
Summit
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Summit: The UAS Writing Center's Collection of Exceptional Academic Works for 2020/2021

Academic works from the students of the University of Alaska Southeast, presented by the UAS Writing Center.

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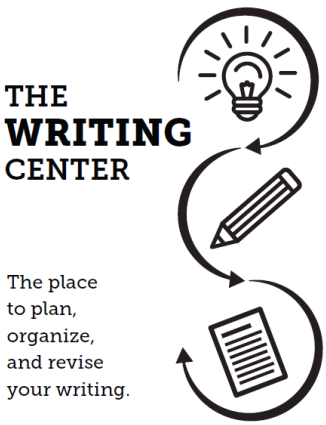

The UAS Writing Center dedicates this journal to Allison Neeland for her constant support of *Summit* and her dedication as the past Writing Specialist.

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Foreword

Like the rest of the world, the UAS Writing Center had a tough 2020. After campus initially shut down, our tutors scattered across the state and the country. When they returned to Juneau, hopeful about welcoming students back to the Writing Center, public health concerns instead forced our operations online. Despite the relocations and constant setbacks, the WC's student tutors have persevered. They haven't missed a beat, adapting to new modes of tutoring, a new Writing Specialist (hello!), and a new world.

Amidst all this upheaval, our tutors have remained unwavering in their vision of providing a place where undergraduate writers can share their academic work and have it celebrated by the UAS community. *Summit: The UAS Writing Center's Collection of Exceptional Academic Works for 2020/2021* is the second edition of this annual journal. It showcases not only our tutors' hard work and dedication, but the incredible talents and myriad interests of UAS undergrads. I learned so much from each of these essays on topics I had never been exposed to. While the tutors worked hard to make this journal a reality within unreal circumstances, the Southeast's most intrepid student authors kept learning, writing, and pursuing their goals. This edition of *Summit* is a testament to their doggedness and determination as well.

Summit is wholly by and for the undergraduate students of UAS, so I hesitate to bring the conversation around to myself. I will just say this: as the new UAS Writing Specialist, relocating to Juneau in the middle of a pandemic winter was not ideal for starting a new job. However, watching our tutors and undergrads come together to create this project has given me the best possible first impression of what our campus and community is all about. I am proud to have even a small part in the production of this journal, and much prouder of our students and tutors.

Jessy Goodman, UAS Writing Specialist

Ernestine Hayes Award for Excellence in Academic Writing

In an effort to promote the academic excellence of students and to highlight their writing, the UAS Writing Center held its first student essay writing contest in 2019. The essay contest, later named after Professor Emerita Ernestine Hayes, strives to honor the commitments she made toward student achievement and the craft of writing. In our second publication of *Summit*, the Ernestine Hayes Award for Excellence in Academic Writing is once again featured. As before, students were invited to submit exemplary essays they composed for courses in a bachelor's program at any campus in the UAS system.

This year, we at the UAS Writing Center congratulate Celestina Cruz on being awarded the 2020/2021 Ernestine Hayes Award for Excellence in Academic Writing. Unique from the other submissions, her essay was selected by the judges for its scientific approach and its display of impressive research.

Celestina Cruz is a student at the University of Alaska Southeast at the Juneau campus. She is graduating this spring with a Bachelor of Science in biology with an emphasis in fisheries science. Cruz grew up on Kodiak Island in the Gulf of Alaska, and fishing has been a major aspect of her community and life. Attending UAS has broadened her scope of fisheries and their potential conservation issues.

The Adaptive Significance of Infanticide in Primates

Survival of offspring is a crucial aspect of adaptation; without having viable offspring to reproduce, genetics cannot be passed on. In some species, a major cause of infant mortality is infanticide, which can account for 30.8-62.5% of deaths in infants under the age of two in Hanuman langurs (Borries, 1997; Lukas and Huchard, 2014). Infanticide is defined as the targeting of a non-related conspecific young and contributing to its immediate or imminent death (Lukas and Huchard, 2019). Infanticide has been observed in a variety of animals, ranging from rodents to killer whales. A violent manifestation of both intrasexual and intersexual competition, infanticide is common in multiple mammal species. There are a variety of theories of why infanticide occurs that assess the costs and advantages. In primates specifically, there are a variety of species that have commonly engaged in infanticide and have been heavily studied. Using molecular data combined with observation, the benefits and costs of infanticide will be assessed in this paper, as well as the evolutionary responses to infanticide.

Similarities in Species

Infanticide does not occur in all primate species but occurs in at least 50 primate species that share common aspects of society and biology (Ramsay *et al.,* 2020). For example, infanticide has been documented in golden-snub nosed monkeys (*Rhinopithecus roxellana*), ursine colobus (*Colobus vellerosus*), Hanuman lemurs (*Semnopithecus* genus), and Japanese macaques (*Macaca fuscata*) (Badescu *et al.,* 2016; Yao *et al.,* 2016). The act of infanticide is based upon a specie's societal practices, typically occurring in species whose social groups are composed of multi-male and multi-female polygynous groups, also known as troops, led by an alpha male (Qi *et al.,* 2020). It has been found that species with social groups that average 1 male per 2.5 females have engaged in infanticide, while groups with 1 male per 1.3 females did not (Elwood and Stolzenberg, 2020). In societies with multi-females and fewer males, one or a few males monopolize a group of females to breed with, which is a cause of intrasexual competition (Qi *et al.,* 2020). Infanticide is also committed by females but is likely due to intrasexual competition for other limited resources (Lukas and Huchard, 2019).

The killing of young conspecifics has been observed in both seasonal and non-seasonal breeding primates, but primarily occurs in non-seasonal breeders who are more likely to become fertile sooner (Elwood and Stolzenberg, 2020). Long periods of gestation and lactation are associated with species that experience infanticide, as committing infanticide promotes the continuation of fertility cycles (Lukas and Huchard, 2014).

Hypotheses

Infanticide occurs in many primate species, but not all, and has been attempted to be explained by a variety of hypotheses. Documented infanticide has been primarily committed by males; thus, more data is available to support the different proposed hypotheses of infanticide in males (Lukas and Huchard, 2019). Females in each group have been observed to commit infanticide as well, but the reasons may differ from males.

Infanticide in female conspecifics is explained by different hypotheses than males, as they may be competing for different resources. The first hypothesis to be explored is the exploitation hypothesis: that females commit infanticide as an adaptive behavior to gain nutrition (Lukas and Huchard, 2019). However, partial or full cannibalism of the victims of infanticide by females has not been observed, so this hypothesis is not the strongest thus far (Lukas and Huchard, 2019).

Another proposed hypothesis is the resource competition hypothesis, where the killing of conspecific young may benefit females in accessing vital resources for maximized reproduction (Lukas and Huchard, 2019). Resources for reproduction can include territory/breeding space and other group mates that care for offspring, which can be limited in some instances (Lukas and Huchard, 2019; Ramsay *et al.,* 2020). The amount of help from other group members in raising an offspring can increase with a lower offspring-to-helper ratio in societies that breed cooperatively, which would greatly benefit offspring survival (Lukas and Huchard, 2019). Especially in some old-world primates, social status is a vital aspect of group hierarchies, and to preserve an offspring's future status, mothers may kill other infants that are seen as possible rivals (Lukas and Huchard, 2019). Limited resources, whether they be physical or social, can create competition among mothers that induce infanticide to increase the likelihood of survival of their offspring.

Two main hypotheses have been debated as the reason for infanticide committed by males. The side-effect hypothesis infers that infanticide is the result of violent intrasexual competition in males and is an accident that does not provide any advantages to males (Borries 1997; Yao *et al.,* 2016). However, genetic data on victims of infanticide in Japanese macaques, Hanuman langurs, and snub-nosed monkeys have shown that they were not offspring of the killer male, and the male typically went on to mate with the victim's mother, which does not support the side-effect hypothesis (Yao *et al.,* 2016; Ramsay *et al.,* 2020). During infanticide events, only the infants were harmed and not the mother (Borries 1997). If infanticide were accidental, the mother, which infants are clinging to in most cases, would also be injured in the event.

The second hypothesis proposed to explain male infanticide is the sexual selection hypothesis. In one-male multi-female groups, infanticide events tend to occur after a groups' alpha-male has been ousted by a lower-ranking or outsider male, which could indicate that there is an adaptive significance in infanticide. The sexual selection hypothesis predicts that a new male leader benefits from infanticide, the victims being offspring sired by the old alpha male, by reinvigorating female members fertility cycles, which would increase the mating opportunities available to the new alpha (Borries, 1997; Lukas and Huchard, 2014; Soltis *et al.,* 2000; Qi *et al.,* 2020).

Costs Associated

Committing infanticide in any population can result in costs that could seem to outweigh the possible benefits. The act of infanticide can require giving chase to a mother and infant and possible retaliation from the mother or other individuals of the group that defends the victim, which both require energy (Borries, 1997). To decrease the energy costs of killing infants, male Hanuman langurs have been found to attack infants that have been handicapped, as well as their mothers (Borries, 1997). A specific observation of this behavior included a male langur targeting a mother and her young after the mother had broken her arm and had become weak; her offspring became

significantly smaller than her peers before the attack perpetrated by males. After multiple sporadic attacks, the infant was visibly handicapped before being repeatedly attacked and eventually killed (Borries, 1997).

Defendants of the victims of infanticide in Hanuman langurs have been observed chasing, slapping, and using loud vocalizations at the perpetrator (Borries, 1997). In the sexual selection hypothesis, it is predicted that males committing infanticide will later mate with the victim's mother. However, in primate groups that are composed of multiple males, there is a smaller probability of the killer being the male to mate with the victim's mother than in single male groups (Borries, 1997). For females that commit infanticide, a potential cost is the resumption of fertility in the mother of the victim, which could further exacerbate the competition for limited resources (Lukas and Huchard, 2019).

Results of Infanticide

Because infanticide can account for 30.8-62.5% of infant mortality in the first two years, females have developed counter-strategies to reduce the likelihood of their offspring's death (Borries, 1997). A multitude of strategies have been observed, including fighting back, promiscuity, seeking protection from other males, dispersion with the offspring, and forming alliances with males and other females (Manguette *et al.,* 2019; Soltis *et al.,* 2000; Qi *et al.,* 2020). There has been evidence that these behaviors may be a result of infanticide; however, there are also indications that the behaviors have arisen in societies due to other possible reasons.

In many primate species, groups are polygynous and are frequently taken over by lower-ranked males or outsiders, which has been found to trigger infanticide events (Manguette *et al.,* 2019). To adapt to these events, females have changed socially to protect the young. To counter the effect of a new troop alpha male, some females have been observed to form long-term or permanent relationships with a male, as the relationship can offer protection to the female's offspring from attacks by alpha males (Lukas and Huchard, 2014). Other forms of social bonds, such as female-female friendships, allow more adults to be available to protect vulnerable young (Lukas and Huchard, 2014).

