

U.S. Nationalism and the Threat of the Improperly Developed:
The Cultural Politics of Developmental Disabilities & Global Development

Dissertation Proposal

Ronnie Thibault

University of Washington

Spring, 2018

Benjamin Gardner, Chair

Sarah Elwood-Faustino

Ronald Krabill

Joanne Woiak

Section1: Introduction

Part 1: Research Argument/Study Rationale

On January 11, 2018 the President of the United States shocked the world by calling African Nations, Haiti, and El Salvador “shithole nations” and chiding U.S. leaders that would consider allowing individuals from these geographies to continue to immigrate to the United States. The response in the media was that of overwhelming shame and disbelief, and politicians, and the public condemned his comment as unprecedented, racist, a new low, hateful, and un-American. While the President’s comments were undeniably crude, his ideological tone follows well-established nationalist ideologies that emerged with particular force in the United States at the turn of the twentieth-century. Historically, even well-meaning American media, politicians, humanitarian agents, journalists, and citizens have persistently represented regions and people in the ‘global south’ as developmentally inferior and either deserving of U.S. benevolence or unworthy to enter or live within America’s borders. This ideological frame relies in part on the historical construction of people with intellectual and developmental disabilities as dangerous to the prosperity of the nation and threatening to the very notion of what it means to be American.



Figure 1: 2018 World Vision Syrian Refugee Crisis: worldvision.org

This proposed digital dissertation will study discourses of developmental and intellectual disabilities in the United States and explore the relations between their cultural representation in early twentieth-century nationalist ideologies of race-purity, national prosperity and ‘properly developed’ citizens, and global development and humanitarian representational strategies that formed during the emergence of the Cold War Era. I will draw on epistemologies in cultural geography, cultural theories in discourse and representation, postcolonial disability studies, and critical digital historiography to analyze government, agency, media, and public archives and to explore how nationalist ideologies that framed developmental disabilities during the Progressive Era (1890-1930) informed American Globalism and humanitarian discourses (1947-1977) of ‘improperly developed’ individuals, cultures, and geographies. International non-governmental organizations

(INGOs) and nonprofit agencies (NPOs) are widely recognized leaders in humanitarian aid, global development and social awareness projects. Their success is contingent on their capacity to negotiate complex socio-economic and political conditions in competitive global markets. The prevalent use of images and texts that frame individuals and regions in the 'global south' as primitive and improperly developed are controversial tactics that have flourished throughout the past seven decades (*figure 1*). NPOs, government agencies, media, and private industry in the United States today also rely heavily on familiar stereotypes of fear, pity, and the failure of inadequate progress to grab consumer attention and solicit financial backing for developmental and intellectual disability related causes. One possible analysis might explain this recurrent use of degenerate, savage, and burden metaphors in contemporary developmental disability campaigns as a regeneration of international aid strategies that gained prominence alongside the nations renewed interest in modernizing 'uncivilized international others during the period of Cold War American Globalism. However, while I was exploring early twentieth-century cultural archives I discovered a robust set of images and texts that inscribed features of feeble-mindedness¹ onto gender, race, ethnicity, sexuality, and religion as a way to mark populations as undesirable and to justify their exclusion from America's vision of a genetically pure and 'properly developed' nation. It is my working theory that the co-mingling of anti-feeble-minded rhetoric and U.S. nationalist ideologies of racial, ethnic, religious, and eugenic superiority in the early twentieth-century set the stage for Cold War American Globalism, neoliberal global development, and humanitarian aid representational tactics and strategies. While there are abundant studies attending to objectifying images and texts in government, news and humanitarian aid and fundraising campaignsⁱ and recent attention has been paid to current-day representations of intellectual and developmental disabilities,ⁱⁱ consideration for how the cultural politics of developmental and intellectual disabilities—and feeble-mindedness in particular—articulate across histories, identities, and political geographies is limited.²

¹ Author note about terminology: While I am acutely aware of the pejorative and highly charged nature of the historically specific classifications 'feeble-minded' 'idiocy' 'moron' and 'imbecile,' they were the universally accepted signifiers for developmental and intellectual disabilities from approximately 1800s-1940s. I take great care in this work to apply them in their discursive and historical context.

² The 1920 American Association for the Study of the Feeble-minded adopted the overarching diagnostic classification Feeble-Minded, which included the imbecile, moron and idiot sub-types.

Geographer Don Mitchell has argued that “no decent cultural analysis (geographic or otherwise) can draw on culture *itself* as a source of explanation; rather culture is always something to be *explained* as it is socially produced through myriad struggles over and in spaces, scales, and landscapes” (2008, xvi). Postcolonial digital humanities (DH) scholar and activist Roopika Risam calls for transformative research projects that attend to the “intersections of postcolonial studies and the digital humanities, to promote global explorations of race, class, gender, sexuality, and disability” and for digital scholarship that is above all, “grounded in core questions of difference” (Risam 2015). DH practitioners have argued, “Gender, sexuality, race, nationality and ability are all central to how we encounter and participate in digital humanities” and they are adamant that DH inquiry “must work collectively towards transformative, social justice oriented engagements” (Risam 2015). This digital dissertation study will “bridge both cultural criticism and digital humanities” (Bailey 2011) to explain the ‘web of interconnections’ (D. Mitchell, 272) –the histories, spaces, landscapes and representational politics—that recirculate myths of ‘improper development’ across time, place and identities of difference. The qualitative mix-methods design will include curated cultural artifacts that I will archive, analyze, digitally map and incorporate into the unique flexibility of the Scalar II academic publishing platform. My final dissertation will seamlessly integrate these digital platforms into an interactive experience that encourages open engagement with the qualitative data and invites individuals to move between the theories, images, texts, historical artifacts and the study conclusions on their own terms.

Part 2: Research Questions

This study will address questions of power, representation, and difference and the qualitative methods design places analytical emphasis on cultural conditions in the United States that have driven societies to embrace and recirculate stigmatizing notions about individuals, cultures and geographies perceived as in some manner improperly developed. It is my goal to interrogate the ‘regimes of representation’ that have come to depend on the objectifying aesthetic of pity, fear, and burdensome or menacing degeneracy and to understand why U.S. consumers continue to accept these strategies as good and noble practice. In the introductory chapter to “Race, Nature and the Politics of Difference,” Moore, Kosek and Pandian define ‘cultural articulation’ as “a means for understanding emergent assemblages of institutions, apparatuses, practices and

discourses. Nodal points of intersection [that] give shape to formations that are reworked through historical agency rather than structurally determined” (2003, 4). Articulation then, according to Moore et al., is a way of thinking through processes of “joining and enunciation” in which various actors’ link ‘nodal’ characteristics from seemingly isolated discursive productions—like ‘developmental disability’ and ‘global development’—to establish a co-constituting politic of identity and difference (2-4). In this dissertation study, I will apply cultural articulation as a theoretical concept and analytical tool for pinpointing nodal characteristics in these discursive productions that I believe “become *articulated* together in particular historical moments” (3) to provoke what I have identified as the co-constituting politics of improper development.

Specifically, I ask;

1. How was feeble-mindedness applied and resisted to mark difference across race, gender, ethnicity, religion, and geography?
2. What is the relationship between early twentieth-century U.S. nationalist ideologies and global development discourses that formed during the emergence of the Cold War Era?
3. How do discourses of improper development persist throughout historical periods?

Part 3: Study Significance

This critical analysis of the politics of representation and discourses of improper development will respond to an absence of developmental and intellectual disability histories and topics in global development research, cultural geography, digital scholarship, and in political and public discourse. Government, private, and academic institutions have largely ignored the efforts of disability scholars and activists to document the wide-spread abuse, neglect and marginalization of those categorized as intellectually and developmentally disabled. Furthermore, the recent rise of nationalist ideologies, isolationism, and protectionist politics in the United States have converged with a general disinterest in the geopolitics of disability, and the apparatuses that leverage developmental disabilities as a mechanism of exclusion. This disregard for the significance of developmental and intellectual disability politics has repeatedly placed immigrant populations, identities of difference, and the nation’s geopolitical relationships in jeopardy.

In the critical essay “The Eugenic Atlantic: race, disability, and the making of an international Eugenic science: 1800-1945,” Mitchell and Snyder re-imagine Gilroy’s notion of the Black Atlantic to “analyse disability and race as mutual projects of human exclusion.” The Eugenic Atlantic seeks to “fold disability into this cross national-equation” and the essay draws much needed attention to the erasure of disability history and the “truly trans-Atlantic affair” of American and European eugenics in western systems of education. Mitchell and Snyder’s provocative work underscores that “while fears of racial, sexual and gendered ‘weakness’ served as the spokes of this belief system, disability... functioned as the hub that gave the entire edifice its cross-cultural utility.” This emphasis on European and American eugenics as a “mutual project of human exclusion” and the “failure of western education systems to engage with a thorough-going analysis of beliefs about disability” will remain substantial concerns in the dissertation study (2003, 843-846).

In the recently published critical essay regarding the need for cultural criticism in digital humanities scholarship, Alan Liu suggests, “as digital humanists simultaneously evolve institutional identities for themselves tied to the mainstream humanities... they become ideally positioned to create, adapt, and disseminate new methods for communicating between the humanities and the public” (2012). Once complete, this digital dissertation will generate an open intellectual space for scholars and the public to engage in new and more diverse transnational conversations about representational practices and developmental and intellectual disability politics. The image and textual evidence will demonstrate how national menace and social burden stereotypes of feeble-mindedness accumulated over time and representational platforms to fix particularly dangerous assumptions about feeble-minded individuals into America’s cultural imagination. The artifact evidence will also highlight how easily these generalized fears of the feeble-minded degenerate became a commonly accepted standard for representing race, gender, ethnicity, and additional identities of difference. The discursive analysis will show there was an absence of political resistance against the common assumption that feeble-minded individuals were a drain on society or a danger to the security of the nation. Marginalized groups that resisted these strategic representational forms largely ignored the oppression of feeble-minded individuals and instead took a more exclusionary approach that argued against the application of feeble-minded markers onto political identities actively engaged in culture wars over civil rights and full social inclusion. Feminists, civil rights activists and religious organizations depoliticized

feeble-minded individuals and vehemently denied any connection to feeble-minded stereotypes leveraged to exclude identities of difference from the national body politic.

While ample research has traced pejorative and racialized descriptions of the 'Other' that extend to the fifteenth-century this project will show that as the U.S. settled into progressive politics, modernity, capitalism and the new era of social science in the early-twentieth century the national focus shifted to novel metrics of normalcy, productivity, and the proper intellectual development of all Americans.ⁱⁱⁱ The professionalization of these metrics of normalcy in the early 1900s grew alongside nascent forms of American humanitarianism and charity that served dual roles in the promotion of the U.S. national identity. This work will provoke a new reading of the historical archives that will re-imagine these campaigns as platforms for representing America and its citizens as compassionate, patriotic and kind while serving to remind foreign interests that the U.S. was a full and properly developed leader in science and technology and an emerging economically superior world power. While domestic charity in the same time period also represented a benevolent, white, and properly developed national image, it conveyed an additional and not so subtle message about those that fit the ethnic, racial and developmental character of the nation, and those that did not. The primary outcome of this study will establish how these conflicting imaginings of a benevolent nation and America's cultural fear of degeneracy and improper development converged to construct a powerful Cold War and pre-neoliberal politic of American supremacy that is stubbornly linked to dangerous misunderstandings about what constitutes as proper development.

Section 2: Review of Literature

Part 1: Historical Background/Early Twentieth Century American Humanitarian Aid and Charity Discourse.

Historians have marked the early twentieth-century as a significant period in the growth of international communications, the advancement of American nationalism and American globalism, the expansion of U.S. cultural, social science and economic values onto the global stage, and the promotion of American industry across international borders.³ American

³ See: Craig Calhoun, "Nationalism Matters," in *Nationalism in the New World* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2006). Gary Gerstle, "Race and Nation in the United States, Mexico, and Cuba, 1840-1940," in *Nationalism in*

sociologist Craig Calhoun has suggested that the dominant view among modern theorists is that nationalism is a discursive concept “rooted in industrialization, state formation, the rise of new communications media ... and the development of new rhetorics for collective identity and capacities for collective action” (2007, 67). From the late 1800s through contemporary times, American humanitarian, charity, and social welfare organizations have embodied the national culture and extended marketing and publicity ‘rhetorics for collective identity’ that have influenced the characterization of their relief subjects and shaped that national identity in domestic and in international contexts.

