intimately interrelated as two ends of a sole historical discourse on state power and population control (Harrison, 1995). The concept of integration or assimilation is a rejection of one nationalism for the acceptance of another. When individuals are asked to assimilate they are being urged to embrace the beliefs of the dominant society, in this context white nationalism (whether European or European settler colonial states), and reject the ideology of anything else (Sayles, 2010). The Western creation of neoliberalism is complicit in this creation of 'colour-blindness'. The erasure of power presences and the individualising of agency reduced issues pertaining to race to individual prejudice (Tilley and Shilliam, 2018). Keynesianism's capitalism was replaced by a neoliberal capitalist strategy conceived to restore profitability in global capital. This neoliberal outlook focused on profitability over effective demand and was thought to be what would advance the development of capitalism (Hudis, 2018). Neoliberal economics promised everyone regardless of race, ethnicity, and creed that the rising tide would 'lift all boats'. However, for Black people living in the West this promise of economic prosperity has not come into fruition (Hamilton, 2019). The descendants of the Africans who had been victim to the earlier stages of capitalism continue to be exploited in their contribution to the further development of the capitalist world system in new and resourceful ways (Robinson, 2005)—ways that proceed to play a role in the ordering of accumulation and impoverishment some experience today (Tilley and Shilliam, 2018).

There is extensive research that suggests that, both historically and at present, the race and ethnicity of an individual can have either a positive or detrimental effect on their socioeconomic status. Namely, in the US, poverty and unemployment rates are higher amongst Black people, whilst income levels and wealth are significantly lower than the general population (Wilson and Williams, 2019). Neoliberal

explanations for these failures have focused on individual attitudes, education, and public sector programmes that apparently create unhelpful incentives away from personal responsibility (Hamilton, 2019). However, there is a Black aphorism known widely amongst Black communities living in the West that goes, 'as a Black person in a white world, you need to work twice as hard to get half as far' (DeSante, 2013:342). Yet the presumption is still that if Black people made better financial decisions and were more responsible they would be able to progress further and achieve economic security (Hamilton, 2019). To give an example closer to home we can examine the catastrophic fire that destroyed Grenfell Tower in June 2017, a social-housing high-rise block that housed mainly Black, Asian, and minority ethnic (BAME) residents in the most impoverished area of London's metropolitan population (Tilley and Shilliam, 2018). The fire advanced quickly through Grenfell as a result of the cladding that was installed in 2016 to improve the external appearance of the building for the white wealthy residents in the area. It is now known that the extremely flammable cladding used for the council housing complex was the cheaper choice of the options available (Davies et al., 2017). This appalling event, which claimed the lives of many residents living in Grenfell, highlights the racialisation of housing in the UK. The borough Grenfell Tower resides in, Kensington and Chelsea, is one of the wealthiest areas in England. However, the borough also contains some of the most deprived areas in the country (Sawlani, 2017). A report on inequality in the borough uncovered the shocking fact that average incomes there can 'drop ten times as you cross the street' (MP Emma Dent Coad, quoted in Gentleman, 2017). The extreme proximity and disparity of the socioeconomic levels of residents reveals the extent of inequality in the borough.

The Grenfell disaster is another casualty of the neoliberal policies that removed social housing in order to create a property-owning class (Sawlani, 2017). Instead, what transpired with the steady decline of social housing stock was a withdrawal of accountability from arms-length tenant management organisations whose practices included outsourcing renovations to the lowest bidder within the wider context of gentrification (Tilley and Shilliam, 2018). Additionally, austerity measures led to major cuts to local authority budgets, which meant local authorities like Kensington and Chelsea spent as little as possible on their residents (Sawlani, 2017). Race matters in this recounting as Grenfell exposes the unredressed and unacknowledged racialisation of UK housing policies (Tilley and Shilliam, 2018). As stated by Nadine El-Enany (2017), many Grenfell residents and their predecessors were affected negatively by the dispossessing consequences of colonialism. Additionally, the economic decline brought on by European debt arrangements and global trade exacerbated the impoverishment of Southern economies which abetted the migration of BAME members to the global North. Many of the individuals who left their native lands in search of better opportunities fell victim to the ongoing colonial practices of state-sanctioned racial hierarchy and

segregation within the UK's housing markets (El-Enany, 2017). As a result BAME residents have a higher probability of living in poor-quality accommodation than their white counterparts (Tilley and Shilliam, 2018). Additionally, BAME people are more likely to be working class by income and occupation, and more likely to be discriminated against when allocated social housing (Sawlani, 2017). Grenfell is a stark reminder of what happens when racial inequalities are allowed to flourish within racist hierarchical structures. The poorest within society suffer as the inconsequential Other, and the privileged continue to capitalise in an economy that caters to them.