Physical reproductive counter-strategies are also used by females to decrease the probability of infanticide of their young. When alpha males are replaced within a troop, females have dispersed from groups with their infants or while pregnant as a possible form of protection, and while this has been observed in *R. roxellana,* there could also be other reasons for this dispersal (Qi *et al.,* 2020). It is thought that dispersal is an effective strategy as it may decrease the benefits of a male's attempted takeover, which would discourage males from risking harm of challenging an alpha male if all reproducing females left the group (Manguette *et al.,* 2019). This could lead to a change in societal structures; however, there is little evidence of such (Elwood and Stolzenberg, 2020).

Promiscuity, an individual having multiple sexual partners, is another counter-strategy that seems to stem from infanticide. By mating with multiple males within a group, a female primate can reduce the probability of infanticide since a male is less likely to kill their offspring if they are unsure (Elwood and Stolzenberg, 2020; Qi *et al.,* 2020). Observations of this strategy are limited, as there may be stealthy matings that are hard to observe in field settings (Qi *et al.,* 2020). Evolutionarily, it has

been analyzed that promiscuity may be an effective counter-strategy to infanticide (Lukas and Huchard, 2014). Using teste size as an indicator of sperm competition and promiscuity, findings have indicated that teste size increases after species transition to infanticide, and when infanticide is lost, teste size remains larger than prior (Lukas and Huchard, 2014). These findings may indicate that infanticide disappears from a lineage when females mate with multiple males to confuse the paternity of an offspring (Lukas and Huchard, 2014).

The rate of development in primates can vary due to a combination of environmental and genetic factors and increases due to infanticidal pressures (Badescu *et al.* 2016). In ursine colobus monkeys, this possible effect was studied using coat color as an indication of growth for infants since they are born completely white, transition to grey, and finally to the black and white coat that adults have. Under different pressures, it was found that infants under higher infanticide pressure developed past their white coats faster than those that were not. Infants with high infanticide pressure developed grey coats faster than others but transitioned at a slower rate to the adult black and white coat. Although their coats transitioned faster initially, many of the infants were still unweaned but were less likely to be victims of infanticide. These findings may indicate that coat color in ursine colobus monkeys is used by males to dictate which infants to kill, so accelerated growth and color change may be an adaptive advantage against infanticide.

Conclusion

Infanticide, the targeting of a non-related conspecific young and contributing to its immediate or pending death, is a behavior that has been observed in a wide range of species (Lukas and Huchard, 2014). In some species, infanticide can be a major contributor to infant mortality, and affect the passing on of genetics. Due to its contribution to infant death, it is assumed that this behavior may have an adaptive significance. Mammals specifically, spanning from pinnipeds to cats, rodents, and primates, have been observed to participate in infanticide (Lukas and Huchard, 2014). It is believed that infanticide is a violent manifestation of intrasexual and intersexual competition and is carried out by males and females of a species. Observations and data-based off primate behavior have been recorded with infanticide occurring in many species.

Examples of species that have been known to participate in infanticide are Hanuman langurs (*Presbytis entellus)*, ursine colobus (*Colobus vellerosus)*, golden snub-nosed monkeys (*Rhinopithecus roxellana)*, and Japanese macaques (*Macaca fuscata*). These species share common characteristics such as societal practices and lengthy biological cycles related to reproduction. There are a variety of hypotheses to describe the adaptive significance of infanticide committed by females and males and primarily focus on intrasexual competition of limited resources for reproduction, which can include space or the availability of partners. The primary hypothesis supporting infanticide is that the reproductive success of males depends on the availability of ovulating females. By killing infants related to other males, females can begin cycling sooner and raise offspring related to the new dominating male, and those offspring will have less competition. Infanticide increases the reproductive success of males, especially in societies where fertile females are monopolized by few males.

The killing of an individual's offspring can lead to costs, such as the expenditure of energy in the chase as well as physical damage due to the defense of the victim. However, these costs may be outweighed by the reproductive advantages related to mating with many females. Counter-strategies have also evolved with infanticide and include fighting back, forming long-term female-male bonds, promiscuity to confuse paternity, and accelerating growth rates in infants.

In summary, infanticide is a violent behavior that has evolved over vast amounts of time to increase the reproductive success of males and females and continues to occur in a variety of species. Counter strategies have evolved to combat the killing of offspring and will continue to evolve in tandem with infanticide.

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Rayne Billings is a third-year student who is studying Environmental Humanities. Much of her work is inspired by her experiences working with and living amongst the Southern Resident killer whales. She is passionate about writing and plans to continue to graduate school after graduating from the University of Alaska Southeast.

Materializing the "Gay Stroll"[1]: Toxic Killer Whales, Notions of Gender, and Ecological Change

In July of 2019, the *New York Times* released an article titled "Mother Orca Tahlequah and Her Dead Calf, One Year Later. How Did She Change the Conversation?" The article was referring to what had occurred the year prior in the waters of the Salish Sea: a young orca, Tahlequah, had carried her deceased calf on her rostrum for over 1,000 miles, prompting widespread media coverage and heartbreak that was heard around the world.[2] To prep for the article, the *New York Times* had put out a small survey asking readers to respond with how they believed Tahlequah's actions were still resonating, and if readers themselves were still thinking of her. One response stood out to me:

"Yes. Forever."[3]

I have read the article countless times since it was released – at first, in an effort to keep up with the conversation regarding the Southern Resident orcas, the whales I had spent several years working with before moving to Juneau, as a resource for academic essays and assignments, and sometimes just to feel the emotional strike of that quote, to be instantly brought back to watching Tahlequah first-hand back in 2018. The quote, while simple, has resonated with me deeply. To me, it exemplifies the experience of working with and loving the Southern Resident killer whales. My relationships to the whales – the intimate encounters with blubber, fin, and "whale snot" – while powerful and ethereal, have an underlying sense of dread attached to them.[4]

I suppose that is what happens when you fall in love with animals who, to simplify, are almost undoubtedly going to be extinct in your lifetime. However, through my experiences working with the Southern Residents, I have learned that conservationist politics are immensely complex and nuanced. I have witnessed antibiotic vaccines be given to starving orca calves, attended countless events dedicated to creating new environmental policy, and watched as the Residents visited the Salish Sea less and less. Witnessing is inherently powerful – that is why, even though I live 1,000 miles away from my former home of San Juan Island, I continue to feel every moment that I have spent with the residents, every moment I have spent fighting for them.

This essay is a space to grapple with these emotions, the lived experience of the Southern Residents, and the politics and biases that are present within conservationism. In particular, I will be looking at the Southern Residents' encounters with industrial pollutants such as PCBs and PBDEs. My writing, which sits at the intersections of animal studies, queer theory, and critical science studies, will analyze the ways in

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[1] Pollock, Anne. 2016. "Queering Endocrine Disruption." In *Object Oriented Feminism*, by Katherine Behar, 183 - 199. University of Minnesota Press.
[2] Mapes, Lynda V. 2019. "Mother Orca Tahlequah and Her Dead Calf, One Year Later. How Did She Change the Conversation?" *The New York Times*, July 24.
[3] Mapes, 2019.
[4] "Whale Snot" refers to the spray that occurs when the whales breathe. When they come up close to you, you get covered in it.

which industrial pollutants are a representative method of world-making that has overarching consequences for the ways that we understand animals, bodies, and ecological change.

The presence of toxins – from pesticides, paints, agricultural waste, plastics, batteries, and more – is a far-reaching, well-known threat.[5] During discussions of toxins and industrial pollutants, killer whales are a common subject. They are often seen as the "canary in the coal mine," a future-telling ball for what is to come of humanity.[6] Killer whales have brought the subject of industrial pollutants to the mainstream environmental imaginary, from articles detailing the eventual demise of the world's killer whale population to photographs of dead orcas washed ashore with toxin levels so high they were unreadable.[7]

Perhaps the most well-recognized example of intoxicated killer whales came through Tahlequah, a young member of J pod. In the summer of 2018, Tahlequah gave birth to a calf that passed away within 30 minutes of being born and proceeded to carry the deceased calf on a "tour of grief" that covered over 1,000 miles.[8] Her journey was recognized world-wide through daily news coverage. This incident, along with the soon-following death of Scarlet, a 4-year-old calf, led to the mainstream explosion of "whale politics," which formerly lived in a niche group of killer whale advocates, or "Dorcas." Nowadays, the world of the Southern Residents, idyllic as it was, is a battleground of discursive politics that are enacted through the media, personal interactions between community members, and environmental policy decisions.

Tahlequah's tour of grief evoked the concept of necropolitics and "slow death," the way that our experiences in a Western capitalist regime allow for large populations to die in the name of technological advancement or resource extraction.[9] This has led to the existence of a "capitalist-world-ecology" in which capitalism is a process of world-making that is "dependent on the (un)availability of cheap nature."[10] The whales, instead of being "outsiders" to human society, are steeped in this capitalist-world-ecology. Their material experiences with industrial toxins, habitat degradation, and decreased amounts of salmon showcase this.

Current conservationist efforts grossly oversimplify the causes of the residents' demise, portraying their near-inevitable extinction as a failure on behalf of the individual, as opposed to systemic, societal environmental degradation. The conversations almost always focus on salmon habitat restoration and vessel noise from

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[5] Unknown. n.d. "Toxic Waste." Wikipedia. Accessed February 12, 2021. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Toxic_waste.

[6] Carrington, Damian. 2018. "Orca 'Apocalypse': Half of Killer Whales Doomed to Die From Pollution." *The Guardian*, September.

[7] Carrington, 2018; Young, Ed. 2018. "The Lingering Curse That's Killing Killer Whales." *The Atlantic*.

[8] Mapes, 2019.

[9] Lykke, Nina. 2019. "Making Live and Letting Die: Cancerous Bodies Between Anthropocene Necropolitics and Chthulucene Kinship." *Environmental Humanities* 108-136.

[10] Henry, Matthew S. 2019. "Extractive Fictions and Postextraction Futurisms: Energy and Environmental Justice in Appalachia." *Environmental Humanities*.

whale-watching boats, which leaves out the true complexity of the issues the whales are facing. Notably, the fact that the whales' blubber is ridden with industrial pollutants, primarily polychlorinated biphenyls (PCBs), is all but absent.[11] These PCBs accumulate in the blubber of large mammals through their encounters with human pollution and create a system of "double-death," where the death of some organisms is no longer able to sustain the lives of others; the death of salmon, the whales' primary prey source, facilitates the whales' exposure to harmful chemical pollutants.[12]

These pollutants in the Southern Residents' blubber link them to a larger chemo-social community that makes up the Salish Sea. Chemosociality, much like biosociality, is the production of communities that were created through shared experiences with industrial pollutants.[13] The everyday lives of the inhabitants of the Salish Sea region are suspended in the strongholds of industrial pollutants. Chemo-social communities occur around the world and are an example of the ways in which material bodies become entangled with the global commodity chain. For instance, when the Deepwater Horizon Oil Spill occurred in 2010, citizens of the affected regions were given the opportunity to share their experiences with government officials, which led to what was remarked to be a "nightmarish" account of the spill.[14] At one meeting, a local woman interrupted the officials to hand out lab reports of a recent blood sample, stating "I have poly-aromatic hydrocarbons in my blood, I need help."[15] Her pleas were ignored by the officials, who stated that because her concerns were not related to the "natural" environment, they could not help her.[16] Our bodies are stories and texts that can serve as "vast archives of toxic substances and discourses, and political, social, and medical conflicts."[17] Industrial pollutants bring up questions of "response-ability" and livability; who is left trivial after an encounter with industrial pollutants, who is not worth saving?