U.S. humanitarian, charity and social awareness interests, the press, the media and the government have maintained an interdependent and at times mutually beneficial relationship that has shaped how American’s value their place as citizens of the nation and of the world. In the early decades of the twentieth century, the American Red Cross (ARC), the Carnegie Institution, the Rockefeller Foundation and the Russell Sage Foundation gained their political power and mostly favorable public reputations in part because of the close relationships they maintained with the press, the U.S. government, localized charity organizations, and with each other. Multiple scholars have documented the legacies of these organizations and their celebrated founders;⁴ however, understanding how they came together to represent the lives and regions they served, how they collectively shaped the meaning and value of humanitarian aid and charity work and whether they influenced America’s national identity is less understood. Of particular interest to this work is the ARC’s dominance in the field of international humanitarian aid and civilian relief, the Carnegie Institutions central role in immigration policy, race purity and eugenics ideologies on the domestic front, and professional governance from the Rockefeller and Russell Sage Foundations that appears to have fundamentally shaped both organizations.

the New World (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2006). JULIA F. IRWIN, *MAKING THE WORLD SAFE: the american red cross and a nations humanitarian awakening* (OXFORD University Press, 2017). Ian R. Tyrrell, *Reforming the world: the creation of Americas moral empire* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2010).

⁴ See: Edwin Black, *War against the weak: eugenics and America’s campaign to create a master race* (Washington, DC: Dialog Press, 2012). (Irwin 2013) Paul A. Lombardo, *Three generations, no imbeciles: eugenics, the Supreme Court, and Buck v. Bell* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010). James W. Trent, *Inventing the feeble mind: a history of mental retardation in the United States* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), (Tyrrell 2010)

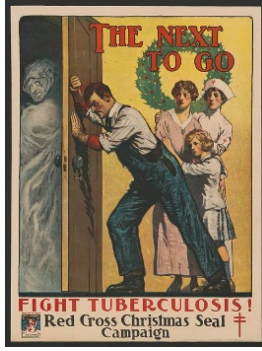


Figure 2: Rockefeller Foundation ARC Campaign Poster 1919: Sasckett & Wilhelms Corp

In my review of the relevant literature on early twentieth-century American humanitarianism and charity discourses and my preliminary archive search of news articles and agency documents, I discovered compelling cross-agency entanglements in the form of personnel and resource sharing between the government, the ARC, the Russell Sage Foundation, the Carnegie Institution and the Rockefeller Foundation. In 1905, President Roosevelt signed a Congressional charter that directed the ARC to “carry on a system of national and international relief in time of peace” (Irwin 2013, 32). The charter expanded the ARC’s capacity to apply international civilian aid and relief during peacetime and afforded the U.S. State Department a great deal of authority over the organizations civilian relief activities (Irwin 2013, 30-33). In the years leading to WWI, Presidents Taft and Wilson each served terms as the public face and President of the ARC and they were in agreement that the organization provided “the people of the United States a certain and effective means of relieving human misery in their own country and around the world” (Taft, cited in Irwin, p. 37). The Russell Sage Foundation also gave generously to the ARC under the stipulation that the organization appoint Russell Sage Foundation members to the ARC board and that through this partnership they would “affiliate the Red Cross and local Associated Charities” to cultivate a professionalized international relief model based on modern U.S. social science and business methodologies.⁵ Through this reorganization, the ARC hired the superintendent of the Chicago Board of Charities to head the agency’s new mission to build strong relational ties with local volunteer groups, charities and U.S. finance and industry professionals.⁶ In 1913, The Rockefeller Foundation was an established leader in international medical relief and western science when it joined the Russell Sage Foundation as a major ARC funder, practitioner and public sponsor⁷ (figure 2). Both foundations and the

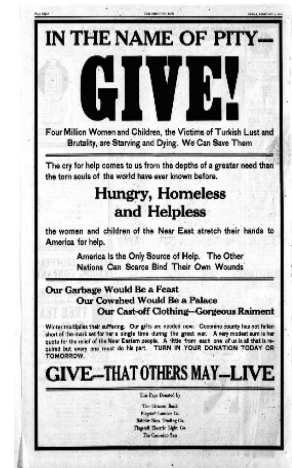


Figure 3: The Coconino Sun 1919: Library of Congress Chronicling America

⁵ (Irwin 2013)

⁶ (Irwin 2013) (Tyrrell 2010)

⁷ *ibid*



Figure 4: 1914-1918 American Red Cross: Library of Congress Prints and Photographs

U.S. government envisioned the ARC as “the one organization for relief purposes... through which all agencies... would work,” and the Rockefeller Board requested the ARC “give most considerate and sympathetic attention to taking on civilian assistance... [and] noncombatant relief on a large scale” (Irwin, 60-61). When the Russell Sage Foundation aligned its knowledge of America’s regional social charity and welfare systems with the Rockefeller Foundation’s international medical expertise, and the government’s growing interest in geopolitical development, a new humanitarian

alliance emerged under the ARC umbrella that ultimately weakened the private religious and moral reform ideologies of previous decades. The

American press rallied the nation around the ARC’s humanitarian aid and international civilian relief efforts (*figure 3*) and journalists pressed the notion that donating time or money to relieve foreign suffering was the patriotic duty of all Americans. The ARC’s representational style fostered nationalist ideals of patriotism and loyalty to domestic consumers while international press coverage of the agency’s overseas work upheld the government’s vision of the nation as a benevolent, compassionate, and economically viable geopolitical power.⁸ Whether in news stories, agency materials, popular culture or narrated by U.S. Presidents the message was clear; the ARC was an icon of American strength and values and Americans that donated to relieve foreign suffering were the absolute embodiment of what it meant to *be* American (*figure 4*).

A few months prior to Roosevelt’s signing of the 1905 American Red Cross Charter, newspapers across the country reported that by special act of Congress the U.S. government had reincorporated the recently formed Carnegie Institution into the “Carnegie Institution of Washington” and christened the professionalized philanthropy “one of the premier scientific organizations of the world” (Black 2003, 31). Later that year, with assistance from pre-foundation Rockefeller funding, the Carnegie Institution’s Station for Experimental Evolution opened its laboratories and appointed predominant eugenicist, Puritan, biologist, and American Breeder’s Association (ABA) Secretary Charles Davenport as director. Work at the Experimental

⁸ Gary J. Bass, *Freedoms battle: the origins of humanitarian intervention* (New York, NY: Vintage Books, 2009). (Calhoun 2006) (Gerstle 2006) (Irwin 2013) (Tyrrell 2010)

Station focused heavily on America's biological heredity, eugenics, and the "science of human improvement by better breeding" (Davenport 1910). Disability historian Douglas Baynton has identified American eugenics as a "primarily nationalist project," and argued that eugenicists were self-proclaimed humanitarians (2016, 12-13). As the public humanitarian face for the ABA and the Station for Experimental Evolution, Davenport called for philanthropic reforms, advocated for the restriction of 'degenerate and feebleminded' immigrants and promoted eugenics as the solution for what he called the "grave problem of the negro... whose mental development is... far below the average of the Caucasian" (Black 2003, 38).⁹ Davenport's fellow reformers adamantly believed in the scientific legitimacy of race-purity ideologies and they eagerly supported Davenport's allegation that "the protection of the germ-plasm of the nation [was] of prime importance of the United States" (cited in Baynton, 2016, p. 28). Allison Carey points to the first decades of twentieth-century as a transformative moment where a "radical shift in the nation's understanding of intellectual disability took place, and the feebleminded emerged as one of the principal enemies in the nation's war against population degeneracy and race suicide" (2010, 63-66). For many local and national charities, philanthropists, political leaders, and U.S. citizens, the protection of the pure white race also meant the advancement of genetically sound, physically vigorous and *intellectually superior* American born stock (figure 5). Davenport was adamant that the nation should embrace the nation's paramount duty to protect America's racial and genetic integrity and his views on philanthropic giving are evident in his written text "Eugenics," published by the Carnegie Institution in 1910:

"Vastly more effective than ten million dollars to "charity" would be ten millions to Eugenics. He who, by such a gift, should redeem mankind from vice, imbecility, and suffering would be the world's wisest philanthropist" (Eugenics the Science of Human Improvement by Better Breeding , 35).

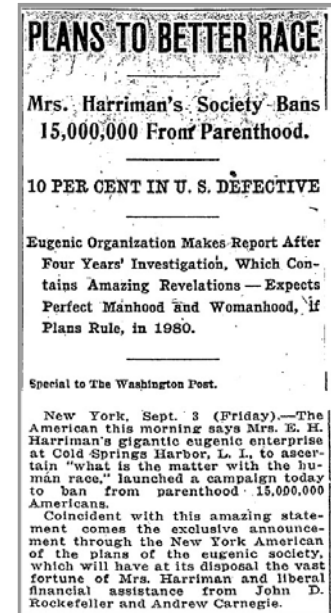


Figure 5: 1915 Special to The Washington Post: Expects Perfect Manhood and Womanhood, if Plans Rule, in 1980; ProQuest Historical

⁹ (Black, 2003)

The press regularly updated the public on the Carnegie Station's activities and circulated Davenport's repeated plea that it was "since the weak and the criminal will not be guided in their *mating by patriotism* [my emphasis] or family pride, more powerful influence or restraints must be exerted" (Davenport 1910, 33). There was extensive professional and political agreement that restricting liberties of all feeble-minded individuals was in the nation's best interest and equally strong consensus that it was reasonable to apply the ambiguous category 'feeble-mindedness' onto Indigenous, African American, immigrant and female populations to justify their exclusion from the properly developed social makeup. Feeble-mindedness became the catch all category in the media and the national press popularized vague terminology to describe 'undesirable' identities of difference. Savage, brute, imbecile, degenerate, criminal, moron, immoral and defective frequently appeared in press reports and charity campaigns that targeted social hygiene and welfare reform issues. Railroad heir and philanthropist Mary Harriman was firmly aligned with racial betterment causes (*figure 6*) and she donated a substantial endowment to fund Davenport's ambition to establish a facility to "quietly register the genetic backgrounds of all American's" (Black, 45) and "serve eugenical interests in the capacity of repository and clearing house" (Eugenics Record Office Report No. 1 1913). In 1910, with the Harriman endowment, financial and technician training support from the Rockefeller Foundation, Carnegie Institution money and land, and publicity backing from the Russell Sage Foundation Davenport opened the Eugenics Records Office (ERO) at Cold Springs Harbor to "develop the utmost work of the physical and social regeneration of our beloved country" (cited in Black, 2003, p. 48).