Conclusion

This paper has revealed some of the racist ideologies that have aided a white international hierarchy which continues to systematically classify and capitalise race. From the transatlantic slave trade, which was responsible for the economic development required to establish capitalism as a world system, to the South African Apartheid regime which demonstrates how capitalism evolved to create racial capitalism, a form of racism in the economic field that continued to marginalise Black people, racism has been a vital component in capital's drive for self-expansion. As argued in this essay, arguments on whether capitalism may have occurred without trading Africans as human capital are invalid, as according to historical materialism, material forces of production constitute the legal, political, and economic structures of society. Therefore, the social consciousness of Western societies, or lack thereof, are a consequence of their collective economic activity. This paper also criticised the legacies of colonial scientific racism found within academia and explored the role it has had in restricting analyses of race in the field of political economy, as the field ignores the racial ordering system that has occurred from colonialism into the present day. The economic motive of colonial relations can also be seen in the creation of Self and Other as an unchallenged means of reinforcing (white) racial dominance as a global cultural reality. This paper also explored why class terms alone will not prevent racial discrimination as race penetrates deeper than the traditional class struggle. This can be seen in the neoliberal theories which have erased the presence of power and used agency to reduce issues pertaining to race. Lastly, this paper used the Grenfell Tower fire to demonstrate how both historically and at present the race and ethnicity of an individual has an effect on their socioeconomic status. The fire at Grenfell exposes the unredressed and unacknowledged racialisation of UK housing policies. To conclude, the political economy of race and ethnicity matters as the economic development required to establish capitalism and create the current global order could not have occurred without race, ethnicity, and most importantly racism.

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Appropriating Rape: Sexual Violence in Cinematic Narratives of the Sino-Japanese War

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This paper examines representations of wartime sexual violence during the Second Sino-Japanese War in Chinese and Japanese contemporary cinema. It explores the ways in which these visualisations of rape can distort or testify to the experiences of victims while also contributing to the (re)production of narratives of the nation. In analysing and comparing images of sexual violence in Lu Chuan's *City of Life and Death* and Wakamatsu Kōji's *Caterpillar*, this paper argues that the representation of wartime rape in Chinese and Japanese war cinema is inescapably shaped by masculinist mythology of the nation, whose notions of sovereignty are articulated through the exertion of power over women's sexualities and bodies. It is concluded that the gendered logics that inform post-war national discourses in China and Japan hence limit the space to honour the subjective pain of victims and survivors.

Keywords: Sino-Japanese War, cinema studies, war, rape, nationalism

The Second Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945) was rooted in China's national resistance to Japan's decades-long imperialist project to exploit Chinese raw materials and labour. Historical narratives of the atrocities committed by the Imperial Japanese Army in China during the war constitute a major pillar of the national discourses of contemporary China and Japan (Weiss, 2015). Given the widespread use of rape as a weapon of war during the Japanese invasion, discourses on wartime sexual violence are also deeply imbricated in narratives of the nation (Weiss, 2015). In China, historical events like the Nanjing Massacre, during which the Japanese army is estimated to have raped more than 20,000 women and girls, are framed as part of a humiliating imperialistic aggression committed against the Chinese nation (Yang, 1999:884). In Japan, the opinion towards wartime sexual

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violence is divided: while progressive groups strive to investigate and denounce Japan's past abuse, ultranationalist revisionists deny accounts of war atrocities, claiming they are exaggerations or even inventions (Yoshida, 2000:70-132). The reproduction of these historical narratives crucially relies on technologies of mass culture. These technologies, such as cinema, create 'transferential spaces' through which audiences perceive themselves to be accessing experiences of historical events they have not lived through, building 'prosthetic memories' (Landsberg, 1997:66). Contemporary cinematic representations of wartime sexual violence raise the important question of how the visualisation of rape can distort or testify to the experiences of victims and recognise or undermine their subjective experiences of trauma (Projansky, 2001).

This paper examines the ways in which the representation of wartime sexual violence during the Second Sino-Japanese War in Chinese and Japanese contemporary cinema is shaped by the cinematic medium, and how this representation contributes to the (re)production of narratives of the nation. By examining and comparing images of sexual violence in Lu Chuan's *City of Life and Death* and Wakamatsu Kōji's *Caterpillar,* this paper argues that the representation of wartime rape in Chinese and Japanese war cinema is inescapably shaped by masculinist mythology of the nation, whose notions of sovereignty are often articulated through the exertion of power over women's sexualities and bodies.