It is no surprise that these chemo-social communities – the intoxicated waters of both the Salish Sea and the Gulf of Mexico – form in coastal areas. According to Gaston Bachelard's *Water and Dreams: An Essay on the Imagination of Matter,* "the world wants to see itself…water reveals…water is a large, tranquil eye."[18] In this sense, "water is imagination made material" – contact with water leaves eternal effects that

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[11] Unknown. n.d. "Causes of Decline Among Southern Resident Killer Whales." *University of Washington Center for Conservation Biology.* Accessed February 12, 2021. https://conservationbiology.uw.edu/research-programs/killer-whales/.
[12] Rose, Deborah Bird. n.d. "Double Death." *The Multispecies Salon*. Accessed February 12, 2021. https://www.multispecies-salon.org/double-death/.
[13] Kirksey, Eben. 2020. "Chemosociality in Multispecies Worlds: Endangered Frogs and Toxic Possibilities in Sydney." *Environmental Humanities* 23-50.
[14] Bond, David. 2013. "Governing Disaster: The Political Life of the Environment During the BP Oil Spill." *Cultural Anthropology*.
[15] Bond, 2013.
[16] Bond, 2013.
[17] Straube, Wibke. 2020. "Toxic Bodies: Ticks, Trans Bodies, and the Ethics of Response-ability in Art and Activist Writing." *Environmental Humanities* 216-238.
[18] Bachelard, Gaston. 1999. *Water and Dreams: An Essay on the Imagination of Matter.* Dallas Institute of Humanities and Culture.

can be felt everywhere.[19] Killer whales serve as corporeal links to this "imagination" – as highly intelligent, charismatic beings, they require wit(h)nessing, demand new forms of relationship cultivation, and push the boundaries of the nature/culture divide. The unique and "unexplainable" experiences that people have with the Southern Residents force us to recognize that "nature" transgresses boundaries and does not restrain itself to artificial walls.

Again, we are brought back to the story of Tahlequah and the Southern Residents. Due to the Residents' proximity to large urban areas, they consume 6.6 times more PCBs through their diet than other killer whale populations.[20] PCBs and industrial pollutants have several direct effects on killer whale health – for instance, they are "endocrine disruptors," meaning that they interfere with both hormone signaling and the ways that the body activates hormone signal pathways. This can lead to reproductive concerns, cancers, and a lowered immune defense. For instance, in 2000, Everett, a 23-year-old Southern Resident, was found deceased in British Columbia.[21] The necropsy showed that he died from what should have been a simple bacterial infection; however, his body had not produced any immune response, leading to his death.[22] In 2014, Rhapsody, an 18-year-old female, was found dead due to an infection caused by a miscarried calf.[23] Many of the whales are infertile – in the Southern Resident population, about 70% of pregnancies end in miscarriage.[24]

However, it is extremely rare for notions of industrial pollutants to be present anywhere outside of the scientific community, and when they are mentioned, the authors are accused of being overly negative. For instance, in early February of 2021, an article titled "Is It Too Late for the Southern Resident Orcas?" was released in *Outside Magazine*. This article was highly comprehensive and featured an interview with Ken Balcomb, leading researcher of the Southern Residents.[25] In the article, he opened up about the fact that it is likely too late for the whales due to the high rates of infertility and miscarriage in the population.[26] The next day, an article was released by "Wild Orca," an organization focused on Southern Resident conservation, titled "It's Not Too Late for the Southern Residents," which only discussed salmon habitat

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[19] Hayward, Eva. 2010. "Fingeryeyes: Impressions of Cup Corals." *Cultural Anthropology* 577-599.
[20] Unknown. n.d. "Causes of Decline Among Southern Resident Killer Whales." *University of Washington Center for Conservation Biology.* Accessed February 12, 2021. https://conservationbiology.uw.edu/research-programs/killer-whales/.
[21] Hansen, Cindy. n.d. "The Story of Rhapsody, J32: A Remarkable Life and Early Death." *Southern Resident Killer Whale Chinook Salmon Initiative.* Accessed February 7, 2021.
[22] Hansen, n.d.
[23] Hansen, n.d.
[24] Guy, Allison. 2017. "Endangered Orcas Are Losing Their Unborn Babies Because They're Starving." *Oceania*. July.
[25] Denardo, Catherine. 2021. "Is It Too Late for the Southern Resident Orcas?" *Outside Magazine*, February 3.
[26] Denardo, 2021.

restoration.[27] Facts relating to the industrial pollutants and contaminants inside of the Southern Residents are hidden from the mainstream media and hushed within the whale community. Unfortunately, placing all of the blame on decreased salmon stocks is a magical way of thinking that only does more to harm the residents. Instead of viewing their issues as complicated and nuanced, they are one-sided, and the blame is placed back on the individual for not "doing enough" to help salmon.

In this essence, the Southern Residents have been willingly "dumped."[28] By refusing to allow a multi-dimensional conservationist approach, or even have healthy conversations regarding their almost inevitable extinction, they have been transformed into an icon of wilderness restoration and human anxieties regarding climate change, the death of wildlife, and our own death. The large majority of funding goes towards tertiary projects, such as restoring small streams in the Cascade Mountains or hosting events to encourage people to buy "salmon-friendly" tires (green capitalism at its best), as corporations continue to pollute the waters of the Salish Sea.[29] Despite all this funding and attention, salmon stocks in Western Washington have still been decreasing at a rapid pace.[30]

Issues of environmental concern are often rooted in necropolitics, or perceptions of "who is worth saving" and what constitutes a proper body. Current ideologies do not make space for those whose bodies are seen as deviating from the norm – those whose lives are fundamentally changed by their encounters with chemicals and industrial pollutants, such as the Southern Residents, raise questions of how to care for "unloved others."[31] Wibke Straube, founder of the Nordic Network for Transgender Studies, describes how "lethal toxicity is part of a larger system, which is material, discursive, infrastructural, social, medical, and generally discriminatory."[32] Both transgender bodies and wastebed killer whales exemplify a "sex panic," which raise questions of heteronormative morality.[33] The fact that the Southern Residents are unable to reproduce – i.e, engage in what is seen as the end goal of animal existence – places them in an uncanny space between "wild animal" and "cultural product." They are no longer contributing members to the ecological world, but they are not entirely of human creation and domesticable.

Those whose lives are fundamentally changed by encounters with endocrine disruptors – such as people undergoing HRT (hormone replacement therapy) or endangered killer whales – are often viewed as "freaks of nature" and question what it means to be *natural.* Abstractions of nature are inherently linked to bodies who deviate

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[27] —. 2021. "It's Not Too Late for the Southern Resident Orcas." *Wild Orca*, February 4.
[28] Mardner, Michael. 2019. "Being Dumped." *Environmental Humanities* 180-193.
[29] Baggaley, Kate. 2020. "Salmon are Dying Off and Your Car Tires Might Be to Blame." *Popular Science*, December.
[30] Fazio, Marie. 2021. "Northwest's Salmon Population May Be Running out of Time." *The New York Times*, January.
[31] Straube, 2020.
[32] Straube, 2020.
[33] Pollock, Anne. 2016. "Queering Endocrine Disruption." In *Object Oriented Feminism*, by Katherine Behar, 183-199. *University of Minnesota Press.*

from established norms, as these bodies are "mapped along boundaries of inside and out, natural and unnatural."[34] Queer/transgender theory provides a framework with which to challenge these heterocentric ideals – as stated by transgender studies scholar Oliver Bendorf, "transgender studies might find a bridge between critical theory, landscape ecology, and animal behavior to think about how we form communities and navigate vulnerability in metropolitan and rural areas."[35]

The linking of being trans and being animal – often simply referred to as "tranimals"[36] – is an attempt to "trace sexualized alterities that rework 'culture' and 'nature.'"[37] Be aware, this is not an antagonistic alliance, rather, a method of understanding two historically "unloved" others through networks of multispecies relations. Harlan Weaver, a transgender studies scholar, further elaborates on this by stating that "trans species [or tranimals] reveal how coconstitutive identities and ways of being happen through species differences."[38] The genderqueer and the non-human meet in a landscape of "geopolitical trauma" – far from the realm of idealism, rather, in the materialist "eventualization of life."[39] Rather than serve as another foray into identity politics, tranimals serve to focus on "trans-infused apprehensions and engagements with the expansive world of possibility opened up by non-anthropocentric perspectives" and "entangle and enmesh trans and animals in a generative tension leading to alternative ways of envisioning futures of embodiment, aesthetics, biopolitics, climates, and ethics."[40]

The experience of being trans and/or queer embodies various temporalities and timescales that have been used to further the pathologization of these identities.[41] For instance, the idea of being trans or queer is seen as "backwards" or "atavistic."[42] Notions and timescales of family and reproductivity, in particular, have been used as a way to challenge belonging and what is "natural." As Lee Edelman, author of *No Future: Queer Theory and the Death Drive* argued, "queer subjects and their non-reproductive temporalities cannot, and should not, be assimilated into a drive towards progress and should reject the saccharine temptation of belonging to a temporal 'good' world where assimilation requires the erasure of their life-giving ecstasies."[43] Instead, he argued to "fuck the social order and the Child in whose name we're collectively terrorized."[44] Playfully, I claim that the Southern Residents' childless "gay stroll" should be viewed as having an innate value in itself – although their

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[34] Bendorf, Oliver. 2014. "Nature." *Transgender Studies Quarterly* 136-137.
[35] Bendorf, 2014.
[36] Kelley, Lindsay. 2014. "Tranimals." *Transgender Studies Quarterly* 226-228.
[37] Hayward, 2010.
[38] Weaver, Harlan. 2014. "Trans Species." *Transgender Studies Quarterly* 253-254.
[39] Weaver, 2014.
[40] Hayward, Eva. 2015. "Introduction: Tranimalities in the Age of Trans* Life." *Transgender Studies Quarterly* 195-208.
[41] Fisher, Simon D. Elin. 2017. "Trans Temporalities." *Somatechnics*.
[42] Fisher, 2.
[43] Edelman, Lee. 2004. *No Future: Queer Theory and the Death Drive*. Duke University Press.
[44] Lee, 2004.