The ERO enjoyed governing support from Alexander Graham Bell, Theodore Roosevelt, the U.S. Secretary of the Department of Agriculture, First Lady Edith Wilson, and personal attention from John D. Rockefeller Jr., who was adamant that feeble-minded women should be "kept from perpetuating [their] kind" (cited in Black, p. 93). America's elite philanthropic, social scientific, and government leaders demonstrated robust support for both international civilian aid

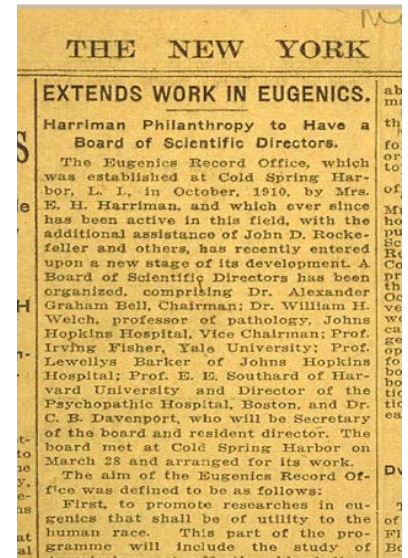


Figure 6: 1913 New York Times. American Philosophical Society

projects and for the national cause of genetic and racial purity in the United States.¹⁰ The 1913 Washington Post article *Red Cross Heroes: Wilson Proud to be Connected with "Mighty Society"* praised the ARC for its "efforts toward the alleviation of human misery," and recited Wilson's stated "pride as an American citizen at being connected with this mighty organized philanthropy" (The Washington Post 1913). ERO Director Harry Laughlin's published record of U.S. sterilization legislation revealed that as Governor of New Jersey, just two years prior to declaring his commitment to the ARC and "the alleviation of human misery," Wilson signed legislation to "authorize and provide for the sterilization of feeble-minded... and other defectives" (Laughlin 1922, 23-24). President Theodore Roosevelt's sympathetic regard in 1905 for the ARC's mission to "carry on a system of national and international relief" was in similar conflict with his written statement to Charles Davenport regarding degeneracy, in which he states: "I agree with you... society has no business to permit degenerates to reproduce their own kind" (Roosevelt 1913) (*figure 7*). Board members from the ARC, Rockefeller Foundation, Russell Sage Foundation, and the YMCA served on the ERO governing board and the ARC's Scientific Director concurrently served as Chairman of the ERO's board of scientific directors

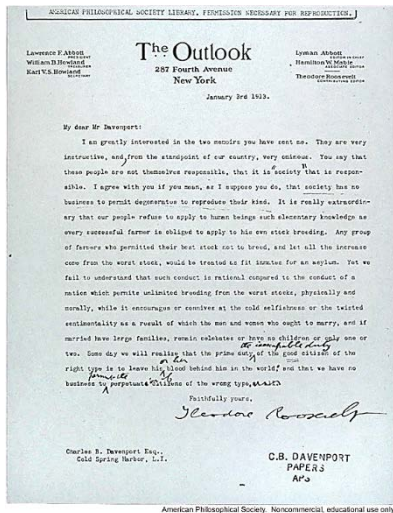


Figure 7: 1913 Roosevelt letter to Davenport American Philosophical Society

and active member of the Rockefeller Foundation advisory committee. It is noteworthy that while my preliminary archive search indicates a degree of inter-agency and governmental cooperation, I also located jarring differences in representational practices based on the subjects targeted for assistance that is worthy of further investigation. Foreign relief campaigns appear to have relied on human compassion, feelings of pity and patriotic symbology to stir American support for the development of deserving nations and foreign civilians. The United States, its wealthy benefactors and its charitable citizens were the primary subjects of representation in these early

twentieth-century humanitarian aid materials that rarely depicted beneficiary nations, individuals, or communities. While domestic charity discourses also drew

¹⁰ (Black 2003) (Baynton 2016) (Carey 2010) (Calhoun 2006) Sharon L. Snyder and David T. Mitchell, *Cultural locations of disability* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2015). (J. W. Trent 1994)

from nationalist ideologies of American superiority and strength they took a striking turn of malevolence towards the 'other' that contradicted the representational tone of compassion illustrated by early 1900s American humanitarianism. Nationalist fears over increased immigration, shifting gender roles, growing economic inequalities and rising racial tensions are evident in social hygiene and welfare campaigns that foreground deficient 'others' as their principal representational targets.

In 1927, the landmark Supreme Court decision *Buck v. Bell* upheld the legality of U.S. compulsory sterilization policies designed to rid the nation of feebleminded individuals and those labelled a 'handicap to the well-being of the body politic' and 'burden to the rest'. In his written decision, Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes Jr. proposed that America's national response to the problem of the feebleminded was for the betterment of the global community:

"It's better for all the world... if instead of waiting to execute degenerate offspring for crime, or to let them starve for their imbecility, society can prevent those who are manifestly unfit from continuing their kind" (full decision cited in Lombardo, 2008, pp. 285-287).

As global development, humanitarian aid and charity progressed through WWI and WWII, new humanitarian efforts developed in concert with the United Nations, World Bank, International Monetary Fund (IMF) and President Truman's transitional economic agenda. During his 1949 Inaugural Address, Truman introduced his Point Four Program with 'properly developed' jargon that was eerily reminiscent of Progressive Era fear and benevolence discourses:

"More than half the people of the world are living in conditions approaching misery. Their food is inadequate. They are victims of disease. Their economic life is primitive and stagnant. Their poverty is a *handicap and a threat* [emphasis added] both to them and to more prosperous areas" (Harry S. Truman Library and Museum, 2013).

In calling for a new form of American responsibility and in support of his global development agenda, Truman echoed themes of 'handicap,' 'threat,' 'burden' and 'improperly developed' that I propose culturally articulate through the histories and political economies of developmental difference, global development and humanitarian aid projects.

Part 2: Discourses on United States Nationalism:

There is an extensive body of scholarship across academic interests that question “the extent to which nationalism should be understood as a continuation of longstanding patterns of ethnicity, or as something distinctively new and modern” (Calhoun 2007, 76). I align my own theoretical approach with Cultural Geographer Don Mitchell’s contention that nationalism is a “set of ideologies about what a nation *can* be” (272) and this project foregrounds four historically significant ideological movements that scholars have attributed to American nationalism and national identity formation in the United States:

- i.) The Great Citizenship Debates
- ii.) Civic and Racial Nationalism
- iii.) Cold War American Nationalism
- iv.) American Globalism

In this work, I approach nationalism as “organizing and energizing force” (D. Mitchell, 272) shaped by spatial, temporal, material, and cultural relations¹¹ and as a “discursive formation”¹² that “grows in relationship to other political cultural and ethnic projects” (Calhoun 2006, 7). Political scientist Benedict Anderson proposed his definition of the nation as an ‘imagined community,’ whereas the nation is “*imagined* because the members... will never know most of their fellow-members... yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion” (1983, 24). Pickering extended Anderson’s ‘imagined community’ into the realm of the spatial when he argued that that national identity, primarily in its modern and western form, is also an imagined territory “that has become collectively revered, exalted, even sacralised as a historic homeland.” (2008, 85).

Culture, media and representation play a significant role in how individuals come to imagine their ‘shared communion’ with the national membership and the collective consumption

¹¹ See: Doreen Massey, *For space* (Los Angeles: SAGE, 2015). Don Mitchell, *Cultural geography: a critical introduction* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2008). (Gerstle 2006)

¹² (Calhoun 2006) Don Harrison Doyle and Marco Antonio Villela. Pamplona, *Nationalism in the New World* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2006) (Fousek 2000) (D. Mitchell 2008)

of mass-media, press, and communication technologies greatly influences how they situate their own sense of belonging as “good and decent people” within the broader construct of the imagined homeland. Fousek believes that if the nation is indeed an imagined community, place, and territory, it is also discursively “imagined through public culture... in print, on the airwaves, and in the meeting hall. (Fousek 2000, 8). Broadly speaking, nationality and nationalism function through a culturally mediated and politically organized characteristic of belonging that necessitates “keeping in public view its negative counterpart of not belonging” (Pickering 2008, 107) and this narrative of inclusion is accomplished in part by maintaining a stereotypical image of dangerous ‘Others’ across time, place, and mediated platforms.

Nationalism, as a culturally produced phenomenon, has the power to categorize what kinds of people, things, ideas fit the ‘authentic’ character of the nation, and the classification of difference for exclusionary purposes is necessary to this process. Nationalism then, as Don Mitchell points out, “tends to incorporate inequality... right at its center” (273). Pickering has traced “the concepts of both stereotyping and the Other... to questions of power and authority in the contexts of nation-building, colonialism and imperialism” (2008, xii) and he has emphasized the historical deployment of the ‘stereotypical Other’ in “processes associated with building a national identity and nationalist sense of belonging,” (49). As a discursive production, nationalism is “simultaneously a way of constructing groups and a normative claim,” (Calhoun, 27) “tells people who they are and who belongs,” (Doyle and Pamplona 2006, 9) and “is a style of thought about identity, loyalty, and solidarity that values nation above all other sources or objects of identity” (Fousek, 18). Mitchell has argued that nationalism “organizes the masses around the idea of a space to be defended, a space that is the very embodiment of national sovereignty,” (2008, 272). Defining what constitutes a ‘space to be defended’ is largely dependent on the social, cultural, and spatial interactions that contribute to the masses vision of a collective national identity.

Anderson was careful to push against theorizing nationalist identity as a strict top down production and he instead proposed, “nationalism has to be understood by aligning it, not with self-consciously held political ideologies, but with the *large cultural systems* (my emphasis) that preceded it” (Anderson 1983, 29). American sociologist and disability studies scholar Allison C. Carey performed an in-depth analysis of the ‘large cultural systems’ that governed the civil rights of individuals categorized as intellectually or developmentally disabled in the early twentieth-

century. Carey found this was a “time of great social dislocation” when increased immigration, shifting gender roles, growing economic inequalities and rising racial tensions set the political stage for multiple actors to push to restrict or even eliminate the basic civil rights of those categorized as feeble-minded or mentally unfit.¹³ Historian Gary Gerstle is also interested in the histories of racial nationalism in the United States and he has studied the cultural links, shared meanings, and overlapping processes that shaped both early-twentieth century isolationist border policies and white purity discourses that sought to constrain the civil rights of African American, Indigenous, and ethnic populations *within* the national borders. Gerstle makes an important point about the near inseparability of these formations and he in fact anchors much of his writing to the notion that “civic and racial nationalism mutually constituted the ideological foundation of the U.S. nation at its very origins,” (2006, 273). Gerstle differentiates the ‘civic’ and ‘racial’ domains in the passage that follows:

“civic nationalism signified a desire to construct a polity and a people on an egalitarian and democratic foundation... and racial nationalism...expressed a sense of peoplehood grounded in common blood and skin color and an inherited fitness for self-government” (273).

In his historical analysis of disability histories, Douglas Baynton found “disability was a significant factor in the three great citizenship debates of the nineteenth and twentieth century” (2013, 33). Negative signifiers of disability have functioned as powerful and effective markers for stereotyping race, gender, ethnicity and identities of difference throughout U.S. history.¹⁴ Baynton documented this largely unexamined practice in his analysis of three early twentieth-century historical moments; The Great Immigration Debates; Women’s Suffrage; and the African American Civil Rights Movement. While Baynton’s work does note a multiplicity of disability categories that were the target of exclusionary systems of oppression, he points to pejorative interpretations of feeble-mindedness as a particularly stubborn and an ambiguous

¹³ (Black 2003) (Carey 2010) (J. W. Trent 1994)

¹⁴ (Black 2003) (Carey 2010) Licia Carlson, “Cognitive Ableism and Disability Studies: Feminist Reflections on the History of Mental Retardation,” *Hypatia* 16, no. 4 (2001) Adam Cohen, *Imbeciles: the Supreme Court, American eugenics, and the sterilization of Carrie Buck* (New York: Penguin Press, 2017). (Davis 2006) (Davis 2013) (Lamp and Cleigh 2011) (Paul 1995) (J. W. Trent 1994)

marker of identity that was widely leveraged to delegitimize race, gender, ethnic and religious difference. Furthermore, Baynton also found that while there was widespread agreement at that restricting liberties of all feeble-minded individuals was sound policy; there existed an equally strong public consensus that it was reasonable to apply ambiguous *categories* and descriptions of feeble-mindedness onto Indigenous, African American, immigrant and female populations. Feeble-mindedness was represented as a “synonym of human inefficiency and one of the great sources of human wretchedness and degradation,” (Fernald, 1912, 3) and feminists, immigrant populations and civil rights activists fought against—and simultaneously reified—feeble-minded and intellectual disability stereotypes that were culturally and institutionally deployed to rationalize *their* exclusion from full citizenship.¹⁵ Baynton’s extensive research has demonstrated that “when categories of citizenship were questioned, challenged, and disrupted, disability was called on to clarify and define who deserved, and who was deservedly excluded from, citizenship” (2013, 17).