Images of Wartime Rape in Chinese and Japanese Cinema

City of Life and Death*: Women's Rape as a Symbol for the Nation's Trauma*

The Nanjing Massacre is a crucial event in the contemporary memory of China's 'century of humiliation' (*bainian guochi*); nationalist discourses of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) are importantly built on discourses of victimisation from experiences of Japanese colonial aggression to legitimise the Party State and foster nationalism (Kinney, 2012). Drawing on Chungmoo Choi's (2001) observation on the framing of discourses on Korean comfort women within patriarchal nationalism in South Korea, this section examines how the cinematic depiction of sexual violence that occurred during the Second Sino-Japanese war can serve to recognise the patriarchal logics of the war, while also reproducing a Chinese masculinist narrative of the nation.

Lu Chuan's *City of Life and Death* ('Nanjing! Nanjing!', 2009) depicts female victimisation and agency in the Nanjing Massacre through three different female characters: Xiaojiang, a Chinese sex worker; Jiang Shuyun, a Chinese teacher who works in the city's demilitarised zone; and Yuriko, a Japanese comfort woman. *City* breaks with the dichotomy drawn between Chinese victimhood and Japanese aggression that characterises mainstream cinema on Nanjing: the film constitutes an unprecedented move in Chinese cinematography to relate Chinese women's

Fig 1. A wretched Xiaojiang looks silently at soldier Kadokawa as he mistakes her for Yuriko.

experience of sexual violence with that of Japanese women (Zhu, 2013). This is illustrated in the sequence in which Japanese soldier Kadokawa enters a comfort station where one hundred Chinese women have been brought and mistakenly takes Xiaojiang to be Yuriko, asking her why she is there (Fig.1). Kadokawa's confusion effectively juxtaposes the identity of Xiaojiang and Yuriko, drawing a line of parallelism between Chinese and Japanese women's common experiences of victimhood from sexual violence (Zhu, 2013). Kadokawa's long silence after recognising it is not Yuriko suggests a reflection on the injustice of comfort women's fate beyond distinctions of nationality: why should Xiaojiang's presence in the comfort station be any less worth questioning? In the same vein, *City*'s narrative of the Nanjing Massacre includes an exploration of Yuriko's victimhood as a Japanese comfort woman. This is shown in the sharp contrast between the two encounters that occur between her and Kadokawa: in the former, a fresh and confident Yuriko shows tenderness for the soldier on discovering he is virgin; in the latter, Yuriko is portrayed as exhausted and emotionally numb after weeks of abuse by the Japanese military (Fig. 2).

City's two main Chinese female protagonists are depicted heroically in relation to their assertion of agency to reject Japanese sexual dominance: Xiaojiang volunteers to serve as a sex worker for the Japanese to guarantee the safety of Chinese women and children in the demilitarised zone, and Jiang Shuyun asks Kadokawa to shoot her in order to prevent her rape by Japanese soldiers. As pointed out by Yanhong Zhu (2013:100), *City* limits women's agency to a choice of 'martyrdom or sexual slavery with regard to the Japanese'. The film hence proves able only to conceive of two types of heroines: the patriotic motherly figure that complies with traditional/local notions of female chastity, and the comfort woman that chooses to

Fig 2. Two encounters between Yuriko and soldier Kadokawa: while in the first *(above)* Yuriko seems fresh and tender, in the second *(below)* she is worn out and apathetic.

sacrifice herself for the nation. Accordingly, Xiaojiang's rape and death are heroic as she sacrifices her body and sexuality for the nation; Shuyun's death is heroic as she chooses her chastity over her survival. The film hence resembles other Nanjing films in the sense that it subsumes women's experiences of wartime sexual violence into a broader narrative of national humiliation and trauma. *City*'s framing of female heroism also reproduces the figure of the female martyr, which has been used by communist and nationalist regimes to mobilise women for 'the endeavour of building a strong nation state' (Zhu 2013:100). While Lu Chuan's two-year battle with government censors over the humanisation of Japanese soldiers indicates the film's divergence from mainstream Chinese cinema on Nanjing (Kraicer, 2010), *City* still presents women's agency within the limited possibilities of a nationalist discourse.

City articulates the struggle to defend China's sovereignty against Japanese aggression through the 'masculinist protection' (Young, 2003) of Chinese women's bodies and sexualities. This is illustrated in the sequence when a group of Japanese soldiers break into the Nanjing Safety Zone, a demilitarised camp created in 1937 by an international committee of Western missionaries and businessmen with the aim to provide food and shelter to Chinese refugees. In the scene, the committee's leader and Nazi party member John Rabe, together with his secretary, Mr. Tang, discover Japanese soldiers sexually assaulting a group of girls in one of the Zone's residential buildings and attempt to courageously intervene. The insistent focus on Rabe's and Tang's facial expressions of horror pushes the viewer to empathise with

their feeling of failure for not having been able to prevent the events from happening. The visualisation of the girls' rape serves only to depict the perverse and sexually aggressive masculinity of the Japanese, and the benign and protective masculinity of Rabe and Tang. Conversely, the girls are left faceless, nameless, and voiceless. The scene closes with Rabe's question, 'How many children were raped here tonight?' The girls' subjective experiences of physical pain and psychological trauma are reduced to a number for Rabe to make sense of the episode ('Six girls, sir'). The girls' rapes in the film are not depicted to bear witness to their personal traumatic experiences of pain, but rather to serve as a catalyst for Mr. Rabe's and Mr. Tan's heroic intervention. The on-screen erasure of the girls' experience of victimhood is coherent with feminist analyses of narratives of sexual violence through a male gaze, whereby rape becomes a 'conversation between men' (Thompson and Gunne, 2010:8).