"sociality is circumscribed (no intergenerational community), it is not erased…The stroll is neither suicidal nor solitary. These… [killer whales] are living in the moment for themselves, rather than for children."[45] As stated by Donna Haraway – "the cyborg does not dream of community on the model of the organic family."[46]

Reproductivity and childbearing, in particular, are often "linked to gender ideologies and imaginaries about male and female bodies."[47] For instance, the ways that notions of heterosexuality permeate scientific guidebooks for marine mammals often describe their behaviors using draconian assignments of binary sex and sexual identity.[48] When the animal's behavior does not align with what is seen as "moral" or "conventional," they are criminalized with harsh, obstructive language, despite the supposed role of science as objective and removed.[49] This exemplifies what Lynda Birke describes as the "ghost of biology."[50] The idea that aspects of biology – such as sex and sexuality – are fixed is an implicit narrative, or "animal symbiotic," that materializes gender as fixed and retells heteronormative tales.[51] Encounters with trans bodies breach the "animal symbiotic" by "challenging the terms of 'the human.'"[52] The notion of biopossibility, the "species and context specific capacity to embody socially meaningful traits and desires," is a tool for "naturecultural thinking" that can assist in resisting "evidentiary schemas that support fixed ideas of what we are and might become."[53]

Refusing to do so can quickly transform animals from moral, productive members of capitalism to "pests" or "unloved others" meant to be discarded. This can be theorized with a quote from Jo Freeman's 1976 essay, "Trashing: The Dark Side of Sisterhood," where she states, "This attack is accomplished by making you feel that your very existence in inimical to the Movement and that nothing can change this short of ceasing to exist."[54] Because the whales do not align with conventional environmental narratives and are being threatened by something invisible and impossible to remove, our individualist-focused methods of "fixing" environmental crises do not apply to them. Elaborating on this further, professor of global health Anne Pollock states that "They become objects of a more total version of environmentalist

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[45] Pollock, 186.
[46] Haraway, Donna. 1985. *A Cyborg Manifesto*. Socialist Review.
[47] Garcia, Maria Elena. 2019. "Death of a Guinea Pig: Grief and the Limits of Multispecies Ethnography in Peru." *Environmental Humanities* 351-372.9
[48] Gumbs, Alexis Pauline. 2020. *Undrowned: Black Feminist Lessons from Marine Mammals*. AK Press.
[49] Gumbs, 6.
[50] Alaimo, Stacy. 2010. *Bodily Natures: Science, Environment, and the Material Self.* Indiana University Press.
[51] Nurka, Camille. 2015. "Animal Techne: Transing Posthumanism." *Transgender Studies Quarterly* 209 - 226.
[52] Nurka, 211.
[53] Willey, Angela. 2016. "Biopossibility: A Queer Feminist Materialist Science Studies Manifesto, with Special Reference to the Question of Monogamous Behavior." *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society.*
[54] Pollock, 191.

eradication fantasies toward so-called alien species, because the altered… [killer whales] do not even have an elsewhere in which their presence might be appropriate. These…[killer whales] are stigmatized for being trashed, and they are talked about as if they are the embodiment of trash. In that kind of logic, the queers produced by toxic waste themselves become disposable."[55]

Michael Marder, an environmental philosopher, theorizes current states of environmental degradation and wildlife extinction as a "global dump" where everyone is interconnected through the toxicity of "bodily tissues, senses, and minds."[56] This dump is "life's [in a Western capitalist regime] unforeseen side effect."[57] The dump is laden with toxicity – inside, "noxious thoughts and poisoned senses, toxic built environments, social milieus, and contaminated ecosystems merge and reinforce one another."[58] According to Marder, encounters with toxins allow us to defamiliarize the body and allow us to experience the other as kin in an animated chemo-social community.[59] After all, rendezvous with industrial pollutants are not species-specific.

Endocrine disrupting toxins are an "unavoidable copresence;" thus, it is crucial to understand the current conditions of wildlife, landscapes, and environments and learn to live with "altered" lifestates.[60] The notion of biological sex should be viewed as a "reaction norm" that is part of a larger, discursive network of identities that is fluctuating and flexible, not static.[61] Encounters with industrial pollutants are neither "utopic or dystopic," rather, they "open the realization that bodies are lively and rejoinders to environments and changing ecosystems."[62]

Slippery and uncontainable, the Southern Residents – like trans – refuse boundaries, "reject a binary between fragmentation and wholeness," and "refuse Edenic ecological imaginaries" that many killer whale conservationists affirm.[63] Rather, they evoke queer perceptions where queer is "potential in a world that companion species share."[64] Trans-theorizing allows an understanding of the human as "*within* and *of* ecological relations."[65] Edenic environmentalism – like a belief that fixing salmon habitat will solve all of the population issues the residents are facing – is easily disproved by understanding that the "technologized trans body, the denatured earth, and the awareness of our contingent species-being commands that there can be no

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[55] Pollock, 192.
[56] Mardner, 2019.
[57] Mardner, 2019.
[58] Mardner, 2019.
[59] Mardner, 2019.
[60] Ah-King, Malin. 2019. "Toxic Sexes: Perverting Pollution and Queering Hormone Disruption." *Technosphere Magazine*. March 20. Accessed February 9, 2021. https://technosphere-magazine.hkw.de/p/Toxic-Sexes-Perverting-Pollution-and-Queering-Hormone-Disruption-w19PngN1pNwssGrnNm7hmy.
[61] Malin, 2019.
[62] Malin, 2019.
[63] Woelfle-Erskine, Cleo. 2015. "Transfiguring the Anthropocene: Stochastic Reimaginings of Human-Beaver Worlds." *Transgender Studies Quarterly* 297-316.
[64] Woelfle-Erskine, 308.
[65] Woelfle-Erskine, 308.

return to nature."[66] The nature that we knew, that the residents knew, that the salmon knew, is past. Instead of ignoring the harder-to-reckon-with facts and promoting superficial green capitalism, there should be an acknowledgment of the ways they have adapted to and cultivated a delicate chemo-social community – the "Yes. Forevers," the hundreds who follow their news and devote their time, money, and lives to them, the people who, like me, spend every day attempting to witness them.[67]

After all, the whales will one day be gone. However, what will be left are the relationships that are built between us and the landscape. It is these relationships that will guide restoration forward. Yes, it is sad that they will be gone; I know that I – along with thousands more – will miss them dearly, but because of them, I have gained a place in a spirited and lively community. Until then, I will continue to watch the whales.

[66] Nurka, 223.
[67] Mapes, 2019.

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Edgar Allan Poe's "The Philosophy of Composition" and "The Bells"

Throughout his tumultuous career as a literato, Poe always strived to stand out amongst other writers, and "The Philosophy of Composition" is most certainly an example of this effort. In his essay, "The Philosophy of Composition," Poe lays out very strict, precise rules for how to write a commercially successful poem. While *Eureka* turns science into art, "The Philosophy of Composition" turns art into science. Poe claims it is this approach that made "The Raven" his most famous work. Though Poe never explicitly revealed writing "The Bells" in a similar fashion, it definitely presents itself as a resemblance or, rather, a response to the calculatory essay. On the surface, "The Bells" may appear very chaotic, passion-driven, and written in a state of frenzy—the very opposite of what Poe believes makes a well-written poem—but Poe gives the chaos a sense of purpose and order. In this essay, I argue that "The Bells" implements several features of "The Philosophy of Composition," namely as it appeals to his focal call for originality, which encompasses the length, the *dénoument,* and the refrain.

The basis of "The Philosophy of Composition" lies in Poe's assertion that poetry should be written "with the precision and rigid consequence of a mathematical problem" (677). He begins by providing an exact number for the length of a poem: "I conceived the proper *length* for my intended poem—a length of about one hundred lines" (677). Indeed, "The Bells" runs at 112 lines. While 112 lines may seem long, Poe argues that long poems are simply short poems put together: "What we term a long poem is, in fact, merely a succession of brief ones–that is to say, of brief poetical effects" (677). "The Bells" is split into four stanzas, varying in length, yet all still relatively short. Each stanza of "The Bells" is a different scene, or phase, of the general notion of the subject matter at hand: bells. The beginning two are very joyous in nature: the first describing sleigh bells, "Hear the sledges with the bells–/Silver bells!" (l. 1-2), and the second talks of marriage bells, "Hear the mellow wedding bells–/Golden bells!" (1. 15-16). The final two stanzas, however, shift in tone. They are darker, more ominous, and frightening, portraying alarm bells and funeral bells: "Hear the loud alarum bells–/Brazen bells!" (l. 36-37) and "Hear the tolling of the bells–/Iron Bells... In the silence of the night/How we shiver with affright" (l. 70-71, 73-74). They each represent a different perspective on bells, and how they can possess a multitude of meanings. These varying tones implemented throughout the poem also speak to Poe's ideas about contrast, which help promote originality as the most distinct goal of any and all poetry: "Keeping originality *always* in view" (676). Combining shorter stanzas concentrated with meaning to sustain reader interest (or the *effect*, as Poe would say), with each stanza being varied, yet centered around the same topic, allows for this originality to shine through within a longer poem.

Alongside Poe's regulations on the brevity of poetry is the notion of the *dénoument,* or the finale, the ending. Poe writes that the *dénoument* should be present in the poem from the very beginning: "It is only with the *dénoument* constantly in view that we can give a plot its indispensable air of consequence, or causation, by making the incidents, and especially the tone at all points, tend to the development of the intention" (675). With the first two stanzas being optimistic in nature—contrasting the

last two—the *dénoument* peeks through in the form of foreshadowing by consistently repeating the idea of the future, planting seeds of doubt in readers early on. In stanza one: "*What* a world of merriment their melody foretells!... In a sort of Runic rhyme..." (l. 3, 10). In the second stanza: "*What* a world of happiness their harmony foretells!... How it dwells/On the Future!" (l. 17, 28-29). In the third stanza, the vocabulary switches from "foretells" to "tells", signaling a fulfillment of what was predicted in the first two stanzas: "*What* a tale of terror, now, their turbulence tells!" (l. 38). Emphasizing the word "*What*" gives these lines a sarcastic, bitter quality that is unbecoming of the overall cheerful tones of the two initial stanzas. Furthermore, the use of the word "now" situates the poem in the present, of something actively happening. The fourth and final stanzas place themselves firmly in the grasp of action by replacing "foretells" from the first and second stanzas, and "tells" from the third stanza with "compels" in the fourth and final stanza: "*What* a world of solemn thought their monody compels!" (l. 72). The bells are literally and figuratively given a voice and can therefore communicate within the poem and outside of it, that is, to readers. From the onset, the *dénoument*, which is the death bell ringing to signal the end, is anticipated, if not predicted. "The Bells" serves as a classic "before, during, after" story that revolves around a central theme as it passes through time, changing with every phase of its textual life.