Civic and racial nationalism are “contradictory but coexisting ideologies” (Gerstle 2006, 272-304) that have profoundly influenced how the U.S. body politic envisions its collective identity both from within its borders and in global contexts. In his analysis of race and American nationalism in Cold War Era geo-politics, Fousek underscores a shift from American isolationism after WWII towards globalist views based on “the notion that the United States has a unique and universal message of benefit to all the world” (2000, 18). Fousek brings to light a noteworthy and “mutually constituting” moment in the “relational construction of identity and place” where we see the U.S. begin to imagine itself as unconfined by territorial or regional geography’s (Massey 2004, 5).

Part 3: Global Development and International Humanitarian and Charity Discourse

From the time President Truman launched U.S. global aid and development measures onto the public stage in his 1949 inaugural *Point Four Speech*, (Truman Library 2013) INGOs have actively modified their marketing strategies in response to increased deregulation and privatization in aid markets, neo-liberal measures, new media technologies and increased

¹⁵ (Mitchell and Snyder 2015) (Carey, *On the Margins of Citizenship: Intellectual Disability and Civil Rights in America in Twentieth-Century America* 2010) (J. W. Trent 1994)

competition for consumer attention. In their critical analysis of the relational features of INGO agencies, journalists and the media, Media analysts Cottle and Nolan came to the conclusion that “the crowded field of humanitarian agencies produces intensified competition... and a deliberate marketing positioning in terms of project brand” (2007, 866). Fierce donor market competition and sporadic consumer attention have compelled organizations to submit to a particular “media logic”¹⁶ that can ultimately dehumanize the populations they serve. Images of “starving children and women, dying children, children with kwashiorkor stomachs” (de Waal 1997, 74) and “victim depictions of Southern clients particularly from Africa” (Dogra 2007, 162) are one recognized standard for raising funds, authorizing political claims, increasing viewership and harvesting social support for geo-political causes. Cottle and Nolan’s “crisis triangle” [of]...humanitarian organizations, news media and governments” situates the media in an increasingly controversial and influential role in the geopolitics of humanitarian aid and charity. (2007, 863-864). Organizations do struggle for attention and this fierce competition coupled with journalist need to counter consumer “compassion fatigue” (Moeller 1999) has engendered a codependency that a BBC news correspondent described to de Waal with surprising frankness:

Agencies depend on us for publicity and we need them to tell us where the stories are... we try not to ask too bluntly ‘where will we find the most starving babies?’ and, they never answer explicitly. We get the pictures just the same” (1997, 83).

In his formative genealogy of the histories and political economies of INGO famine relief, Alex de Waal discussed the phenomena of mediated humanitarianism and he observed the following:

It is interesting to chart the way in which famine progressed from its niche as a news item and a campaign by relief agencies into an unprecedented international media event... in leading Western democracies” (1997, 122).

de Waal determined that “relief institutions are inherently political” (85) and when even the most well-meaning people and organizations emphasize individuals, cultures and regions in despair

¹⁶ Simon Cottle and David Nolan, *Global Humanitarianism And The Changing Aid-Media Field*, *Journalism Studies* 8, no. 6 (2007): , doi:10.1080/14616700701556104.

they de-emphasize broader political circumstances, individual agency, and cultural contexts. In her ethnographic work on the “social significance of the refugee category” and the depoliticization of Hutu refugees in Dar-es-Salaam, Anthropologist Lisa Malkki found “an important effect of bureaucratized interventions... is to leach out the histories and the politics of specific refugee circumstances... refugees stop being specific persons and become pure victims” (1996, 378). Media and Communication scholar Lilie Chouliaraki has published wide-ranging studies on the mediation of suffering and has argued that commodified images of the ‘other’ in humanitarian campaigns establish “a strategic emotional relationship between Westerner and a distant sufferer” and that the “aesthetics of suffering is a catalytic in moving the spectator to action” (2010, 109-111).

Postcolonial Disability Scholars Denise Nepveux and Emily Smith Banks’ interrogation of northern-produced documentary films that have focused on ‘inspiring disabled children’ from African nations gives us an alternate interpretation of the viewer/donor relationship. These authors dispute reductionist theories that have attributed benevolence as the sole representational motive and effectively argued that consumers are attracted to victim iconography because of the “shock value as well as... symbolism... appealing to a white, middle-class audience... drawing the viewer into both voyeurism and charitable sentiments” (2010, 238). These strategic visualities promote dual essentialisms of disability and development “with deep colonial resonance” that articulate notions of “docile African bodies in need of care and rehabilitation... not only of impaired bodies in need, but also of a crippled, ignorant Africa and its benevolent, knowledgeable Northern rescuers” (2010, 238). Manzo has additionally complicated one-dimensional victim iconography and offered an alternative relational reading that approaches the racialized southern victim as “both a contested metaphor for the majority world and a signifier for humanitarian identity” that ultimately conceals “colonial practices and humanitarian principles” (635). Furthermore, while Malkki’s work does trace a preponderance of the lone suffering child icon, she has also detected contrasting visual signifiers that re-image a savage Africa brimming with “a sea of humanity,” “blur of humanity” and a “vast and throbbing mass” (1996, 387). Malkki’s work illustrates how this inverse of isolated innocence in mass media representations of “black bodies pressed together impossibly close in a confusing frantic mass... hammered into the viewer’s retina” ultimately hides the “histories and empires of colonial rule” (1996, 387-389). While Malkki’s “spectacle of raw, bare humanity” demonstrates a regime of

representation that constructs a 'savage' version of Africa that appears to invert the intimate innocence of the lone child image, each representational system maintains "a sanctimonious attitude (Dogra 2007, 167) regarding the 'Other' that reinforces northern assumptions of superiority.

Children are frequently center frame in humanitarian and charity discourses and the subtext of the images reinforce political ideologies that undermine individual, cultural and regional autonomies. The imagery of child saving does a great deal of work in the political economies of humanitarian aid while erasing adults, nations, cultures and lived experience from the social and political landscape. Manzo has characterized the symbology of the child icon as "a signifier of an NGO corporate identity... a brand logo that advertises encoded humanitarian principles, reflecting back their organizational ideals as much as their purposes and objectives," (2008, 635) while Malkki has theorized that "children are a tranquilizing convention in the international community" (cited in Bornstein, p. 72). Erica Bornstein's comprehensive study of humanitarian practices at World Vision includes a critical interrogation of the INGOs longstanding and extremely successful child sponsorship model and she has argued that "as ambassadors of peace... these new forms of transnational accumulation encourage the consumption of 'goodness' and humanitarian ideals... increasingly interpellated as consumer subjects" (2005, 72). Through extensive interviews with INGO marketing staff and humanitarian reporters, de Waal uncovered material evidence of the mutually constituting relationship between INGOs and the media and he has revealed that "journalists typically select the worst cases of child malnutrition" for their news stories—and in turn—INGOs replicate this visual style in their fundraising campaigns (1997, 83). In his critical work "The Least of all Possible Evils" Eyal Weizman also expressed his belief that in competitive humanitarian relief environments "the relationship between humanitarians and the media is... one of interdependency" and "photographs of helpless children—function [sic] to compete for money in charitable markets" (Weizman 2011, 44-45).

Frederick Cooper and Randall Packard suggest nationalized expressions of proper development are based on "the assumption that certain kinds of societies can be defined as 'backward'" (1997, 19) and the need to 'modernize' backward culture is a prevalent theme throughout the history of humanitarian and charity discourses. Throughout the later part of the twentieth-century, INGOs and NPOs have become increasingly adept at codifying their

representational strategies across broadcast, online and mobile technologies and international mediated events.

Section 3: Theoretical Context

Part 1: Introduction

In the seminal text “Representation,” cultural theorist Stuart Hall recommends incorporating robust theory into research projects that explicitly focus on representation as a concept and a practice:

“Representation is a complex business and, especially when dealing with ‘difference,’ it engages feelings, attitudes and emotions and it mobilizes fear and anxieties in the viewer, at deeper levels than we can explain in a simple common sense way. This is why we need theories—to deepen our analysis.” (S. Hall, *Representation* 2013, 216).

Hall is pointing to some of the material and ethical considerations that inevitably surface during the design phase of any critical cultural analyses. Representation is a complex and consequential business and the very act of looking at—and pointing to—cultural artifacts places researchers at risk of reinforcing the very essentialisms they intend to question. I remain acutely aware of these potential pitfalls and recognize there is a real concern that bringing attention to the representational discourse I identify as ‘improperly developed’ will embolden simple parallels between the marginalization of people with developmental disabilities and global development discourses that imagine universally backwards individuals, cultures and geographies. As a starting point for avoiding methods that might re-establish the universal gawker gaze, I have incorporated the following analytical interventions into my study design:

- a. I take great care to identify my object of analysis as the *discursive processes* (with a focus on U.S. nationalism as discursively produced identity) and relationships that construct categories of difference rather than the images and texts that evidence the outcome of this process.
- b. I engage the geographic approach to “the relational nature of space... [and] the relational construction of the identity of place” (Massey 2004, 5) to conceptualize

the *mutually constitutive relationships* between U.S. nationalist ideologies, the formation of global development discourses, consumer interpretations and culturally constructed categories of 'improper development.'

- c. I underscore epistemologies in the cultural model of disability that stress "it may well be that all social hierarchies have drawn on culturally constructed and socially sanctioned notions of disability," (Baynton 2013, 17) and that negative signifiers of developmental disability function as effective tools in the marginalization of race, gender, ethnicity, sexual orientation, and religion.
- d. I pay particular theoretical attention to recent critical ontologies in Postcolonial Disability and Crip Studies that foreground disability "as a critical vantage point from which to question the effects of development policies and practices" and that further stress "disability as 'interarticulated' with other categories that hierarchically organise notions of human worth" (Kolářová and Wiedlack 2016, 125-127).
- e. Finally, to analyze these articulating strategies of representation, I will apply "digital source and resource criticism," the "archival principal of provenance" (Hering 2014) and theories in critical postcolonial digital historiography to make sense of the material and genealogical features of the cultural artifacts.

Part 2: Critical Cultural and Postcolonial Disability Studies

Historian and disability scholar Douglas Baynton has criticized the absence of disability inquiry in history, citizenship, and immigration analysis and disability scholars are calling for intersectional epistemologies that attend to disability as a potent signifier *across* difference. The exploitation of disability plays a recurring and rarely deliberated role in the aesthetics of pity, fear and nationalism; whether summoned to incite the benevolent supremacy of a nation or to justify the expulsion of so-called undesirable identities of difference, leveraging disability is a powerful and nearly universally accepted representational tactic that travels across space, place, history and subjectivities. Stewart Murray and Clare Barker believe that "disability Studies has the potential to make a more urgent intervention into contemporary Postcolonial studies and vice versa" (2013, 61) and they have expressed concern over disability studies limited interest in global politics, and postcolonial tendencies to undermine disability through metaphoric

representations and universal definitions. The authors propose a theoretical model that would adapt “the most significant theoretical contributions” from each discipline to establish an integrated critical postcolonial disability studies and they have identified materiality, postcolonial cultural representation, feminist situated knowledge, participatory citizenship, and cultural locatedness as productive theoretical concepts that can help “foster productive exchanges” (2013, 63) between the two critical fields.