As an immediate response to this event, the film shows Mr. Tang cutting his wife's hair as she cries, telling her and his sister-in-law that they must wear men's clothes from now on in order not to be sexually attractive in the eyes of the soldiers (Fig. 3). This coercive act of 'protection' of women's bodies indicates how (Japanese) sexual violence is depicted as an act of imperial emasculation of the colonised (Chinese) men, whose response requires the performance of aggressive masculinity articulated through the exertion of power over colonised (Chinese) women's bodies (Nandy, 1983). Similarly, narratives and representations of wartime rape in the Pacific War, such as that of Korean comfort women or Chinese women and girls in Nanjing, are appropriated and instrumentalised to justify militarised masculinist nationalism (Choi, 2001; Weiss, 2015).

Fig 3. Mr. Tang cuts his wife's hair as she cries.

Caterpillar: *Rape as a Weapon Against Japanese Patriarchal Nationalism*

Mainstream Japanese war cinema reflects how, in the aftermath of World War II, the Japanese experience of post-war misery and the perception of a 'victor's justice' being applied excessively and unjustly on Japan generally obscured recognition of the suffering of Asian populations inflicted by Japanese imperialism. Accordingly, there are few high-profile Japanese cinematic representations of wartime sexual violence committed by the Japanese military during the Second Sino-Japanese War (Weiss, 2015). Chinese films representing the widespread murder and rape in the Nanjing Massacre, such as *Don't Cry, Nanking* or *City of Life and Death,* have been fiercely attacked by the Japanese right and denied access to the Japanese market (Nagaoka, 1998; Wu, 1995). Against this background, some Japanese left-wing filmmakers have attacked Japanese nationalist ideology by dismantling the glorified figure of the masculine soldier, as well as representing the brutality of wartime sexual violence in shockingly explicit ways. Wakamatsu Kōji's *Caterpillar* (Kyatapirā, 2010) is an excellent example of how the on-screen visualisation of rape is used as a left-wing critique of right-wing nationalism and its patriarchal core.

Caterpillar begins with credits overlaid onto footage of Japanese troops advancing in China in 1940. Immediately after comes a horrifying scene where Lieutenant Kurokawa violently rapes and murders a Chinese girl while shouting racist insults at her. The focus on the girl's eyes while this happens is followed by a fade-out effect: the image of one of her eyes is slowly replaced by the red circle of Japan's national flag (*hinomaru*). From the beginning, Kōji hence announces his unequivocal condemnation of Japan for her murder. During an unspecified battle in China, Kurokawa is appallingly maimed, and is brought back home quadriplegic, mute, and partially deaf. He becomes completely reliant on the care of his wife, Shigeko. Having lost the ability to move or speak, his wife witnesses his gradual devolution into an animal, ironically contrasting with the townspeople's veneration of Kurokawa as a 'war god' (*gunshin*). Kurokawa's pathetic existence is particularly emphasised in a sequence where he awkwardly scribbles the words 'I want to do it' in a notebook while voicelessly mouthing 'please', begging Shigeko to have sex with him (Fig. 4).

Revealed in a flashback, the viewer learns that Kurokawa used to beat and rape Shigeko, hating her for allegedly being unable to bear children. The reversal of power relations on his return from the war becomes an opportunity for Shigeko to victimise him in retribution for his past abuse: she begins to dare him, mocking his appearance and manner of speaking. Shigeko's desire to make Kurokawa suffer can be clearly appreciated in a scene in which she forces him to wear his military uniform and parades him around the town. By exposing the *gunshin*'s situation of total dependency on her, she humiliates him while also showing her virtue as a wife. The war veteran's emasculation is complete when Shigeko rapes him while

Fig. 4. Scribbles showing "I want to do it" in Japanese, the words desperately written by Kurokawa with a pencil in his mouth so as to beg his wife to have sex with him.

slapping and punching him. Shigeko's evolution shows not only the dismantling of Kurokawa's militant masculinity, but also the appropriation and reversal of masculine sexual violence to avenge her own traumatic experience of rape (Weiss, 2015). Shigeko's act of rape is both the reenactment of the system of violence through which she was victimised, and a response to the Japanese sexual violence inflicted on Japanese and Chinese women. After the incident, Kurokawa begins to have a series of visions showing his past crimes committed as a lieutenant, including flashbacks to Kurokawa's sexual abuse of the Chinese girl. Interestingly, the girl's rape scene is now seen from the perspective of the *victim*; Kurokawa sees his own face committing the crime. Kurokawa's new perspective of the events as both aggressor and victim indicates the strong psychological impact the victimisation by his own wife has left. Tormented, he attempts to kill himself by savagely striking his head against the walls of the house.