The refrain itself is a culmination of multiple rules of poetry Poe discusses in the essay, "The Philosophy of Composition." It is the sum of the "*universally* appreciable" (678) subject (the union of beauty and melancholy), the subject who repeats it (a *what* rather than a *who*), and the effect of its repetition. This refrain is also where the poem comes to a head, like the raven's relentlessly woeful cawing of the single word, "nevermore." Each stanza begins with a call to listen to the bells, with the adjective describing the bells changing with each stanza, each dramatically shifting in tone: "Hear the sledges with the bells—, Hear the mellow wedding bells–, Hear the loud alarum bells—, Hear the tolling of the bells—" (l. 1, 15, 36, 70). This is one refrain, but the poem contains another refrain– the lines which the entire poem revolves around: bells, of course. The second to last line of each stanza is a repetition of bells: "Bells, bells, bells—" (l. 13, 34, 68, 111). According to "The Philosophy of Composition," a "universally appreciable" subject is one that is both beautiful, yet melancholic, for "Beauty is the sole legitimate province of the poem" (678) and melancholy is the "*tone* of its [beauty's] highest manifestation... the most legitimate of all the poetic tones" (678). Indeed, Poe very clearly and explicitly depicts the contrast between—or rather the progression of—beauty and melancholy in "The Bells." As previously discussed, the poem operates in four stanzas, each describing a different scene, but divided by tone: the first two are joyous, and the last two are more sinister.

In a poem, Poe states, contrast has the effect of "deepening the ultimate impression" (682). The reason that the totality of the poem comes off as perhaps more of a progression of beauty into melancholy rather than a contrast is because "The Bells" does not necessarily follow a before/after or a then/now binary. It is more so about a cycle, a transition from one to the other, and this is what ultimately deepens the "ultimate impression" Poe speaks of, which is that bells take on various meanings, various levels of value and significance, over the course of our lives. This brings us back to the variation in the words "foretells," "tells," and "compels"—the agency of

the bell evolves along with the poem, further solidifying its transformational constitution. Hence, too, the title emphasizing the plural in the "The Bells" rather than the singular "The Bell." There are sleigh bells of childhood, wedding bells and alarm bells of adulthood, and funeral bells at burials that may all come and go in life, but at least they are a constant no matter what form they take. The refrain is the grounding yet dynamic anchor to the poem, as its meaning evolves with each stanza.

Interestingly, Poe describes the refrain as a "burden" (679), for the effect that it has on both the narrator or character it is being said to *within* the poem, and also on the reader *of* the poem. There is also the idea of a non-human subject repeating it: "Here, then, immediately arose the idea of a *non*-reasoning creature capable of speech" (679). It is not a person or even an animal who has the power of the refrain. It is exactly that: an *it*, a thing. The only true subject, voice, or even character of the poem are the bells themselves, in all the assorted forms they present themselves in. Poe, however, goes against his assertion in the essay that the refrain is "limited to lyric voice" and "depends for its impression upon the force of the monotone" (679) because "The Bells" is about as musical a poem could get. Again, Poe's main goal, first and foremost, is originality. While the refrain itself is quite musical, it is not a pleasing form of musicality; it is dissonant, oppressing, and overpowering, especially as the jolly tone of the first two stanzas progressively becomes darker.

The poem is comprised of a high volume of onomatopoeias, which aid in the overall effect of hearing bells, but the repetition of the word "bells" and all the words used that describe its variety of sounds quickly become overwhelming to readers. By the end of the first stanza, the word "bells" has been used so much that it almost loses meaning and is stripped to its barest form: its sound. In addition to the onomatopoeias, "The Bells" also makes use of trochees for the repetition of the line "the bells," which Poe suggests aids in the general aim of originality: "The effect of this originality of combination is aided by other unusual, and some altogether, novel effects, arising from an extension of the application of the principles of rhyme and alliteration" (681). In this way, Poe subverts traditional uses of musicality in poetry by replacing comfortable iambs with the unsettling trochee. Although the refrain in "The Bells" appears to challenge Poe's views on the requirement of monotony, it most certainly serves as a burden, but not in the way readers would expect it to.

It would be a disservice to Poe to dismiss "The Bells" as a disordered, frenzied mess of a poem. Although it may appear as such at first blush, once we cross-examine the poem with Poe's essay, "The Philosophy of Composition," it is clear to see that there is a method to the madness, so to speak. In this way, he accomplishes a masterful preservation of his own unique method within the bounds of traditional approaches to the craft of poetry. Writing poetry with very strict rules in mind might appear counterintuitive to the impassioned art of creative writing, but in the case of "The Bells," it opens up a whole new world of interpretations to consider that otherwise might have gone unexplored without its guidance, especially with a poem that can so easily be disregarded and misunderstood for making use of more elementary devices. As always, Poe's work never ceases to creatively dismantle binaries that so many writers before him have embraced in their texts. Ultimately, "The Bells" is a formally and conceptually complex poem that both gradually numbs the audience to the word "bells" while imparting new meanings to it with every stanza. It takes both a

disorienting yet comprehensive exploration of a noun, and in a very Poe-esque manner, turns it on on its head with grace and poise.

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Berni Hein began college at age 75 as a freshman at UAS in fall 2019. She is seeking an AA degree. She wrote this essay for Dr. Sol Neely's class, Writing and the Humanities. The assignment was to compare the Vietnam War, as portrayed in Tim O'Brien's *The Things They Carried*, with the COVID-19 pandemic. Berni was the only person in class who lived through both events, so she was allowed to write about her personal experiences.

The Home Front: The Vietnam War vs. the "War" on COVID-19

As a witness to history, the two wars that have personally affected me the most are the Vietnam War and the so-called "war" on COVID-19, the current pandemic. While the latter is not, strictly speaking, a war in the traditional sense, it is being described and analogized in the media with the metaphors, euphemisms, and terminology of war. These wars are separated by 45 years, yet they share a number of similar features, as well as differences. I think it is fair to say that, politically and culturally, the Vietnam War is still being fought. Divisions back then gave birth to the polarization we have now. Many Americans still blame our loss in Vietnam on liberal politicians, the news media, and the whole 1960's counter-culture (Achenbach). The current culture war and political polarization are largely in reaction to all that. Like the vets returning from Vietnam, COVID-19 arrived in a very divided country. We live in two different realities, with separate sources of news and information and different beliefs about truth, science, and the purpose of government. Our polarization prevents us from presenting a united front against COVID-19.

The Vietnam War

Although the fight for an independent Vietnam had been going on since the end of World War II, U. S. military involvement there did not come to the attention of most Americans until 1964 with the controversial Gulf of Tonkin Incident (Paterson). President Lyndon Johnson used a questionable attack on a U.S. destroyer by a North Vietnamese vessel as an excuse to drastically increase U.S. involvement, with the asserted goal of stopping a communist takeover of South Vietnam (Paterson; Joint Resolution). It was part of the "domino theory" which assumed that if South Vietnam fell to the communists, all of Southeast Asia would follow (History.com).

For me and my family, however, the Vietnam War did not really hit home until 1967 when my brother David, the older of my two younger brothers, was drafted into the Army and sent to Vietnam for the standard one-year tour of duty. As Simon Ortiz said, "When passing through, one gets caught up in things." David recalls that at the start of his assignment to the 68th Assault Helicopter Company, he was in his company commander's office asking to be allowed to fly instead of working in the hangar. In walked a lieutenant, who said, "I just lost another one." The captain looked at my brother and said, "Here is your new man." The next day, my brother went directly into combat as a crew chief on a helicopter gunship. He skipped both the standard four-month work in the hangar and the required four-month duty on a helicopter troop carrier. He was in combat his entire tour of duty.

I asked David to read Tim O'Brien's *The Things They Carried* (O'Brien) and to give me his impressions. He said:

> Let me tell you about the things we humped. Gunships didn't land; they were designed to come in low to protect the ground troops that were pinned down. They also accompanied troop carriers into battle, coming in hot [firing their weapons] in order for the slicks to land safely. Because the ship's rockets, fired by the pilot, were stationary, the pilot had to aim the whole ship at the target. The co-pilot operated guns on the sides that were linked to the crosshairs in his

> helmet. Whichever way he turned his head, the gun turned. The door gunners had the most flexibility; their M-60's hung from bungee cords. They were forced to leave a battle when they ran low on fuel or ammo. When they returned to a refueling station, the crew chief jumped out and raised the steel side doors that protected the pilot and co-pilot, so they could exit the cockpit. The door gunners, black from head to toe with gunpowder, threw belts of ammo on their shoulders and ran back and forth to the ship. They loaded nine rockets on each side, refueled, reloaded, and flew back into battle. With 10,000 rounds of ammo and a full tank, a gunship needed a landing strip to take off because of all the weight.

David said that the pilot and co-pilot were encased in large armored seats, plus the metal side doors. The door gunners sat at the open doors on aluminum-and-nylon chairs. The mortality rate was high for door gunners.

My brother was wounded twice and came home a decorated veteran, but he returned to a different country than the one he left. During his time in Vietnam, which included the January 1968 Tet Offensive, American attitudes about the war had changed and popular support had declined dramatically (Pach). The well-respected CBS News anchor Walter Cronkite, after touring Vietnam for a month following Tet, aired his report on the progress of the war (Achenbach). It was negative, and TV viewers paid attention. That included President Johnson, who reportedly said, "If I've lost Cronkite, I've lost Middle America" (Achenbach). *The New York Times* then called for negotiations, instead of escalation. Shortly thereafter, Johnson announced he would not seek re-election.

Back then there were only three national TV networks. They all broadcast nightly news coverage of the war, which Americans watched every night during dinner. This was the first U.S. war covered by television. *The New Yorker* magazine's TV critic, Michael Arlen, dubbed it the "Living Room War" (Pach; Arlen). We saw film footage of American troops, mostly teenagers, burning Vietnamese villages. We saw Buddhist monks immolating themselves in protest. We saw searing images of naked civilians running from our napalm bombs. We saw a steady stream of body bags and flag-draped coffins that signified the growing numbers of American dead.

For the families of the men fighting in Vietnam, all these images increased our worries and concerns. Our only means of communicating with them were the many letters written back and forth. These made it clear to us that the president and the military were lying to the public. They were giving false and optimistic assurances that we were winning the war, that "we were turning a corner," and that they could "see the light at the end of the tunnel" (Valentine). The parents who lived and fought through WWII were now wondering what they had done by encouraging their sons to fight for their country in Vietnam.

The year after David came home, my other brother, Dyle, was drafted and also sent to Vietnam. After all the uncertainty and worry of having one brother in combat for a year, and the relief we felt that he came home in one piece, having the youngest called up was devastating to our family. They were two very different men. While David was confident, patriotic, and willing to fight for what he thought was right, Dyle felt the war was wrong. He was never one to unquestioningly obey authority, and he did not want

to go. This was not going to be a good fit, and we all knew it and feared it. Canada was an option, if one were willing to sacrifice hopes, dreams, and family ties, but Dyle did not see that as a plausible choice. So, another brother and son we had loved from birth was off to war.