Disability activists, academics, and allies constructed the American social model of disability in the early 1980s to redefine disability identity and to counter dominant medical and public interpretations of disability as impairment.¹⁷ Generally speaking, the social model of disability sought to distinguish impairment from disability, frame disability as a culturally and historically specific construction, define disability as relationally constituted through disabling environments and social oppression, and to cultivate a disability rights movement that was centered on civil rights and justice rather than charity and pity discourses (Shakespeare 2013). Rosemarie Garland-Thomson has championed early disability studies efforts to develop a new model based on civil rights and social justice that has both deepened and complicated critical identity studies. Garland-Thomson’s contributions to the discipline of disability studies are foundational and she has remained a strong advocate for a feminist approach to disability that seeks to question the intersectional nature of identity politics that, as she argued in 2002, “feminist theory has been grappling with for years” (R. Garland-Thomson 2011). Critical disability feminists have struggled to reconcile that, with all of its dialogue of situated and experiential knowledge, feminist studies has remained largely silent in regard to social justice issues and the situated experiences of disabled women, and particularly in the area of their reproductive rights.¹⁸ Sharon Lamp and W. Carol Cleigh have taken a particularly harsh view of feminist frames that they claim have “remained aloof... [and] seemingly abandoned disabled women” (Lamp and Cleigh 2011) from the sterilization of feebleminded women during the eugenics period to more contemporary political debates over reproductive rights.¹⁹ Nirmala

¹⁷ (Barker and Murray 2013) (R. Garland-Thomson 2011) (Shakespeare 2013)

¹⁸ (Chataika 2012) (R. Garland-Thomson 2011) (K. Q. Hall 2011) (Kafer, *At the Same Time, Out of Time*: Ashley X 2013) (Lamp and Cleigh 2011)

¹⁹Also see: (Kafer, *At the Same Time, Out of Time*: Ashley X 2013) (Hubbard 2013) (Saxton 2103)

Erevelles has noted a similar and equally troubling absence of intellectual interest coming from “the otherwise radical scholarship of both feminist disability studies and third world feminism” (2006, 117) that are interested in exploring the material links between war, poverty, gender, global development and disability experiences. Disability scholars and Crip activists Kolářová and Wiedlack have questioned these, additional critical silences in global development literatures, and they contend, “overlooking disability in the intersectional equation reinforces persistent epistemic coloniality... [that] undermine[s] the critique of much current post-and de-colonial work” (2016, 126). Erevelles made note of an apparent disconnect between feminist disabilities discourses that have widely criticized the absence of disability in feminist projects while limiting their own attention to the articulating construction of race and disability. Erevelles explains that there are multiplicities of ‘difference’ that are absent in feminist disability projects and “while feminist disability studies have effectively critiqued the category of “women” upheld by mainstream feminism... it falls prey to its own critique of normativity by failing to seriously engage “difference” along the axes of race, class, ethnicity, sexuality, and nationality.” Erevelles offers her own “*transnational feminist disability studies perspective*” (original emphasis) to address these deficiencies and she explicitly attends to “the material constraints that give rise to the oppressive binary of self/other, normal/abnormal, able/disabled, us/them” discourses (2011, 116-126). This characterization of intersectional and representational politics and the materiality of difference will provide substantial guidance to this dissertation study and my own interest in articulating the national and transnational impact of discourses of improper development:

“By *materiality* (original emphasis) I mean the actual historical, social, and economic conditions that influence (disabled) people’s lives, conditions further mediated by race, ethnic, gender, class, and sexual politics” (Erevelles 2011, 119).

Kolářová and Wiedlack have recently proposed a critical question that I believe is central to this study; “how does the optimism of the ideology of development betray the very people that in theory are supposed to benefit from it” (2016, 125). These authors complicate the “undying myth of development” that underpins the unproven ideological view that global development projects will eliminate global poverty. They also contest disability and poverty studies frameworks that make no attempt to reconcile “the shadow of colonial power” or question universalized definitions and models of disability (2016, 130). Kolářová and Wiedlack

draw on postcolonial geographies, cultural studies, critical disability studies and Crip development theory to explore how global development “utilizes and leans against disability, race, gender, caste, social status, hierarchical notions of ‘difference’” to construct a fantasy of development that promotes the continued colonization of disabled and racialized communities, individuals and cultures (2016, 125). Disability is a core discursive tool in the maintenance of ongoing power disparities between the north and the south and when deployed as a politicized mechanism, internationalized rhetorics reinforce what Walter Mignolo has defined as “global coloniality” (cited in Kolářová & Wiedlack, p. 126, 2016). Postcolonial Disability Studies theorist Tsitsi Chataika presents a similar challenge to global development research strategies that rely on northern models of disability. Chataika has argued that colonialism “cannot be shed like the skin of a snake and then tossed away and forgotten” and she has critiqued epistemologies from the global north as one of countless remnants of colonialism that remain a potent factor in formerly occupied global geographies.

Chataika is critical of dominance of generalized disability models that either engages disability as constructed by disabling social, political and economic environments and/or as a biological and medicalized marker of deficiency. Research committed to the social model has the potential to exclude the actual historical, material and embodied experiences of disabled people, while medical practitioners intent on marking disability as a biological deficiency “become romantic and blinkered by their own enthusiasm of bringing development to the [Global South].” In her response to the “vocabulary of charity, technical expertise, and deep paternalism,” Chataika calls for development research strategies that do not ignore, and in fact privilege, the lived realities and political histories situated in so called ‘formerly’ occupied geographies (2012, 254-256).

Critical postcolonial and disability scholar Shaun Grech also places analytical emphasis on the historical significance of the histories of colonialism and disability in the global south and he has explored how these encounters have influenced neoliberal and global development agendas. Grech contends that the consistent application of the Western European and North American models of disability ultimately constitutes what he terms a “neocolonising of the Southern Space” that delegitimizes human contexts, cultures and localized knowledge (2012, 53). For Grech, racism and racial exploitation are central to the colonial encounter and these ideologies resonate throughout neoliberal global development agendas. Contemporary frames of

deficiency and defectiveness have deep roots in colonialist practice and Grech argues that disabled people continue to endure the consequence of colonial actions that are stubbornly present in modern day neoliberal environments (2012, 52-55). Grech calls for critical postcolonial disabilities scholarship that draws out colonial history while remaining focused on making “present and credible, suppressed, marginalized and discredited knowledges... by critical Southern thinkers” (2012, 55).

Postcolonial, cultural and feminist disability scholars agree that the prescription of the social model in globally southern contexts can produce a “disabled experience, drastically altering the categorical and exclusionary implications of ‘normalcy and ‘non-normativity’” (Barker and Murray 2013, 68). While the social model is a productive lens for advocating for improved accessibility measures in primarily northern geographies, it at times ignores the harsh material realities experienced by people with disabilities. Furthermore, the discipline of disability studies is at times resistant to disabling structures in colonial contexts. This will prove a key point of interest in my relational analysis of whether U.S. nationalist race purity ideologies and discourse of the feeble-minded threat resonate in the context of globally southern disability and development discourses. While many of these authors do pay considerable attention to the “articulation of intersecting identities... within the designated disability, development or postcolonial studies” (Chataika 2012, 254) there is limited interest in how *developmental* and *intellectual* disability experiences are situated in the relational border crossings of colonialism and U.S. nationalist ideologies.

Part 3: Cultural and Relational Geographies

Don Mitchell’s theories on the relational features of social and national identity formation demonstrate how individuals within the borders of a nation adhere to “a particular kind of *identification* [original emphasis] with the “national... defined by one’s relation to the (social) state... whereas national identity is related to the formation of certain kinds of individuals” (2008, 270). For Mitchell, geography “is structured in fights—culture wars—over inclusion and exclusion, over the making or shaping of boundaries around race, gender, ethnicity, and sexuality and over defining who constitutes part of the group. Geography is structured precisely by the question: Who has the *right* to space” (2008, 288). Geographer Doreen Massey also placed ontological emphasis on the relational characteristics that underlie the formation of social and

spatial identities and she agreed with postcolonial approaches that recognize social identities are “in one way or another... forged in and through relations (which include non-relations, absences and hiatuses)... not rooted or static, but mutable ongoing productions.” (2004, 5). This ‘thinking space relationally’ has influenced how postcolonial geographers theorize the politics of space, place, identity, and difference:

“If space is a product of practices, trajectories, interrelations, if we make space through interactions at all levels, from the (so-called) local to the (so-called) global, then those spatial identities such as places, regions, nations, and the local and the global, must be forged in this relational way too, as internally complex, essentially unboundable in any absolute sense, and inevitably historically changing” (2004, 5).

Massey and Mitchell provide a more fluid way to work through the intricate relationship between a nation, its material boundaries, its culture, history, its social and political body and the multiple cultural mechanisms it draws on (or ignores) in the forging of an imagined unique individual national identity. Thinking space relationally provides an analytical approach to understand how historically situated events like the race purity and eugenics movements of the early 1900s became instrumental in forging the United States national sense of identity, and in turn, how the U.S. came to express this identity in global contexts. While thinking space relationally provides a theoretical space for addressing local autonomies in global development agendas, Massey was also concerned with the transnational implications. She addressed the potentialities involved in global and regional identity construction in her essay “Geographies of Responsibility,” cited below at length for clarity:

“Rethinking a politics of place, or nation, is an emotionally charged issue... The aim initially was to combat localist or nationalist claims to place based on eternal, essential, and in consequence exclusive, characteristics of belonging... However, there is also a second geography implied in the relational construction of identity. For a global sense of place means that any nation, region, city, as well as being internally multiple, is also a product of relations which *spread out beyond it* [my emphases]” (2004, 6).

Massey’s “persistent ruminations” (Massey 2015) on the relational nature of space have inspired an alternative geographic approach that conceptualizes space not as bounded by strictly localized material borders but also as “constituted through interactions, from the immensity of the global

to the intimately tiny” (2015, 20-22). Grech has drawn attention to these relational and spatial geopolitical crossings in transnational discourses of disability and global development and he has argued that “understanding the disability narrative in the global south means (re)positioning it and understanding it as a *global historical narrative* (original emphasis)” (cited in Kolářová & Wiedlack, p. 132, 2016). Grech is calling for a correction in what Massey has identified as “evasive imaginations” in social, political, and public ways of thinking about space and spatial relationships. In the first, “*to turn space into time, geography into history,*” Massey draws attention to “modernist grand narratives such as that of Progress or that of Modes of production,” where “the whole uneven geography of the world is effectively reorganised (imaginatively) into a historical que... a turning of geography into history itself” (Massey 2006, 90). Northern practitioners in the fields of global humanitarianism and charity have been particularly adept at leveraging oppressive misinterpretations of disability, and intellectual and developmental disability in particular, to bolster the ‘grand narrative’ of progress and permanently fix northern geographies and cultures at the head of the historical queue. This “rendering multiple histories into one trajectory” is reminiscent of Chataika’s metaphorical colonial snakeskin; those that are proficient at writing ‘geography as history’ also maintain the power to ‘shed’ the historical and geopolitical context in which the story is told.

In Massey’s second evasive strategy is “*thinking of space as a surface*” (original emphasis) space is conceived as an immobile, static, distinctly final, material and temporally *grounded* formation that is “assumed to be equivalent to the landscape ‘out there’, the surface of the earth and sea that stretches out around us” (2006, 91). Massey gestured at narratives of the “classically colonial... voyages of discovery,” to illustrate this conceptualization of space where northern explorers travel across distant spaces to discover new landscapes, geographies, and people. These stories envision that those ‘discovered’ are “located on this spatial surface which has been crossed, implicitly awaiting the arrival of the voyager,” (2006, 92) void of agency, culture or experience. Reimagining the multiplicities involved in the construction of space, place and identity will help this study to re-imagine how America’s early twentieth century construction of the improperly developed feebleminded subject became a co-constituting product of relations that, in Massey’s terms, “spread out beyond” the national borders in ways that have profoundly influenced the geographic spaces of global development.

I will engage the “intellectual traffic between geography and cultural studies” (D. Mitchell 2008, 64) to explain the circulatory *cultural* and *geographic* systems that are involved in the construction of borders, boundaries, landscapes, and the formation of both spatial and human identities. For cultural geographers, “culture *is* spatial” (D. Mitchell, 272) and the formation of the social and cultural identity of a place, like the identity of a nation, always involves political struggles over what *types* of cultural and individual identities can claim the right to a that particular space or landscape. These epistemologies push against the notion that space is strictly immobile, flat, distinctly final, or materially and temporally grounded. For relational geographers, space generates through the multiple relationships and the ongoing interactions that unfold within it. The relational approach to geography opens up multiple ways to trace the enduring historical and material mechanisms, social relationships, and political interactions that have characterized the imagined identity and material boundaries of the United States and for re-imagining how these characterizations came to depend upon discourses of improper development to reaffirm the American identity within and across spatial locations.