Kōji's film astutely points to the misogynistic logics that sustain nationalist ideology: the existence of comfort stations, the widespread use of rape as a weapon of war by the Imperial Army, and the glorification of the masculine and aggressive soldier relied on notions of male power and female subordination (O'Reilly, 2018). The film dismantles such logics by mocking the toxic and fragile masculinity of the *gunshin,* while also connecting the suffering of Chinese women with that of Japanese women. *Caterpillar*'s release in Japan was predictably met by fierce critiques from right-wing groups, which consequently led to the film's withdrawal from many theatres (Weiss, 2015).

On the other hand, *Caterpillar* also portrays the problematics of using the visualisation of sexual violence as a tool for political critique. While the representation of wartime rape committed by the Japanese military constitutes an ideological battlefield for the Japanese right and left, neither of the two sides is

interested in testifying to the experiences of trauma of Chinese women and girls. For the Japanese right, the visibility of wartime sexual violence in Chinese and American cinema is seen as an attempt to attack Japanese sovereignty by emasculating the Japanese nation/military; for the left, the representation of rape is used to criticise ultranationalism (Zhu, 2013). Kōji is part of the latter group: he uses rape as the most brutal symptom of the patriarchal power structures that form the skeleton of Japanese nationalism. Yet, in the process of using female bodies as ideological tools, women's subjective experiences of pain and victimhood are erased. In *Caterpillar,* the subjectivity of the Chinese victim is completely disregarded; as with the girls in *City,* she remains a nameless and voiceless body. Further, as pointed out by Amanda Weiss (2015), the pornographic representation of the girl's rape further reduces the possibility of empathising with the female subject. Her rape and the flashbacks to it serve exclusively to explore Kurokawa's subjectivity as a perpetrator, and later as a victim. In contrast, the film develops Shigeko's complex character of both victim and aggressor, and examines her personal experiences of trauma from her husband's sexual abuse. This exclusive focus on Shigeko replicates Japanese war narratives that fixate on Japanese victimhood, while disregarding Chinese experiences of victimisation.

Conclusion

Through its analysis of *City of Life and Death* and *Caterpillar,* this paper has explored the dangers of erasing the experiences of pain and trauma of the victims and survivors of sexual violence when instrumentalising images of wartime rape as part of a political discourse of the nation. *City* constructs a narrative of Chinese victimhood in the Second Sino-Japanese War that articulates China's trauma in terms of the emasculation of the nation. Accordingly, the visualisation of wartime rape is used to condemn Japanese imperialism and lament China's national humiliation; women are used as symbolic bodies to reinforce masculine national myths, rather than being recognised as subjects with legitimate personal experiences of physical and psychological abuse. Whereas *Caterpillar* diverges from mainstream Japanese discourse that ignores the occurrence of wartime sexual violence during the Second Sino-Japanese war in its entirety, the film also instrumentalises images of wartime rape to attack Japanese ultranationalism, rather than revealing the subjective pain of Chinese women and girls. The essay concludes that the gendered logics that inform post-war national discourses in China and Japan limit the representation of wartime sexual violence: rape is appropriated as an experience no longer belonging to the abused.

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From Vocal Game to Protest Song

The Complexities of Katajjaq

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This paper discusses the Inuit vocal game *Katajjaq* in relation to its musical components and political importance. Katajjaq shows much musicality specifically through its use of interlocking. This complexity is deconstructed in this paper and compared to hocketting prominent in other cultures. In recent years, female Inuit artists (such as Tanya Tagaq) have reclaimed Katajjaq as a musical technique in its own right. In their music, it has been used both as a tool for creating intricate, engaging music and as a means to push back against past and present oppression faced by the Inuit.

Keywords: Katajjaq, Inuit, music, identity, interlocking, hocketting, vocal games, Indigenous protest

While the song of the drum dance is perhaps what Inuit culture is most often associated with (Nattiez, 1999:400), it is the use of voice in 'vocal games' that is particularly striking, and also unique to the Canadian Arctic. Because of this classification by ethnomusicologists (Nattiez, 1983:495) and players alike, *Katajjaq* (one of three types of vocal games) is often overlooked in an academic musical setting. It is undeniable that it is, in itself, incredibly musical and therefore has unsurprisingly made its way into the commercial music of today. Furthermore, it is important to pay attention to Inuit throat singing because, counter to the vastly popular and traditionally male Tuvan throat singing, it is an exclusively female practice.