Dyle was assigned to a combat engineer unit that built roads and landing strips. They worked 16 hours a day, with little food and water. When six-foot Dyle returned home, he weighed only 128 pounds. He drove a two-and-a-half-ton truck that sprayed liquid tar on the roads. The Viet Cong saw these roads and airstrips as essential for their own future use, so they never attacked during construction. Combat and patrols came later, after the unit's work was completed and the attacks began. Dyle's war was different from the sanitary portrayal of combat in O'Brien's work, which is always at a distance. This is not the kind of combat either of my brothers fought. O'Brien, in his critique of heroism, never mentions the pushback by U. S. troops against authority. By the time Dyle was "in country," many of the troops had become disillusioned, rebellious, and drug-addicted. They could no longer understand why they were there. They were just hanging on, hoping to survive until their year was up (Seidman).

Dyle said that he and the men he fought with felt as if they were fighting a war on two fronts. When they questioned authority, they were told, "*We're* not telling you what to do. These orders are from our commanders." Near the end of Dyle's stint, his unit commander was replaced by someone fresh out of officer's school. He was there to reorganize and straighten them out. When Dyle refused a direct order to walk point on patrol when his glasses were broken, he faced a court-martial. He appealed to a colonel he had worked with, and the charges were dropped. Because the military can never be completely wrong, however, they barred him from ever re-enlisting -- a hardship we have all laughed about for almost 50 years.

I have one indelible memory from the home front of the Vietnam War. Dyle's absence was all the more difficult because the war was dragging on with no end in sight. We stopped watching the evening news because it was too painful to bear. My parents came home one evening and rushed into the living room to turn on the radio. They had just heard the news about the My Lai massacre on the car radio. They stood in their coats, listening in shock. I had never seen my parents look so defeated. They were literally holding each other up. Having a child at war was difficult to bear, especially after realizing they had lost trust in the military and the government, and they wondered whether our country still stood for traditional American values.

The COVID-19 War

The current coronavirus pandemic began late 2019 in China (Johns Hopkins). COVID-19 is an acronym given by the World Health Organization. COVI stands for coronavirus, the D stands for disease, and the 19 designates the year it broke out (CDC "Why"). Some suggest it started with contaminated food in an open wild-animal market in Wuhan (CDC "What"). Others say the virus came from a nearby scientific lab that was studying coronaviruses in bats (Feuerherd). The virus somehow transferred from a bat to humans, perhaps through an intermediary infected animal that was eaten (CDC "What"). It is highly contagious from person to person via coughing, sneezing, and even breathing. It may also be contagious if droplets are inadvertently touched and either inhaled or ingested (WHO "How"). The virus gestates for a couple of weeks before symptoms are exhibited (WHO "Can"). Given today's extensive air and cruise

ship travel by millions of people around the world, the virus inevitably spread across the globe.

If COVID-19 is a war, it has come to the home front. We have been invaded by an enemy, but the real enemy is us. The virus is incapable of malicious intent (Walz). It cannot spread without our help. We aid the virus by spreading it to strangers, friends, and loved ones unknowingly, and even recklessly by ignoring medical science. The militarization of language during this global health emergency has been effective in diverting the public's attention from our government's failings. We Americans love war analogies. War is a familiar and comfortable cultural frame of reference. The war on drugs, the war on crime, and the war on poverty were all effective rhetorical devices that embodied a certain mentality about fighting an enemy that needs to be killed. As long as we say we are at war, we don't need to take individual responsibility for eliminating the problem. The war analogy is also very effective in promoting gun sales in the land of the brave.

The virus has affected me personally in ways I never would have imagined. I registered as a 75-year-old freshman at UAS last fall. Closing campus during spring break and switching to online classes has been difficult for me. I try not to get discouraged when I reflect on what I have lost, but it saddens me that I no longer have the opportunity for in-person interactions with my classmates and teachers. I find those interactions difficult to recreate with Zoom, and I struggle to stay motivated. I am grateful that this happened when it did and not in January. At that point, I probably would have withdrawn. My husband and I are at the age where we are considered "high-risk." Unlike during Vietnam, when parents worried about their children, today our children worry about us too. We have taken to family texting once a day and Skyping once a week. It's sad that we do not know when, or if, we will see our children again.

We are still watching the war from our homes. Like the soldiers in Vietnam, we are just hoping to survive. During Vietnam, we civilians weren't asked to make sacrifices; today, sacrifices are required of everyone. In both wars, our presidents lied to us right from the start. Both presidents initially underestimated the difficulty of the war because neither understood the nature of the enemy. Once again, we sense that the president and his administration are bungling the war. Sean Hannity and FOX News affect Trump even more than Walter Cronkite influenced Johnson. Ironically, the president wants to end the COVID-19 War before the public is ready; with the Vietnam War, it was the other way around. Vietnam defeated Johnson; it remains to be seen whether the COVID-19 War will defeat Trump. As with Vietnam, we sense that when this war is over, America will have changed, and we will become a different country

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Alicia Steiner, a senior at UAS, will complete her bachelor's degree in Social Sciences this May. During the school year she lives in Juneau, Alaska, and enjoys walking at the glacier, spending time with friends, and attending her local church. In the summers, she lives in Homer, Alaska, with her family. Her post-graduation goal is to be accepted to law school and become an attorney.

Abstract

The genocide of the Holocaust has been examined by historians, political scientists, sociologists, and psychologists since its occurrence. In an effort to understand how seemingly normal individuals were capable of committing acts of mass murder and torture, social scientists conducted experiments and research to try and discover the answer. Perhaps most famous of these studies were Milgram's obedience experiments, the results of which have been used for decades to show how ordinary individuals could participate in the destruction of innocent men, women, and children. Yet, for some, Milgram's obedience-to-authority model is too limiting and fails to acknowledge the other social, political, and cultural details of the Holocaust. The purpose of this paper is to examine the historical interest in Milgram's obedience theory, while also exploring the motivational, interpersonal, and perceptional differences of the Holocaust that vary greatly from that of Milgram's studies, before ending with the presentation of an alternative explanation to the obedience-to-authority model.

The Inability of Milgram's Obedience Theory to Explain the Holocaust

The genocide of the Holocaust has been examined by social scientists since its occurrence. The atrocious acts committed by seemingly ordinary individuals—men, women, neighbors, friends, colleagues, lovers—has sparked endless research into the psyche of the perpetrators, the bystanders, and the rescuers. The question of *how* one could engage in violence and murder on a mass scale has influenced researchers for decades, leading to such monumental studies as that of Stanley Milgram's obedience experiments (Overy, 2014). Milgram's attempt to explain how individuals can become ensnared in "destructive obedience" seemed to provide an explanation for the crimes of Nazi servicemen responsible for the mass murder of innocent men, women, and children (Navarick, 2012, p. 133; Overy, 2014). However, not all have accepted Milgram's findings as being the sole explanation for why the Holocaust could have been carried out by ordinary people (e.g Baumrind, 1964; Mastroianni, 2002; Fenigstein, 2015). The emphasis placed upon Milgram's obedience-to-authority model is, for some, too limiting and fails to acknowledge the other social, political, and cultural details of the Holocaust. Therefore, it is important to examine the historical interest in utilizing Milgram's obedience theory to explain the Holocaust, to explore the shortcomings of such a limited scope when considering the distinct situational and cultural factors of each event, and to consider alternative explanations.

The Milgram Study (1963)

In an effort to understand the genocide of the Holocaust, Stanley Milgram (1963) designed his famous obedience studies to determine how normal citizens could become active members of the Nazi extermination policy (Fenigstein, 2015). While Milgram agreed that the orders originated "in the mind of a single person"—though this is, in itself, an oversimplification of the steps taken to reach the Nazi Final Solution of exterminating European Jews—the scale on which the killing occurred required a massive number of voluntary participants engaging in what he classified as destructive obedience, which is when an individual obeys an order to "seriously injure or kill innocent victims" (Milgram, 1963, p. 371; Fenigstein, 2015, p. 582).

Therefore, to test an individual's capacity for destructive obedience, Milgram's (1963) study required 40 male participants, designated as "teacher," to administer a series of shocks to another participant labeled as the "learner" (Fenigstein, 2015). Unbeknownst to the participant, the role of the learner was always acted by the same willing accomplice, with the role selection rigged to always make the other participant the teacher (Milgram, 1963). The task of the teacher was to read a list of word pairs before repeating the first word of each pair, reading a multiple choice selection of answers, and requesting an answer from the learner (Milgram, 1963). When the learner answered incorrectly, the teacher would shock them, moving up in velocity with each wrong answer; with each increasing shock level—ranging from "Slight Shock" to "Danger: Severe Shock"—the learner's responses would escalate in severity, until he was screaming and demanding to be removed from the study (Milgram, 1963). While no shocks were actually given to the learner, the teacher was unaware and would grow increasingly more uncomfortable with completing the experiment until they refused to continue, though some proceeded with increased prompting on behalf of the experimenter.

Despite later claims of the study being unethical, the subsequent results shook the field of psychology. Milgram's (1963) published findings decreed that 26 of the 40 participants (65%) continued to the end of the experiment by administering 450 volt shocks to the learner, while the remaining 14 out of 40 (35%) defied the experimenter and quit somewhere beforehand, though none stopped before 300 volts. For Milgram (1963), these findings were enough to indicate how strong obedience to authority can influence an individual to engage in destructive acts. The 26 men were not under any threat that would force them to comply to the demands of the experimenter; nevertheless, they continued in spite of the learner's cries (Milgram, 1963). The implications, therefore, concluded that ordinary persons just "doing their jobs" could, perhaps without much persuasion, engage in destructive obedience (Fenigstein, 2015).

Connection and Relevance to the Holocaust

In what would later be termed the "Milgram-Holocaust linkage," the results of Milgram's obedience study were quickly applied to the Nazis, as it seemed to provide evidence regarding the assertion that not only were ordinary Germans capable of committing mass murder, but so was any group of people regardless of origin, a claim which Milgram would later make in a 1979 interview (Miller, 2004, p. 194; Russell & Gregory, 2014; Mastroianni, 2002). However, response to his work in the form of opposition was rapid, with one of the loudest voices being psychologist Diana Baumrind.

Baumrind's Opposition

Baumrind's review of Milgram's 1963 study, published in 1964, focused on two major areas of critique: the ethics and ecological validity of the study (Mastroianni, 2002). While her ethical concerns sparked a discussion that continues even into the present, it is her critique of the study's validity that is to be examined here. Baumrind doubted that the findings gathered in the institutionalized setting of Milgram's experiment could be generalized to the setting of Nazi Germany (Baumrind, 1964). She stressed how the power dynamic between the teacher and the learner was not equal to that exercised by the Nazis and their victims, stating: "The victims were perceived as subhuman and not worthy of consideration. The subordinate officer was an agent in a

great cause" (Baumrind, 1964, p. 423). This assertion is defended when examining how the goal of the early stages of Hitler's regime was to test the nation's resistance, starting with stripping the rights of various social outsiders, before moving into ghettoization, and finally instituting programs of mass killing. Consequently, Baumrind doubts that such an event could have occurred outside of a sociopolitical climate similar to that of Hitler's Germany.