Thinking space relationally has influenced how postcolonial geographers theorize the politics of space, place and identities of difference. I will apply theories in relational geography to highlight why and how localized perspectives, like the emergence of the feebleminded threat the early 1900s U.S., were constructed as common sense knowledge in both national and transnational contexts. Mitchell was clear that national identity “is related to the formation of certain kinds of individuals” (270) and this project is keenly interested in questioning whether it is plausible or possible for the U.S. to put forth a self-narrative of strength and superiority that is not contingent upon marginalized categories of improperly developed individuals, cultures, or geographies.

Section 4: Methodology

Part 1: Methods in Postcolonial Digital Humanities:

Digital scholarship provides a rich opportunity to “confront the whole assemblage of the history of history” (Kramer 2014) and to remediate erasures and historical absences in the cultural record. Burdick et al. believe “the memory palaces of the 21st century will have much more permeable walls than their 19th and 20th century predecessors,” (2012, 49) and the creation

of a publicly accessible digital 'memory palace' that makes visible the articulating politics of developmental disabilities and global development will ultimately increase academic, political and public awareness. Paul Barrett makes a strong case that the recent turn in the digital humanities towards critical criticism in colonial archive research is in alignment with critiques of colonial histories in knowledge production and "other relations of domination and exploitation" (Barrett 2014). Barret has drawn attention to the "continued salience of the nation as an organizing structure and category of analysis" and he has firmly maintained that the nation "however ghostly or marginal a form" (2014) is a rich site of engagement that is generally absent in DH inquiry. Risam has also discussed postcolonial DH methodologies and she has argued that "scholars in the digital humanities advocating for cultural critique recognize that engaging with difference is not only a question of representation but also one of method" (Risam 2015). This dissertation study will develop new critical cultural and academic interest in the histories and border crossings of developmental disability and global development by attending to the digital analytics of artifact provenance, source criticism, metadata ethics, and engagement with archival and history theory.

Part 2: Timeline (Appendix C)

Year 1/Phase 1: Data Collection and Artifact/Archive Search:

Cultural geographer Kevin Hannam has addressed the complexities involved in visual and textual analysis and it is his recommendation that "all sources are to some degree inaccurate, incomplete, distorted or tainted... to understand the significance of an event of representation, any researcher will therefore need to examine as wide a range of sources as possible" (2002, 189). In my preliminary archive search I entered terms related to feeblemindedness into digital archive databases to identify the relevant resource sites and this preliminary inquiry yielded a rich set of artifacts related to American nationalism and the feebleminded subject (Appendix A). While these images and texts signpost feeblemindedness as generative in discourses of U.S. nationalism, Stuart Hall offered the critical reminder that "images do not carry meaning or 'signify' on their own, they accumulate meaning... across a wide variety of texts" (2013, p. 222) and a more robust archive search is necessary to corroborate the preliminary results. Through the first year of the dissertation I will continue to apply distant reading to the artifacts located in the preliminary archive search while broadening the exploratory query to include primary,

secondary, and informal sources related to American Globalism and American humanitarianism. This data collection process will include making notes of and marking the underlying themes and inter-textualities that point to the representational construction of discourses of improper development in select artifacts. Based on these analytical notations of the emergent representational patterns, I will construct a theory driven coding system that will operate to reduce and refine the type and number of artifacts for my relational discourse analysis. Hannam also warns archival researchers that, “analysing archival and textual material is painstaking and generally requires a great deal of time” (2002, 190) and a large portion of the first year is allocated to archive search, broad topic artifact collection, and identifying generative artifacts for the deep visual, textual analytical phases of the study.

Year 1/Phase 2: Digital Historiography, Data Management, Artifact Selection & Encoding Standards:

In this exploratory phase, I will digitally prepare and archive the visual and textual objects in preparation for encoding, metadata, and critical analysis. Visual cultural studies (VCS) scholar Nicholas Mirzoeff has situated VCS as an “endeavor to create a decolonial genealogy” of the contradictory ways global cultures and events are visually constructed. I will draw on the key VCS concepts of vision, visuality and visibility to deconstruct the material and cultural features of the artifacts collected. VCS is interested in both an artifacts materiality and its “social and historical formation as impure ‘visual events’ that stimulate multiple cognitive and sensory experiences” (Bal 2003). The preliminary search objects include large volumes of textual information, photographs, charts, graphs and maps—impure visual events—that categorized the feebleminded subject in the early twentieth-century. I will perform a distant reading of the wide-ranging scope of artifacts outlined in appendices A and B, and based on this initial work, I will select a reasonable number of artifacts for close reading, critical analysis, and for linking to the Scalar II dissertation site. Liu believes “the appropriate, unique contribution that the digital humanities can make to cultural criticism at the present time is to... think “critically about metadata” (and everything else related to digital technologies) in a way that “scales into thinking critically about the power, finance, and other governance protocols of the world” (Liu 2012). During this critical step in the artifact appraisal and digital content management process, I will apply the following methods in digital historiography—“the study of the interaction of digital

technology with historical practice”—to generate the contextual genealogies and the cultural visualities of each artifact:

- a. **Source Provenance:** determine the authenticity of the source by tracing its production and addressing its development from its original form to the research archive source.
- b. **Critical Source Criticism:** trace the artifact validity and note the social and political context of its production. What historical events does the artifact represent? What power structures are embedded in its construction? How is the artifact ‘interpreted’ in contemporary contexts?
- c. **External/Internal Source Criticism:** research the creator, record and custodial history
 - i. **Source Archive Category:** Is the artifact an analog original (found in material historical archives,) or a born digital representation (such as the *September 11 Digital Archive*) or a digital surrogate (digitized artifacts housed in the Eugenics Records Office, Census Bureau etc.)
 - ii. Where did the artifact originate? What was its original context? Is the original archive accessible?
 - iii. Was the artifact located in a ‘traditional’ repository (such as the Truman Library) or a digital historic representational archive (Google Books).²⁰
 - iv. What choices are evident in the artifacts placement in the source archive?

After undertaking a thorough digital historiography, I will collaborate with University of Washington digital librarians and information technology specialists to design a set of encoding and metadata standards that are both specific to the dissertation thesis and that also maximize the searchability and accessibility for general audiences. Once the standards for encoding are determined I will prepare, encode and digitally annotate the artifacts and objects collected. I will then upload these digitally prepared artifacts into in an accessible server or flexible cloud based service to generate stable URLs for the Scalar II dissertation site.

²⁰ See a more thorough description of methods in Hering, 2014.

Year 2/Phase 1: Data Immersion and Critical Discourse Analysis

It is my foremost concern that the final digital dissertation platform serve as a critical site that broadens public knowledge about the discourses of improper development without re-objectifying the subjects of the images or texts. I will apply approaches in critical discourse theory, culture, and the politics of representation to cultivate an ontological argument that explains the specific ways that representational discourses of developmental disabilities and global development come together to construct what I have defined as the discourse of improper development. Stuart Hall has defined discourses as “ways of referring to or constructing knowledge about a topic of practice: a cluster (*or formation*) of ideas, images and practices, which provide ways of talking about, forms of knowledge and conduct associated with a particular topic, social activity, or institutional site in society” (2013, xxii). Through this analytical phase, I will think through the historical, cultural and institutional processes that give the discourse of improper development its form and meaning while I interrogate how these regimes of representation “are deployed in particular times in particular places” in ways that define what is knowable, “relevant, useful and true” about improper development. I will give considerable analytical attention to how the representational mechanisms of *myth*, *stereotyping*, and *othering* operate within the discourses.²¹

Roland Barthes myth and mythology is a type of depoliticizing speech within “a second order semiological system” that captures the denotation of the original form and transforms it’s meaning making properties into the secondary system Barthes defined as ideology. These ideological myths naturalize the signified (such as intelligent, developed, sophisticated, savior) to hide its historical context and normalize its significance as common sense knowledge.²² Hall understood representational ideologies as those “images, concepts, and premises which provide the frameworks through which we represent, interpret, understand and ‘make sense’ of some aspect of social existence” (2011, p. 81) and he was profoundly interested in deconstructing the *systems of representation*—the language, signals, signs, and broader cultural and political practices/interpretations that make meaning within these systems. I will draw heavily from Hall’s

²¹ For a complete description of the politics of representation see Hall, 2013.

²² See Barthes, *Mythologies*, 1972

theories to analyze how myths and stereotyping operate to fix a sense of 'proper development' through oppositional strategies that attempt to essentialize difference through us/them categories.²³ Michael Pickering has also integrated semiotic thought with cultural and critical media studies methodologies to theorize how stereotyping practices have historically informed the cultural construction of 'the Other.' Pickering offers productive strategies for analyzing how these "mutually complimenting" discursive devices operate within representational discourses as a discursive tools of "symbolic expulsion" that exclude those subjectivities that falling outside of what society constitutes as a normal safe and acceptable ways of being (Pickering, 2001, pp. 47-50). These analytic principles clarify how to underscore stereotyping *as a process* that operates to mark or 'fix' difference through the accumulation of "sharply opposed, polarized binary extremes—good/bad, civilized/primitive—" (S. Hall 2013, 219).

In his seminal work "The Location of Culture," Homi K. Bhabha calls for an "analytic of ambivalence" that questions how, as a feature of colonial discourse, the stereotype "gives knowledge of difference and simultaneously disavows or masks it" (1993, 110). For Bhabha, the subjectification of difference is "possible (and plausible)" through historical processes that fix universally accepted and difficult to counter ideas of difference. Bhabha calls for a critical reading of the colonial discourses and "politicized means of representation" that sustain stereotypical constructions. In his conceptualization of the ambivalence of the stereotype, Bhabha points to the "continual and repetitive chain of other stereotypes" that upholds power over difference by creating vague diagnostic categories that, through their lack of clarity and meaning, easily transfer across difference. To locate these historically linked "continual and repetitive chain of other stereotypes," I will first analyze each artifacts denotational meaning by observing its compositional features and making note of the visual framing, object/subject position, lighting and camera angle and environmental setting. Barthes expressed frustration with theories that reduce "the problem of visual information to the problem of its *effects*" (original emphasis) and he argued that while the "the image can transform the psyche... it can also signify it" (1961, 45). This important proposition brings to the surface the issue of not simply how the material construction of an artifact is interpreted by consumers but also what it suggests about

²³ (S. Hall, The Spectacle of The 'Other' 2013)

those that produce, and reproduce, its ideological meaning. This analytical phase will place “representation as a concept and a *practice* (my emphasis) (S. Hall 2013, 216)” as a central tool for reading the textual or visual objects connotational meaning(s) and for exploring how representation works to signify difference in its subject/s.

Year 1-3 Digital Platform Development

I will develop a single web portal that will link to the original institutional source archives, the cloud based server where the digitized study artifacts will be stored, and the accompanying digital map (appendix C). The dissertation web portal will serve as an interactive curricular device for undergraduate courses at the University of Washington and interested institutions and will encourage students and activists to add digital content based on current day and historical issues related to developmental difference. It is my goal that the final digital dissertation web portal will gain traction through online activist communities, education environments and humanitarian and service agencies.

Web Portal and Interface Design: I will consult with University of Washington digital management, web-development, infrastructure, and server and interface design specialists with specific competencies in digital humanities projects. With their guidance, I will explore best practices for developing a publicly accessible (including accessible to disability populations) interface that links to the source archives, the critical dissertation analysis and conclusions, digitized research materials, and the dissertations selected cloud based storage option (*appendix D*). I will explore additional “off the shelf” web publishing options such as Omeka, Zotero, and Dreamhost to establish whether Scalar II is the most stable option. I will research and test each product and determine its ease of usability, supported file types, navigation features, interactivity and creativity tools, startup and maintenance costs, site sustainability, search capacities, and visual aesthetic prior to making the final selection. Burdick et al. remind digital humanists to pay close attention to their “model of knowledge” by asking “how the knowledge is shaped and modeled: as an argument, a presentation, a display?” (Digital Humanities 2012, 130). I will pay particular attention to how the interface, visual displays and theoretical interpretations “model and embody knowledge” for general and academic users. It is my goal that the web portal will move the discourse forward through careful attention to its aesthetic components, artifact displays, query tools and interactivity features.