It is unclear when exactly Katajjaq came about; the first publicly accessible recording of a vocal game dates to 1955 (Boulton, 1955: track 108). Naturally, however, it can be inferred that it has existed for much longer (as is the case with

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many aural traditions, where documentation is irrelevant because the tradition is alive). Predominantly unique to Northern Quebec and South Baffin Island, Katajjaq is one of three vocal games belonging to Inuit culture.[8] While the men were out hunting, women would play this game in friendly competition to pass the time. It was, and still is, also used to soothe babies strapped to their mother's front or back to help them sleep, using the comforting vibrations and meditative rhythms of the throat singing (Rowan, 2014:81). Often, the sounds in Katajjaq are inspired by the natural world, from wind to geese and countless things in between, but what gives Katajjaq its distinctive, full bodied, and exciting sound is its complex use of *interlocking*.

Culture and Context

The Game of Katajjaq: Interlocking and Hocketting

Katajjaq is a two-player game and, although a competition, is focused on the players working together to create tight interlocking so as to keep the game going. Two women will stand face to face, sometimes holding each other by the elbows or shoulders and always making eye contact. This is when the interlocking begins: the first person to laugh or run out of breath loses, meaning that most recordings end, delightfully, with laughter. The interlocking itself is a more complex affair and, without being heard, requires detailed explanation. Both players repeat the same short phrase and this phrase consists of two parts. Part A is usually a pitched vocable made with the true vocal folds (known as a voiced sound). Its syllables might be *qeh* (the *q* being a sound made at the back of one's throat), *hm*, *hup,*or *ay*' to name just a few. The second half, Part B, is made by using the false vocal folds to create a pitchless throat singing sound that is more rhythmic (known as a voiceless sound). The phrases are usually either in 2/4 or 6/8 at a fast tempo, with parts A and B lasting half a bar each. Once player 1 starts, player 2 will join in half a bar later, and they will continue in this way until one of the players changes the phrase and the other must quickly follow suit. This might be by adding another note (A1, B, A2 ,B) or by changing the rhythm, and they will speed up until one player is outperformed. There is much musicality in Katajjaq and the aim is to win, not just by outlasting one's partner, but by making the most 'beautiful sounds' (Nattiez, 1983:461). While a good-humoured competition, the overall aim is a collaborative effort to achieve 'homogeneity of sound' (Waterman, 2006:126) where the two lines are completely interwoven and the audience cannot ascertain who is doing which part.

[8] The remaining two vocal games are *Pirkusirtuk,* from North Baffin Island, and *Nipaquhiit,* from the areas of Caribou and Netsilik Inuits (Nattiez 1983:459).

The effect of this interlocking technique is a back and forth *hocketting* which sits atop a driving rhythmic cushioning, aptly described by Waterman as being like two 'separate chain[s]' (2006:126). The combination of a hocketted melody alongside the rhythmic throat singing is 'two-part polyphony' (Shelemay, 2006:27) and creates a highly complex and exciting effect. Hocketting is a technique whereby two or more performers take it in turns to sing or play notes of a larger melody, and it is seen in countless different cultures. Writing about the layered music of Balinese Gamelan, McPhee (1949:272) describes the successful end result as one of 'unbroken continuity'.[9] Having a detailed vertical texture, there can be up to six players on each part (with each part doubled for a larger sound), and 'the interplay of two opposing rhythmic currents' (McPhee, 1949:274) results in an extremely fast and thick-sounding, unified melody. The texture of Katajjaq, on the other hand, is much more horizontal, consisting of only two unified voices. Where the effect of numerous people playing Balinese Gamelan is that of one group playing exceptionally quickly, Katajjaq uses interlocking to create the sound of many parts at once. In this way, Inuit women utilise hocketting in Katajjaq incredibly effectively, working together to create music that is both fast and intricate.

Fig 1. Inuit women throat singing (Photo: www.mustrad.org.uk/articles/inuit.htm)

[9] McPhee (1949) praises Balinese gamelan's sophisticated use of the 'primitive' technique of hocketting. This is a poor choice of words. Hocketting is prevalent in the traditional music of many cultures (examples of which can be found in the very same paragraph) which does imply that it has existed for a long time. However, to call it 'primitive' is about as redundant as labelling any rhythmic technique as such.