Milgram's Response

It was not long after the publication of Baumrind's review that Milgram offered his response. Despite his earlier intention of explaining the Holocaust through his obedience studies, Milgram did not deny that the differences between Nazi Germany and the laboratory setting were indeed vast (Fenigstein, 2015; Mastroianni, 2002). He countered, however, that the application of his study to the Holocaust was not crucially important; rather, his results highlighted the importance of continuing obedience studies in understanding events like the Holocaust and beyond (Mastroianni, 2002). According to Milgram, even if laboratory studies of obedience could not be directly applied to real world scenarios, the isolation and analyzation of obedient behavior within the laboratory allows one to better understand obedient behavior outside the laboratory (Mastroianni, 2002; Fenigstein, 2015). However, succeeding research on obedience and genocide has spoken more in opposition to than in favor of Milgram's study, particularly its failure to acknowledge the social, political, and cultural situational details of the Holocaust.

Situational Differences Between the Holocaust and Milgram's Experiment

Supporters, opposers, and Milgram himself have all recognized the disparity between the situational factors surrounding his 1960s laboratory and those of early 1940s Central Europe (Fenigstein, 2015). These differentiations, though they are numerous, are important to understand and consider when examining the generalizability of Milgram's study to the Holocaust. In order to narrow the scope, these distinctions have been categorized to show the differences between motivations, relationships, and perceptions of harm.

Distinctions in Motivation

A crucial difference between Milgram's theory and the Holocaust is the context of each. The participants in Milgram's studies believed that they were contributing to scientific advancements by working with a reputable academic institution (Fenigstein, 2015). It was not the intention or desire of participants to harm the learner, as evidenced by questions regarding his wellbeing, nor was it the objective of the study to inflict lasting harm, as seen in the experimenter's reassurance that no permanent damage would be inflicted on the learner (Milgram, 1963). Furthermore, participants exhibited extreme discomfort at the pained reactions of the learner, frequently looking to the experimenter for guidance (Milgram, 1963). Needless to say, the motivations and reactions of Nazi perpetrators were not the same; rather, they were the exact opposite. There was no consideration for the victims' wellbeing, as the intention of Nazi participation was the murder and subsequent extermination of Jews (Fenigstein, 2015).

Distinctions in Relationships

As acknowledged by Baumrind (1964), the teacher/learner relationship of Milgram's experiments was drastically different to the relationship between a Nazi executioner and their victim. Milgram's participants viewed the learner as a peer, and

their empathetic responses reflect such a mindset (Fenigstein, 2015). Nazi perpetrators had no such belief and, therefore, had no inhibition in killing their victims. Centuries of antisemitism and a decade of discriminatory policies had transformed innocent Jews into sub-human racial enemies bent on the destruction of Germany and her people (Baumrind, 1964; Fenigstein, 2015). The aforementioned disregard for the life of individual Jews meant that there was no empathy felt for the victim; rather, Nazis accepted and perhaps welcomed the murder of peoples who had been systemically stripped of their worth (Fenigstein, 2015).

Another relationship that differed between Milgram's studies and those in the Holocaust was the relationship to authority. For those who partook in the Milgram experiment of 1963, the dynamic between the teacher and the experimenter was built on trust and a belief that the experimenter wished no lasting harm on the learner (Baumrind, 1964; Fenigstein, 2015). As a result, both a feeling of legitimacy and responsibility were assigned to the experimenter by the participant, and it is this dual role of experimenter/authority that may have caused the "resistance, questioning, and hesitation" present in the participant (Fenigstein, 2015, p. 585). For Nazi perpetrators in the Holocaust, there was no indication that one's superior officer was concerned for the victim (Baumrind, 1964). Likewise, there was no indication of concern on behalf of the individual perpetrator, not even from the small percentage of those who withdrew from the killing (Mastroianni, 2002; Navarick, 2012). Ultimately, the resistance to following orders as seen in the Milgram study was the result of an experimenter/teacher relationship based on goodwill; a lack of such a relationship is perhaps one reason why the Nazis obeyed so readily.

Distinctions in Perception of Harm

The final situational distinction to be examined is that of perceived harm, which connects directly to the prior categories. In Milgram's (1963) obedience experiment, the participants received constant reassurance that while the learner may be receiving painful shocks, they would not result in lasting physical damage or death. Though some withdrew from the experiment regardless, not wishing to even cause momentary harm to another individual, those who continued did so believing that the experimenter would not allow the other person to be harmed (Fenigstein, 2015). Nazis, on the other hand, knew that they were engaging in the murder of civilian men, women, and children.

This difference ties directly into the "gradualness" of harm experienced by Milgram's participants and Nazi perpetrators. Those involved in Milgram's obedience studies were instructed to begin at the lowest shock level (15 volts) before they gradually advanced into the higher voltages, which is where we see many refuse to participate further in the study (Milgram, 1963). Perpetrators of the Holocaust did not always experience a similar progression of severity, as the first interaction between perpetrator and victim often resulted in death (Fenigstein, 2015). For example, most of the 500 men assigned to Nazi Germany's Reserve Police Battalion 101— who were responsible for the massacre of 38,000 victims over a period of five months (July-November of 1943)—had no prior military experience nor active combat experience (Navarick, 2012). Yet, when orders came for the first mass execution in Józefów, Poland, only 10-12 men refused (Navarick, 2012). Everyone else continued (Navarick, 2012).

Cultural Differences Between the Holocaust and Milgram's Experiment

Despite Milgram's assertion that it was not necessary for his experiments to directly replicate what happened in Nazi Germany, historical cultural differences cannot be simply ignored. As critics of Milgram have acknowledged, if what occurred in Milgram's study does not resemble the exact occurrences of the Holocaust, the insights of the former may not be relevant to the latter (Mastroianni, 2015). Therefore, while examining the situational differences between the Holocaust and Milgram's experiments is important to understanding why the actions of his participants and the Nazis differ, the cultural differences between his participants and Nazi perpetrators need to be analyzed as well. The greatest and most obvious variable between these two instances was participant ideology. During the 1920s and 30s, a "moral transformation" was taking place in Germany (Staub, 2014, p. 503). In order for the aforementioned situational distinctions to occur, an ideological priming needed to occur within Germany and her citizenry; one that would allow for the stark separation between in-groups and outgroups, eventually resulting in the latter's dehumanization, vilification, and attempted annihilation (Fenigstein, 2015; Staub, 2014).

Moral Transformation

At the core of the Nazi ideology was a hatred and prejudice against Jews, one backed by a long history of anti-Jewish sentiments spanning back to the medieval era. Culminating in the 1930s, Jews became the scapegoat for all of Germany's woes, from military defeat in the Great War, to economic depression, or the moral corruption of society (Fenigstein, 2015). Therefore, when antisemitic legislation and policies, such as the Nuremberg Laws, were introduced in the latter years of the decade, the Nazi government received little pushback by non-Jewish citizens. Furthermore, state sanctioned pogroms such as *Kristallnacht* institutionalized and praised violence against Jews and, after the invasion of Poland in 1939, Jews were further ostracized through the wearing of a yellow star. Occurring as a result of this progression of events was a societal transformation, where moral values began to change; the dehumanization of Jews allowed Nazi Germany to exclude them from "the moral universe," thereby legitimizing harm until the end goal of extermination was perceived as a moral right (Staub, 2014, p. 503).

It is this cultural history and ideological foundation of hatred that could not be replicated within the laboratory of Milgram's study. This glaring difference directly coincides with and creates all of the aforementioned situational distinctions: it changes the motivation and objective of the Nazi perpetrator as it was never their desire to not harm the victim, thus influencing perception of harm, and it makes the teacher/learner relationship of Milgram's study incongruent with the perpetrator/victim relationship of the Holocaust. These historical underpinnings shed doubt on Milgram's claim that such an event could have originated anywhere, as well as illustrating that Milgram overemphasized the role of obedience in the Holocaust (Mastroianni, 2002; Staub, 2014). This is especially visible in cases surrounding those who volunteered to engage in activities such as "Jew hunts" or similar acts of destruction (Mastroianni, 2002, p. 166). While the majority of participants in Milgram's (1964) experiment did exhibit obedience to authority to some capacity, they exhibited great distress and reluctance and did not engage in any action other than what was requested of them. This is not to

say that reluctance never occurred with Nazi perpetrators, yet it cannot be forgotten that extreme acts of violence occurred independent to one's orders (Miller, 2004).

Alternative Explanations

According to Milgram, the systematic murder of millions of Jews could only have occurred if a great many individuals simply "obeyed orders" (Milgram, 1963, p. 371). While his 1963 results support the idea that ordinary individuals are indeed capable of carrying out destructive obedience, his application of such findings to the Holocaust fails to address the existence of cooperation. By overemphasizing the role of obedience, social psychologists such as Milgram dismiss the voluntary efforts of both individuals and groups to carry out the genocide of European Jews (Lutsky, 1995). This reliance on blind obedience as an explanation for the Holocaust is not new, however, and can even be seen as a defense used by Nazis themselves during the postwar Nuremberg Trials (Russell & Gregory, 2015). Though disregarded then by prosecutors as a "convenient and attractive excuse (Sereny, 2002)," Milgram was prepared to accept this idea because his own study seemed to confirm that Nazis had simply been obeying orders (Russell & Gregory, 2015, p. 131).

Obedience vs. Followership

One effort to explain the discrepancy between blind obedience and voluntary acts of violence is made by examining the difference between obedience and followership. In the years following his initial experiment, Milgram introduced another element to his obedience-to-authority model: the agentic state (Reicher et al., 2012). According to Milgram, Nazi perpetrators of the Holocaust—like his participants—were so preoccupied in fulfilling their assigned role that they ceded all moral responsibility over to those in authority (Reicher et al., 2012). However, others have critiqued this as being too limiting, and rather posit that what was perceived as obedience was actually followership. Instead of passively accepting the orders of an authority, the theory of followership claims that when presented with two insistent voices, an individual will heed the one they identify with most (Reicher et al., 2012). For Milgram's study, it was science; for Nazis, it was a shared ideology (Reicher et al., 2012). Therefore, when viewed through this lens, the actions of Nazi perpetrators become far more than just following orders.

Historians also recognize this discrepancy between blind obedience and voluntary acts of violence, and they present two schools of thought: intentionalism and functionalism (Lutsky, 1995). Intentionalism matches more closely to the psychological explanation of Milgram, arguing that the Holocaust was the product of Hitler's orders and plans carried out by individuals (Lutsky, 1995). Conversely, the functionalist perspective holds similarities with followership as it believes that the Holocaust evolved over time due to the influence of individual and group initiatives, bureaucratic developments, and other external forces (Lutsky, 1995). Evidence for this can also be witnessed in the vigor with which some perpetrators performed their roles, as well as the structure of Nazi Germany's bureaucracy (Miller, 2004; Reicher et al., 2012).