Server Options: I will research server platforms and clouds based storage services to determine the option that best suits the long-term sustainability needs of the project. I will survey commercial cloud based products such as Microsoft Azure, Amazon Cloud Services and Google Cloud Computing and also explore academic cloud storage capabilities at the University of Washington. Criteria for consideration will include cost per gigabyte, networking capabilities, expandability, data security and reliability, long-term storage capacity, site recovery, maintenance costs and additional add on fees.

Digital Map Development: Bhagat and Mogel define radical cartography as “the practice of map making that subverts conventional notions in order to promote social change,” (2007, 6-11) and geographer Luke Bergman suggests “many interpretive scholars today... use digital “data” ...on what one might term an “artisanal” basis—doing so in relatively small quantities and with deep attention to context” (2016, 974). I will work with *Google MyMap* tools to develop an accompanying radical digital cartography that will link to the dissertation web portal and display the digitized curated data, final discourse analysis and the study conclusions. Radical cartographies are active and intentional political objects that explicitly call into question social, historical and global inequalities.²⁴ The digital dissertation *Google MyMap* interface will encourage open participation with the project elements and invite individuals to move between the photographs, textual evidence and historical artifacts on their own terms. The map will convey a visual impression of the representational discourses and provide a digitally interactive assessment of how myths about developmental difference recirculate, how societies arrive at their understandings about unfamiliar ways of being and the powerful interests these discourses serve.

Year 3 Dissertation Writing and Digital Presentation:

While DH methods of analysis are “an extension of traditional knowledge skills and methods, [they are] not a replacement for them (Burdick, et al., 16). This final year of dissertation work will include a more traditional write-up of the critical discourse analysis and study conclusions

²⁴ (Bhagat and Mogel 2007) (Roberts 2012) (Zook and Graham 2007)

(see section 5) and incorporating the final text into the interactive features of the selected dissertation web-portal.

Section 5: Proposed Chapters

Chapter 1: Introduction

- Contemporary Representations: The Cultural Politics of Improper Development
- Purpose of the Study
- Research Questions
- Study Significance
- Researcher Positionality, Assumptions and Limitations
- Conclusion

Chapter 2: Review of the Literature

Chapter 3: Methodology

- Why Digital Scholarship?
- Historical Archive Search
- Contemporary Digital Resources
- Postcolonial Digital Methods
- Critical Discourse Analysis

Chapter 4: Research Findings

- 1900-1935 – U.S. Nationalism, Charity and Representing the Feeble-minded Threat
 - a. 'Normalcy' and the Ambiguous Category of the Feeble-minded
 - b. Protecting the National Gene Pool
 - c. Framing the Improperly Developed Geography
- 1947-1977 – American Globalism, Benevolence, and Geographies of Improper Development
 - a. Geographies of Improper Development
 - b. Commodifying the Child Image
 - c. Cultural Politics, the Media, Government and Humanitarian Representation

d. From U.S. Developmental Disabilities to Global Development and Back
Again

- 1980-Contemporary Representations/Movements

Chapter 5: Conclusion, Consequences, and Interventions

- Contemporary Articulations
- Interventions/Movements
- Open Source/Interactive Digital Space

SEARCH TERMS 1896-1930

idiot, idiocy, defectives, defective, mental deficiency, idio-imbecile, moral-imbecile, imbecility, brute, moron, savage, Feeble-Minded, feeble-minded, feeble-minded, feebly-inhibited, feeble mindedness, feeblemindedness, feebly unfit, feebly-criminal, epileptic, epilepsy, eugenics, eugenic, eugenicists, hygiene, hygienists, social hygiene, mental hygiene, criminally insane.



Google Books

Digital Public Library of America (DPLA)
Library of Congress *American Memory*

Truman State University

The Image Archive on the American
Eugenics Movement

The American Philosophical Society

The Disability History Museum

Library of Congress Chronicling
America: Historic American
Newspapers

ProQuest Historical Newspapers

Newspaper Source Plus

Preliminary Artifact Evidence Type

Asylum/Superintendent Reports, Diagnostic Manuals, Professional/Personal Correspondence, Feebleminded State Institution Annual Board Reports, State Laws for Dependent Classes, American Association for the Study of the Feeble-Minded Annual Sessions, Clinical Lectures, Published Case Studies, U.S. Census Reports, Public Lectures, Association of Medical Officers Idiotic and Feeble-Minded Persons Session Proceedings, State Quarterly Reviews, Institutions Bulletins/Quarterly Announcements, State Board of Control Reports and Manuals, Care Manuals, Classification Standards Manuals, Social Welfare Bulletins and Conference Proceedings, Published Essay's, ERO Reports,

Public Marketing Campaign Images, Newspaper & Magazine Articles/Advertisements, Public Education Campaigns, Film, Satirical Cartoons, Public Billboards, Professional Conference Displays

SEARCH TERMS 1944-1977

immigrant, communist, anticommunism, anti-Soviet, defective, degenerate race, handicap, imbecile, brute, moron, savage, primitive, negro/es, n**ger, negroid, colored, orphan, greatest nation, the American Century, Americanization, manifest destiny, national loyalty, holy nationalism, Americanism, humanitarian aid, charity, civilian aid, American progress, American prosperity, welfare relief, foreign aid, civilized nation



Google Digitized Books Archives
Digital Public Library of America (DPLA)
Library of Congress *American Memory*
Truman State University
NAACP Historical Archives
The Kennedy Center Libraries
Disability History Museum



Mass circulation magazines (LIFE, Saturday Evening Post, Ladies Home Journal, Scientific American)
Humanitarian Agency Archives

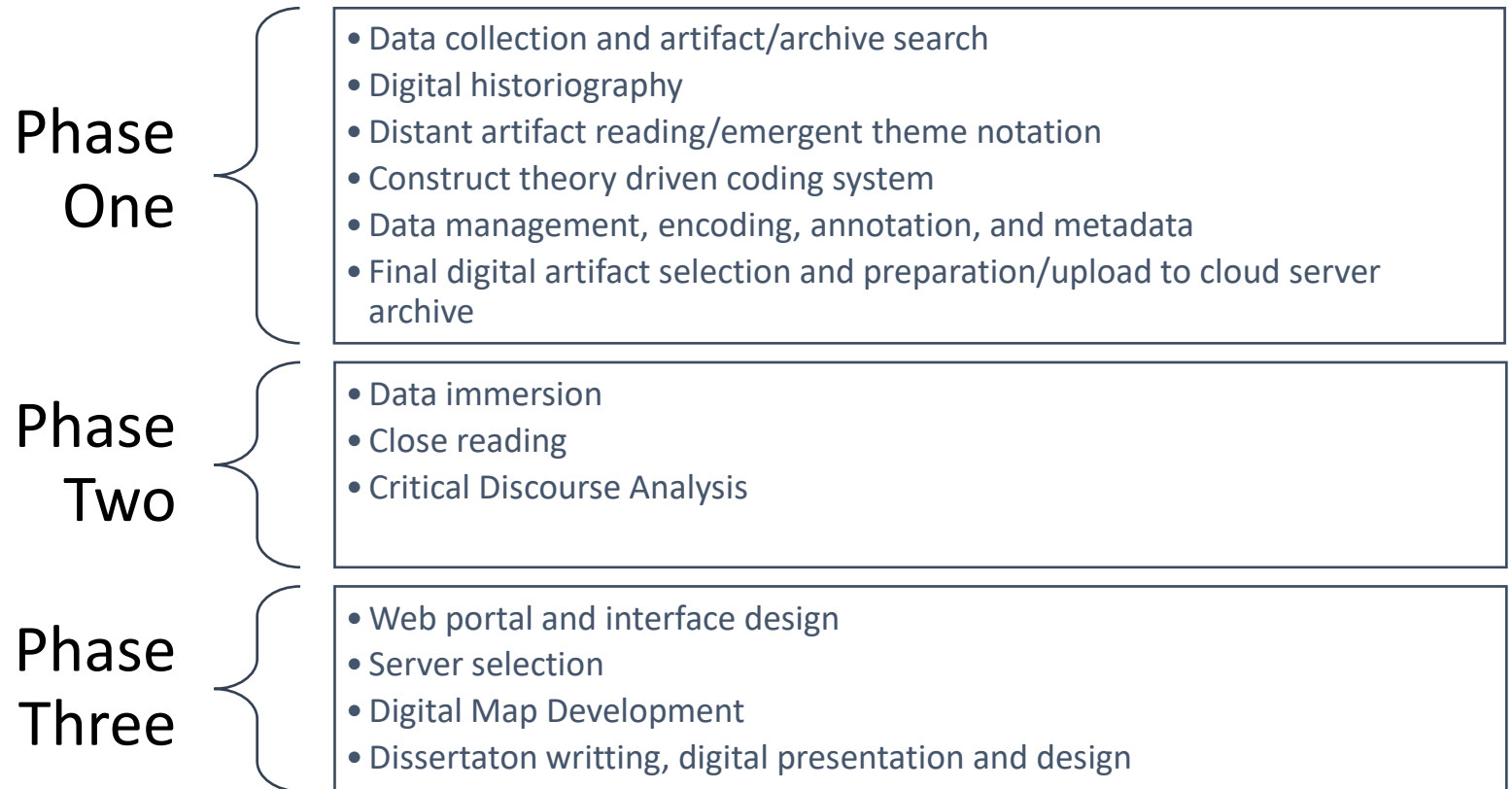


Library of Congress Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers; Prints and Photographs Division; American Treasures
ProQuest Historical Newspapers, American Periodicals
Newspaper Source Plus

Preliminary Artifact Evidence Type

Presidential speeches, government policy documents, humanitarian aid and charity foundation letters and policy documents, public marketing campaign images, newspaper and magazine articles/advertisements, public education campaigns, film, satirical cartoons, public billboards, professional conference displays, radio broadcasts, television programs/advertisements and new coverage.

Digital Dissertation Time Schedule



Bibliography

- "1926 ARC Campaign Poster." Digital image. Accessed December 5, 2017.
- Bailey, Moya Z. "All the Digital Humanists Are White, All the Nerds Are Men, but Some of Us Are Brave." *Journal of Digital Humanities*. 2011. Accessed February 06, 2018. <http://journalofdigitalhumanities.org/1-1/all-the-digital-humanists-are-white-all-the-nerds-are-men-but-some-of-us-are-brave-by-moya-z-bailey/>.
- Bal, Mieke. "Visual essentialism and the object of visual culture." *Journal of Visual Culture* 2, no. 1 (2003): 5-32. doi:10.1177/147041290300200101.
- Barker, Clare, and Stuart Murray. "Disabling Postcolonialism: Global Disability Cultures and Democratic Criticism." In *Disability Studies Reader*, 61-73. 4th ed.
- Barrett, Paul. "Where is the Nation in Postcolonial Digital Humanities?" *Postcolonial Digital Humanities*. January 20, 2014. Accessed February 06, 2018. <http://dhpoco.org/>.
- Barthes, Roland, and Chris Turner. *Signs and images: writings on art, cinema and photography*. London: Seagull Books, 1961.
- Barthes, Roland. *Mythologies*. New York: Wang & Hill, 1972.
- Bass, Gary J. *Freedoms battle: the origins of humanitarian intervention*. New York, NY: Vintage Books, 2009.
- Baynton, Douglas C.. *Defectives in the land: disability and immigration in the age of eugenics*.
- Baynton, Douglas C., ed. "Disability and the Justification of Inequality in American History." In *The Disability Studies Reader*, 17-33. 4th ed. New York, NY: Routledge, 2013.
- Bergmann, Luke. "Toward speculative data: "Geographic information" for situated knowledges, vibrant matter, and relational spaces." *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 34, no. 6 (2016): 971-89. doi:10.1177/0263775816665118.
- Bhabha, Homi Jehangir. *Location of Culture*. Routledge, 1993.
- Black, Edwin. *War against the weak: eugenics and Americas campaign to create a master race*. Washington, DC: Dialog Press, 2012.
- Bornstein, Erika. *The Spirit of Development: Protestant NGOs, Morality, and Economics in Zimbabwe*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005.
- Burdick, Anne, Johanna Drucker, Peter Lunenfeld, Todd Presner, and Jeffrey Schnapp. *Digital_humanities*. Cambridge: Mit Press, 2012.
- Calhoun, Craig. "Nationalism Matters." In *Nationalism in the New World*, 16-40. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2006.