Indigenous Experience: Colonisation, Loss, and Genocide

Worryingly, the effect of colonisation on Inuit culture largely goes unacknowledged in academic writing on Katajjait. Where it is acknowledged, it is often all too brief; Nattiez, for example, expands on a vague statement that 'missionaries exerted their influence' (1999:405) in a mere footnote, where he states that vocal games were forbidden by Anglican missionaries (1999:417). However, this does not come close to scratching the surface of the oppression suffered by the Aboriginal people of Canada as a result of cultural and physical genocide. In 2008, the Canadian government finally apologised for committing cultural genocide and launched a national inquiry, carried out by the National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation. The report was released in 2015 and sourced its damning information from more than six thousand witnesses over the course of six years (Government of Canada, 2015b:V). After forcibly seizing much of the Aboriginal people's land, a system of 'so-called residential schools' (Ling, 2019) was put in place in 1883 (Government of Canada, 2015b:2) and in the century these schools existed, 150,000 children were taken from their parents and passed through this system (Government of Canada, 2015b:3). These schools were a ploy by the Canadian government to alienate Indigenous people from their families and cultures, and in many cases, students were physically and sexually abused. At least 3,200 children died in these schools (Government of Canada, 2015a:1) although poor, unreliable documentation of these deaths means the number could be as high as 6000 (Ling, 2019). The scope of these findings (six volumes) is truly chilling. However, there is still a genocide of Indigenous women happening even today.

Raphael Lemkin first coined the term *genocide* in 1933 and defines it as the 'destruction of essential foundations of the life of national groups, with the aim of annihilating the groups themselves' (Lemkin, 2005 [1944]:79), along with a list of the key factors that define treatment of a group as genocide. These consist of political, social, cultural, economic, biological, physical, religious, and moral factors. In 1948, a legal definition of genocide was integrated into international law with the UN Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide. It defines as genocide those acts with intent to destroy such as murder, serious physical/mental harm, deliberately imposing conditions that bring about the destruction of a group, preventing women from giving birth, and forcibly moving children to a different group (United Nations, 1951:Article 2). In 2019, the report for the Canadian government's National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls (NIMMIWG) was released, documenting the continuous genocide of Indigenous women in great detail. It outlines the disproportionate hardships Indigenous women face that correspond directly with both of these definitions, including:

> Deaths of women in police custody; the failure to protect Indigenous women, girls, and 2SLGBTQQIA [Two Spirit, Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer, Questioning, Intersex, Asexual] people from exploitation and

> trafficking, as well as from known killers; the crisis of child welfare; physical, sexual, and mental abuse inflicted on Indigenous women and girls in state institutions; the denial of status and membership for First Nations; the removal of children; forced relocation and its impacts; purposeful, chronic underfunding of essential human services; coerced sterilizations; and more. (Government of Canada 2019:53)

The NIMMIWG is full of shocking statistics, such as that 'indigenous women and girls are twelve times more likely to be murdered or missing than any other women in Canada' (Government of Canada, 2019:7). Between 1980 and 2012, there were 1,017 homicides and 164 disappearances of Indigenous women identified by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. However, continuous 'inconsistent data collection practises' (Ling, 2019) have led to a gross undercount (Monet, 2019). Furthermore, the report contains nearly 750 statements, many of which detail personal accounts of everyday racism, sexism, and classism suffered by Indigenous women in Canada, not only from everyday citizens but also from the police and government representatives. Encounters with the police and government officials can be 'humiliating' (Government of Canada, 2019:97, 384) and several witnesses recount being plainly ignored and dismissed (Government of Canada, 2019:96, 101, 256). The result of continual hostility from the police is a reluctance to turn to them for protection or help. This reluctance is then consolidated by often devastatingly lax approaches to missing persons investigations, which prolongs and amplifies the trauma suffered by families left behind for years or even indefinitely (Government of Canada, 2019:20, 22, 23, 53, 56). Thus, communities are often forced to take initiative: a group of volunteers periodically search the Red River, for example, finding seven bodies in 2014 (Puxley, 2015). The relentlessness of these harmful experiences create a culture of active distrust between Indigenous women and the police, meaning Indigenous women do not always feel safe enough to report missing persons cases or to go to police for help. The genocide of Indigenous women is not only under-recorded by the police; it is exacerbated by them.

Katajjaq as Protest and Celebration

In light of this, musician Tanya Tagaq leads the way in championing Inuit culture and female identity while also bringing the rhythmic and expressive qualities of Katajjaq to more mainstream music. This can be heard in Björk's 2004 album, *Medúlla*; Tagaq's collaboration with rap artist Shad (Tagaq, 2016a: track 5); and her cover of Nirvana's 'Rape Me' (2016a: track 10). Tagaq covers 'Rape Me' in order to protest against the genocide of Indigenous women. On the album *Retribution Commentary*, Tagaq talks about championing feminism in her work and being fed up with the stigma surrounding it (2016b: track 10). She explains that she also wanted to take Cobain's message out of the empathizing in the third person and into the first-person survivor of abuse (2016b: track 10, 2:48). Tagaq uses

Cobain's anti-rape song to convey the message that although they may be abused and murdered, Indigenous women and girls (and indeed women everywhere) will not be defeated.