For many social psychologists, the lack of conflicted obedience in some Nazi perpetrators proves that Milgram's obedience theory is too simplistic. Rather, they propose that certain individuals engaged in followership, willfully choosing to perform the role with which they identified (Reicher et al., 2012). A strong example of

followership that meets the functionalist perspective is the role of bureaucratic agents—such as the infamous Adolf Eichmann—who worked outside of formal orders, striving to accelerate Hitler's overall agenda of Jewish extermination through their own creative efforts (Reicher et al., 2012). Psychologists and psychiatrists, for instance, collaborated with the Nazi regime to further their own research and to promote the racial eugenics movement and the eventual "euthanasia" programs that preceded Nazi extermination camps (Lutsky, 1995). Furthermore, recall that the Nazi's "Final Solution" of mass murder originated not from Hitler, but from a collection of Nazi representatives at the Wannsee Conference of 1941 (USHMM, n.d.). When considering these acts in conjunction with the individual acts of sadism and excessive cruelty of Nazi soldiers, and the violence of ordinary citizens during pogroms, the incompatibly of an obedience-only model with the events of the Holocaust is displayed (Miller, 2004).

Conclusion

Though Stanley Milgram's obedience studies were designed to explore how destructive obedience may have contributed to the Holocaust, it is important to recognize that the situational and cultural factors surrounding the Holocaust varied greatly from that of Milgram's studies, and that other explanations are worthy of consideration. Understanding these motivational, interpersonal, and perceptional differences is integral when trying to explain acts of genocide, and they display the flaws in using an obedience-to-authority model to explain a complex historical, sociopolitical event like the genocide that took place between 1941-45. While it is difficult to say what Milgram's participants would have done had they been instructed to start at 450 volts, one can infer from the refusal of some to continue past 300 volts that their desire to do no harm would have won (Milgram, 1963); on the whole, Nazi perpetrators exhibited little to no resistance to engaging in immediate destruction, some independently escalating to acts of egregious violence. Why they did so, be it personal-psychological or sociocultural factors, cannot be adequately explained by Milgram's obedience theory; thus, it is an ineffective explanation for the Holocaust.

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The Unsettled Matter of the Alaska Native Claim Settlement Act (ANCSA)

Since the middle of the 18th century, when the first Alaskans had contact with Russian westerners, there have been many forces competing for land and resources. By the early 20th century, "land was being used and claimed by a variety of interests, including gold miners, homesteaders, the timber industry, commercial hunting and fishing companies, conservationists, federal agencies including the U.S. Military, the state government and, of course, the industry that propelled the issue to resolution: big oil."[1]

In 1971, in an effort to resolve these disputes and settle questions of land claims, tribal governance, subsistence, and self-determination, the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA) was passed in Congress and signed into law by President Nixon. This legislation was handed to the Alaska Federation of Natives (AFN) and marked the creation of Alaska Native Regional and Village Corporations to manage land and financially support Alaska Native tribes. Approximately 44 million acres and $1 billion were to be distributed amongst the new corporate structure. The Corporations were made up of registered shareholders (individual Alaska Native people) in order to share dividends in perpetuity. There remain questions over land claims every time a public or private entity wishes to develop through Native land. There remains a question about whether the new corporations or the existing Tribal Governments would have legal authority over tribal matters. To this day, rules around subsistence harvests are in flux, questioning whether Alaska Natives are truly in control of what activities can take place on their land. Finally, while the positive economic impacts of the corporation structure could certainly be argued, the overall ability to control their own lives and outcomes reflects a significant lack of self-determination. Therefore, the claim can be that ANCSA did not settle the questions of land claims for Alaska Natives. Fundamental questions regarding tribal governance, subsistence, and self-determination remain unanswered for Alaska's original people.

Since the passage of ANCSA, there has been much debate about whether the law is "good" or "bad," or whether it has helped or hurt Alaska Natives. The corporate structure of organizing economic life is far from traditional economies that did not value the pursuit of wealth. On the other hand, the financial success of (some) corporations has enabled them to be not only an economic driver, but a social and political powerhouse in the preservation of some cultural practices. This paper does not claim to take a side on that debate, as it is an incredibly complex and subjective one. As "economic and social sustainability" were the stated goals of ANCSA, there are strong arguments that say the goals were or were not met.[2] This paper does argue that the underlying motivation of ANCSA to settle questions of land claims, tribal governance, subsistence, and self-determination was undoubtedly a failure.

Before ANCSA, land claimed by Alaska Natives was hotly contested at virtually every turn. With a mounting pile of claims that were left unsettled, it seemed clear that Congress would seek to settle them through legislation. AFN proposed their own legislation to Congress, which "included subsequent issuance to Native village residents of 'terminable licenses' to hunt, fish, and gather firewood and otherwise use all other federal land to which Natives asserted aboriginal title."[3] While this proposal

was clearly not adopted into ANCSA, the momentum for the extinguishment of aboriginal claims increased because oil development in northern Alaska could not occur so long as Native claims precluded the issuance of permits to construct the Trans-Alaska Pipeline, which was necessary to transport the oil.[4] The new law that followed designated over 40 million acres for selection by Alaska Natives. Most importantly, it also nullified claims to over 325 million acres that were in litigation at the time. In other words, the "gift" of ANCSA land came at the cost of Alaska Natives relinquishing all "aboriginal land claims."[5]

Through the political system that says the colonizer must grant rights and freedoms to the colonized in order for them to exist, Alaska Natives have never been "given" tribal sovereignty. In ANCSA, there is no specific provision that addresses how tribes are governed and where their authority or jurisprudence actually lies. In the very important Supreme Court 1998 decision in *Alaska v. Native Village of Venetie Tribal Government,* it was decided that tribal groups are subject to state and not federal law.

> Congress, however, never expressly revoked the right of Alaska Natives to exercise jurisdiction over their lands in ANCSA. Congress was silent on that issue in ANCSA and in its subsequent amendments to the legislation. Yet the Supreme Court held in *Venetie* that by this silence, Congress denied Alaska Natives their claims to sovereignty and self-government over their ANCSA lands.[6]

If, for instance, the unanimous decision had been decided in the Venetie's favor, they would then have fallen under the Federal Indian Law, which would have granted them some sovereignty and rights to self-governance. The fact that 27 years after ANCSA a Supreme Court case had to decide this question proves that ANCSA did nothing to address this critical topic. Natalie Landreth and Erin Daugherty summarize the legal implications of ANCSA in the following passage, published in *American Indian Law Review.*

> Some argued that, even if not technically terminated, Alaska's tribes no longer had any sovereignty or jurisdiction since they now lacked an Indian Country land base. Others focused on whether the trust responsibility survived at all, and thus whether Alaska's villages were even tribes anymore. Still others mistakenly thought corporations had replaced Alaska's tribes. In this way, ANCSA became another reason to treat Alaska's tribes as second-class citizens to which longstanding laws did not apply.[7]

To say subsistence remains unsettled post-ANCSA is an understatement. Section 4(b) of the law says that "any aboriginal hunting or fishing rights that might exist" are extinguished.[8] Therefore, the issue of defining and controlling subsistence was fated to become one of the central debates around ANCSA. At the time of its passage, the area used for subsistence activities (hunting, fishing, mining, trapping, gathering) far exceeded the land allotment that was granted. Most Natives cared more about the access to the land than they did the title.[9] Naturally, deep arguments over which type of land was most valuable to a Corporation during the land selection process arose. Some land was more valuable as a resource producer, some as recreation and some as land used for subsistence. Adding to the complexity of this issue was the reservation of

federal lands to be used for recreation, National Parks and Wilderness, and so forth, where subsistence activities are heavily regulated and mostly disallowed. The debates continue each year in the form of struggles for land use, permitting, fish and game, conservation, public and private resource development, and legal challenges by Alaska Native Regional and Village Corporations and tribal governments.

Self-determination in the simplest terms means the process by which nation creates their own government and allegiances. One of the stated goals of ANCSA was economic self-determination. According to the Vice Chair of Cook Inlet Region, Inc's. (CIRI) Board of Directors Doug Fifer, ANCSA was drafted so well that Alaska Natives are still here today.[10] This summary of his perspective can simply be taken to mean that the goal of providing an economic foundation for Alaska Natives for generations to come was a success. He points out that the corporation model has worked because many of them are very successful in their ability to make profits for their shareholders. While he is not wrong in that assessment, others might highlight that not all of the Regional and Village Corporations have been financially successful and question whether corporate earnings equal economic self-determination for all Alaska Native people. Dr. Thomas Michael Swensen (Alutiiq) is an assistant professor of Ethnic Studies at University of Utah. Hailing from the Kodiak archipelago, Swensen proposes that the real outcome, and perhaps motivation for the creation of Alaska Native-owned corporations, is to control tribal organization, mobilization, and sovereignty. Many individual Alaska Natives are not able to become shareholders because they were born after the law's passage in 1971. There are additional restrictions that prohibit the purchase or sale of individual shares of stock, essentially capping what a shareholder could earn. The CEO's of each Regional Corporation are chosen by the Alaska Federation of Natives, not elected by the shareholders. Therefore, the native-corporation model created a highly regulated, specific avenue for Alaska Natives to establish economic sovereignty. "The Native corporation and the tribe embody federally crafted tools, or technologies, that compel Alaska Natives into assuming behaviors that influence their interactions amongst themselves and with the state and federal governments."[11]

Looking ahead and raising the gaze to the global struggle for Indigenous rights, it is helpful to start in 2007 at the United Nations' Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People. Dr. Andrew Ereuti (Tanaki) of University of Auckland, New Zealand argues that this important text can serve as a foundational document underpinning the struggles for all Indigenous people. Utilizing both the "human rights model" and "self-determination model" for freedom and sovereignty is the ideal method to achieving the best result. Speaking about the human rights, Ereuti enumerates

> […] the rights to practise and revitalize their cultural traditions and customs (article 11); the right to manifest, practise, develop and teach their spiritual and religious traditions, customs and ceremonies (article 12); and the right to determine and develop priorities and strategies for exercising their right to development (article 23).[12]

The basic tenets of the self-determination model are "the right to self-determination, self-government, historical redress, treaty rights and FPIC (free, prior and informed

consent."[13] Perhaps a focus on a global effort for freedom is an option as Alaska Natives continue to move forward with ANCSA in the rearview.

As the various details of ANCSA become clearer, a more mixed impact of this extremely important piece of Alaska history and politics comes into focus. There continue to be many debates, disputes, and discussions about the law itself and its interpretation. In 1991, there were a series of amendments passed that advocates worked hard on in order to improve some of its original weak points. We see those politics continually playing out through the AFN Annual Conference, Corporation board meetings, tribal government actions, advocacy organizations lobbying the state legislature and Congress, and challenging statute in the court system. In some ways, it has never been more confusing or convoluted to answer questions like "who's in control here?" While there is not one clear objective that all Alaska Natives are working toward, we are approaching the 50th anniversary of the passage of ANCSA this year. It is an opportune time to reflect and convene the leaders and thinkers of the movement for Alaska Native rights. For some, that means full sovereignty; for others, the reform of a complex system. What is known and agreed upon from various, but not all, perspectives is that ANCSA was not successful in its stated and assumed intents to settle land claims and answer questions about tribal sovereignty, subsistence, and self-determination.

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