- Calhoun, Craig J. *Nations matter: culture, history, and the cosmopolitan dream*. London: Routledge, 2011.
- Carey, Allison C. *On the margins of citizenship: intellectual disability and civil rights in twentieth-century America*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2010.
- Carlson, Licia. "Cognitive Ableism and Disability Studies: Feminist Reflections on the History of Mental Retardation." *Hypatia* 16, no. 4 (2001): 124-46. doi:10.1353/hyp.2001.0054.
- Chouliaraki, Lillie. "Post-humanitarianism." *International Journal of Cultural Studies* 13, no. 2 (2010): 107-26. doi:10.1177/1367877909356720.
- Cohen, Adam. *Imbeciles: the Supreme Court, American eugenics, and the sterilization of Carrie Buck*. New York: Penguin Press, 2017.
- Cooper, Frederick. *International development and the social sciences: essays on the history and politics of knowledge*. 1997.
- Cottle, Simon, and David Nolan. "Global Humanitarianism And The Changing Aid-Media Field." *Journalism Studies* 8, no. 6 (2007): 862-78. doi:10.1080/14616700701556104.
- Davenport, Charles Benedict. *Eugenics the science of human improvement by better breeding*. New York: H. Holt, 1910.
- Davis, Lennard J. "Disability, Normality, and Power." In *The Disability Studies Reader*, 1-16. 4th ed.
- Davis, Lennard J. "Constructing Normalcy: The Bell Curve, the Novel, and the Invention of the Disabled Body in the Nineteenth Century." In *The Disability Studies Reader*, 3-16. 2nd ed. New York, NY: Routledge, 2006.
- De Waal, Alex. *Famine crimes: politics & the disaster relief industry in Africa*. London: African Rights and the International African Institute in association with James Currey and Indiana University Press, 1997.
- Dickason, Olive Patricia. *The myth of the savage and the beginnings of French colonialism in the Americas*. Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1984.
- Dogra, Nandita. "'Reading NGOs visually'—Implications of visual images for NGO management." *Journal of International Development* 19, no. 2 (2007): 161-71. doi:10.1002/jid.1307.
- Doyle, Don Harrison, and Marco Antonio Villela. Pamplona. *Nationalism in the New World*. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2006.
- Erevelles, Nirmala. "Race and Ethnicity." In *Encyclopedia of Disability*, 1335--1341. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2006.
- Erevelles, Nirmala. "The Color of Violence: Reflecting on Gender, Race and Disability in Wartime." In *Feminist Disability Studies*, 117-35. Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2011.

"Extends Work In Eugenics." *The New York Times*. 1913

Fousek, John. *To lead the free world American nationalism and the cultural roots of the Cold War*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000.

Franks, Suzanne. *Reporting Disasters Famine, Aid, Politics and the Media*. Oxford: Hurst, 2014.

Garland-Thomson, Rosmarie. "Integrating Disability, Transforming Feminist Theory." In *Feminist Disability Studies*, 13-47. Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2011.

Gerstle, Gary. "Race and Nation in the United States, Mexico, and Cuba, 1840-1940." In *Nationalism in the New World*, 272-304. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2006.

Gill, Peter. *Famine and foreigners: Ethiopia since Live Aid*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.

Grech, Shaun. "Disability in the Majority World: A Neocolonial Approach." In *Disability and Social Theory: New Developments and Directions*, 52-69. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.

Hall, Stuart. *Formations of modernity*. Oxford: Polity Press, 1992. pp. 276-330

Hall, Stuart, Jessica Evans, and Sean Nixon. *Representation / edited by Stuart Hall, Jessie Evans and Sean Nixon*. London: Sage Publications, 2013.

Hall, Stuart. "The Spectacle of The 'Other'." In *Representation*, 215-75. Los Angeles: Sage Publications, 2013.

Hannam, Kevin. "Coping with Archival and Textual Data." In *Doing Cultural Geography*, 189-97. Los Angeles, CA: Sage Publications, 2002.

"Harry S. Truman Presidential Library & Museum." The Point Four Program. Accessed February 06, 2018. http://www.trumanlibrary.org/whistlestop/study_collections/pointfourprogram/index.php

Hattori, Tomohisa. "The moral politics of foreign aid." *Review of International Studies* 29, no. 02 (2003). doi:10.1017/s0260210503002298.

Hering, Katharina. "Provenance Meets Source Criticism." *Journal of Digital Humanities* 3, no. 2 (2014). Accessed November 3, 2017. <http://journalofdigitalhumanities.org/3-2/provenance-meets-source-criticism/>.

Irwin, Julia F. *Making the World Safe: the American Red Cross and a Nations Humanitarian Awakening*. Place of publication not identified: OXFORD University Press, 2017.

Kolářová, Kateřina, and M. Katharina Wiedlack. "Crip Notes on the Idea of Development." *Somatechnics* 6, no. 2 (2016): 125-41. doi:10.3366/soma.2016.0187.

Kramer, Michael J. "Going Meta on Metadata." *Journal of Digital Humanities*. 2014. Accessed February 06, 2018. <http://journalofdigitalhumanities.org/3-2/going-meta-on-metadata/>.

- Kras, Joseph F. "The "Ransom Notes" Affair: When the Neurodiversity Movement Came of Age." *Disability Studies Quarterly* 30, no. 1 (2009). doi:10.18061/dsq.v30i1.1065.
- Lamp, Sharon, and Carol W. Cleigh. "A Heritage of Ableist Rhetoric in American Feminism from the Eugenics Period." In *Feminist Disability Studies*, 175-90. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2011.
- Laughlin, Harry Hamilton. *Eugenical sterilization in the United States*. Chicago: Psychopathic laboratory of the Municipal court of Chicago, 1922.
- Liu, Alan. "Where Is Cultural Criticism in the Digital Humanities?" *Debates in the Digital Humanities*. 2012. Accessed April 30, 2017. <http://dhdebates.gc.cuny.edu/debates/text/20>.
- Lombardo, Paul A. *Three generations, no imbeciles: eugenics, the Supreme Court, and Buck v. Bell*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010.
- Longmore, Paul K., and Catherine Kudlick. *Telethons spectacle, disability, and the business of charity*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2016.
- Malkki, Liisa H. "Speechless Emissaries: Refugees, Humanitarianism, and Dehistoricization." *Cultural Anthropology* 11, no. 3 (1996): 377-404. doi:10.1525/can.1996.11.3.02a00050.
- Manzo, Kate. "Imaging Humanitarianism: NGO Identity and the Iconography of Childhood." *Antipode* 40, no. 4 (2008): 632-57. doi:10.1111/j.1467-8330.2008.00627.x.
- Mapping cultures: place, practice, performance; ed. by les roberts*. NEW YORK: PALGRAVE MACMILLAN, 2012.
- Massey, Doreen. "Geographies of Responsibility ." *Geografiska Annaler* 86, no. 1 (2004): 5-18.
- Massey, Doreen. "Space, time and political responsibility in the midst of global inequality." *Erdkunde* 2, no. 60 (2006): 89-95. doi:10.3112/erdkunde.2006.02.01.
- Massey, Doreen. *For space*. Los Angeles: SAGE, 2015.
- Mitchell, David, and Sharon Snyder. "The Eugenic Atlantic: race, disability, and the making of an international Eugenic science, 1800–1945." *Disability & Society* 18, no. 7 (2003): 843-64. doi:10.1080/0968759032000127281.
- Mitchell, Don. *Cultural geography: a critical introduction*. Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2008.
- Moeller, Susan D. *Compassion fatigue: how the media sell disease, famine, war and death*. London: Taylor & Francis, 1999.
- Mogel, Lize, and Alexis Bhagat. *An atlas of radical cartography*. Los Angeles: Journal of Aesthetics & Protest Press, 2007.
- Moore, Donald S., Jake Kosek, and Anand Pandian. *Race, nature, and the politics of difference*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2003.

- Moore, Donald S., Jake Kosek, and Anand Pandian. *Race, nature, and the politics of difference*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2003.
- Murray, Stuart. *Representing autism: culture, narrative, fascination*. Liverpool: Liverpool Univ. Press, 2008.
- Nepveux, Denise, and Emily Smith Beitiks. "Producing African Disability through Documentary Film:Emmanuel's Gift and Moja Moja." *Journal of Literary & Cultural Disability Studies* 4, no. 3 (2010): 237-54. doi:10.3828/jlcds.2010.21.
- Paul, Diane B. *Controlling human heredity: 1865 to the present*. Amherst, NY: Humanity Books, 1995.
- Pickering, Michael. *Stereotyping: the politics of representation*. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2008.
- "Plans To Better Race." *Special to the Washington Post*. 1915
- "Red Cross Campaign Poster." Digital image. Accessed December 3, 2017. circa 1914-1918
- Risam, Roopika. "Beyond the Margins: Intersectionality and the Digital Humanities." *DHQ: Digital Humanities Quarterly: Beyond the Margins: Intersectionality and the Digital Humanities*. Accessed February 06, 2018. <http://digitalhumanities.org:8081/dhq/vol/9/2/000208/000208.html>.
- Said, Edward W. *Orientalism*. New York: Vintage Books, 1979.
- Said, Edward W. *Reflections on exile and other literary and cultural essays*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000. pp. 569-590
- Shakespeare, Tom. "The Social Model of Disability." In *The Disability Studies Reader*, 214-235. 4th ed. New York, NY: Taylor & Francis, 2013.
- Snyder, Sharon L., and David T. Mitchell. *Cultural locations of disability*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2015.
- "The Outlook, 1913" Digital image. The American Philosophical Society. Accessed August 2, 2012.
- Thibault, Ronnie. "Can Autistics Redefine Autism? The Cultural Politics of Autistic Activism." *Journal Trans-Scripts* 4 (June 3, 2014): 57-88. June 3, 2014. Accessed June 3, 2014. http://www.humanities.uci.edu/collective/hctr/trans-scripts/recent_issue.html.
- Trent, James W. *Inventing the feeble mind: a history of mental retardation in the United States*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995.
- Tsitsi, Chataika. "Disability, Development and Postcolonialism." In *Disability and Social Theory: New Developments and Directions*, 252-69. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.
- Tyrrell, Ian R. *Reforming the world: the creation of Americas moral empire*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2010.
- Waltz, Mitzi. "Images and narratives of autism within charity discourses." *Disability & Society* 27,

no. 2 (2012): 219-33. doi:10.1080/09687599.2012.631796.

Weizman, Eyal. *The Least of All Possible Evils*. London: Verso, 2011.

Zook, Matthew A., and Mark Graham. "Mapping DigiPlace: Geocoded Internet Data and the Representation of Place." *Environment and Planning B: Planning and Design* 34, no. 3 (2007): 466-82. doi:10.1068/b3311.

ⁱ See: Erika Bornstein, (2005). Simon Cottle and David Nolan, (2007) Nandita Dogra, (2007) Suzanne Franks, (2014). Peter Gill, (2012). Tomohisa Hattori, (2003) Liisa H. Malkki, (1996), Kate Manzo, (2008) Susan D. Moeller, (1999). Denise Nepveux and Emily Smith Beitiks, (2010). Eyal Weizman, (2011). Alex de Waal, (1997).

ⁱⁱ See: Adam Cohen, (2017). Joseph F. Kras, (2009): , Ronnie Thibault,(2014)

ⁱⁱⁱ See: Olive Patricia. Dickason, (1984). Stuart Hall, (1992). Stuart Hall, (2013). Edward W. Said, (2000) Edward W. Said, (1979).