Tagaq champions the Inuit perception of femininity; in an interview with The Open University (Tagaq 2010), she explains that because life in the Canadian Arctic is strenuous, a strong partner is vital. Katajjaq is not only an embodiment of this strength but also a beautiful means of connection between women: as she jokes, they sometimes call it 'uterus singing'. Furthermore, Tagaq uses her platform as a means to give her culture a voice. During her performance at the 2014 Polaris Award ceremony, she had the names of 1,200 missing and murdered Indigenous women displayed on a screen behind her. While she was not able to go into the topic in her acceptance speech for fear of scaring her 10-year-old daughter, who was present at the time, she decided to defend Inuit culture's hunting of seals. In an interview following the ceremony, she highlighted her deep concern that people were still 'losing their mind over seals' (CBC News, 2014, at 00:39) in the midst of a genocide. Tagaq uses Katajjaq in her music to champion her culture as well as defend it. She began throat singing after she moved away from her village to Halifax for university, as a way to help ease the resulting 'culture clash', explaining in an interview that throat singing felt like 'a piece of home' (Q on CBC, 2014, at 01:17). She adapts Katajjaq and implements it beautifully in her music, not only rhythmically but also expressively, and describes her first time hearing it after moving to the city as 'being punched in the gut' (Q on CBC, 2014, at 02:20). While it is her own adaptation of Inuit throat singing, her music remains true to her connection with the land that she grew up on in Nunavut, the vast Indigenous territory in Northern Canada: 'My culture and the land is carried forever around in my heart.… [T]hat's what's coming out in the singing' (Tagaq, 2010:1).

Katajjaq is not always overtly politicised or altered in modern music. In a live show put on by the Weimar University of Music as part of their programme in Transcultural Music Studies, Karen Flaherty and Kiah Hachey combine traditional Katajjaq with live sound art (*Katajjacoustic,* 2015). Between each song they explain what Katajjaq is, how it works, and what the songs mean. They perform songs that are imitations of nature, for example birds, the wind, and the river (2015, at 09:36) as well as lullabies and friendly competition songs. Although Katajjaq would have traditionally been performed outdoors, in a tent or an igloo, Flaherty and Hachey bring Katajjaq onto the stage. Performing something in the setting of a concert not only shifts the acoustics and atmosphere of an art form but also creates a new dynamic between the performer and the listener. Where the soundscape of the Canadian Arctic landscape was lost, sound art was used to help recreate this feeling while at the same time transforming the game into music by performing it and not playing it. This was consolidated by putting Katajjaq on a stage to reinforce the artist/audience dynamic. Flaherty and Hachey speak of a revival of Inuit throat singing, telling the audience that the art form skipped a generation as a result of

colonisation and Christian missionaries banning anything to do with shamanism (2015, at 37:20). In the present day, where moving between villages is much more possible, they were able to spend six years learning the different types of vocal games from people all over the Canadian Arctic (2015, at 33:57). This presents a new identity of Inuit culture as not just the sounds and ways of one village but a people unified in reviving their culture against the devastating effects of oppression.

Conclusion

Katajjaq reflects a championing of Inuit women's strength. An exclusively female form of expression, it allows Inuit women to connect with and revive a threatened cultural past. Furthermore, Katajjaq provides a defined space for solidarity and bonding between women at a time when Indigenous women and girls are facing genocide in addition to processing intergenerational trauma. Because of its use of complex interlocking, which allows for both rhythm and melody, Katajjaq lends itself to many types of music. This interlocking also gives Katajjaq an incredibly distinctive sound which is used today as a voice for a deeply rich culture speaking out against oppression. This is seen overtly through Tagaq's music and also through Flaherty and Hachey's live show, whereby education and exposure become positive resistance. Once a simple game to pass the time, Katajjaq has been transformed into a fierce and striking stealing-back of voice and culture.

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About the Cover: Artist Statement

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BA Social Anthropology

I'm a Social Anthropology student who also makes paintings, photography, and performance. My artworks are a medium for imaging humans and their relationships as inspired by social anthropology's ways of understanding humanity. I am now particularly interested in how people imagine themselves and their relationship with the world in front of finitude and destruction.

This painting does not aim to assert or document a particular reality of being and living in a certain place and time—it rather expresses an imaginary outburst that is generated from within the human themselves.

The painting depicts an exaggerated yet fragmented human body. Inspired by Vinh Nguyen's 2019 article, 'Refugeetude: When Does a Refugee Stop Being a Refugee?' (*Social Text* 37(2): 109-31), I departed from Rousseau's political conception that one can be 'human' only when they are the embodiment of certain 'human rights' from structures of sovereignty, state and humanitarianism. Instead, nothing but the human themselves is the source of humanity and potential political outburst.

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