Question One:

PART 1: RACE AS THE FOUNDATIONAL DISCOURSE OF US NATIONALISM

Donald Trump's election to the United States Presidency activated a renewed domestic interest in U.S. nationalism, American identity politics, and nationalist ideologies that have in turn sparked an onslaught of media commentary and political and public debate. The majority of media headlines express anxiety, fear, and even disdain for the President's particular frame of nationalist politics while a limited few illustrate a tenuous and guarded support for his national and international agendas. Headlines that reflect this increase in nationalist topics include the *Atlantic's* "The Flawed Nationalism of Donald Trump," (Beinart 2018) *Foreign Policy's* "Trump's Nationalism is Arbitrary, Dangerous, Incoherent, and Silly" (Miller 2018), *Politico's* "Trump's Unifying Nationalism," and *The Washington Post* editorials "How Nationalism Can Actually Help Democracies" (2018) and "Trump's Solution to America's Crisis: Nationalism" (Bruenig 2018). Generally speaking, these writings address U.S. nationalism as an ambiguous political mechanism that maintains some undefined yet unilateral power to launch the ideologies of any current U.S. President onto the global stage. These approaches range from the staunch defense of U.S. nationalism's patriotic features to rebukes of anti-globalist ideologues.

On November 19, 2016 *The Economist* published the editorial "Trump's World the New Nationalism" which branded then President-Elect Donald Trump as the "latest recruit to a dangerous nationalism" (The Economist 2016). The authors categorized Trump and his "America First" and "Make America Great Again" politics as a new form of nationalism that has the potential for "neutering the World Trade Organization," producing global instabilities, and nurturing "xenophobic ultranationalists" in regions currently protected by global rule (The Economist 2016). The cover featured David Parkins' satirical interpretation of the 1876 American classic "Yankee Doodle 1776," with caricatures of Donald Trump, Vladimir Putin, Marine Le Pen, and Nigel Farage superimposed over Archibald Willard's iconic portrait of American patriotism *(figure 1)*. The *Economist* editorial and its visual counterpart intentionally framed the incoming President alongside international leaders that have been globally criticized for their extreme isolationist policies and practices, while the narrative defined the President Elect's emergent nationalist agenda as "pessimistic," "a blow to civic nationalism," and a threat to America's universal values (The Economist). The *Economists* core argument draws from common mythologies of American superiority that frame American national identity discourse as relatively free from the extreme ethnic and racialized ideologies that pervade Russia's "Slavic tradition and Orthodox Christianity," Turkey's "favor of a strident, Islamic

Figure 1: Illustration by David Parkin, The Economist Cover November 2016

nationalism," and India's "ties to radical ethnic-nationalist Hindu groups" (The Economist 2016). While it is vital to critique the United States impending isolationist policies and Presidential threats to withdrawal from the geopolitical arena, this singular focus on protecting the U.S. position as a global leader lacks basic insight into the superior race ideologies that are fundamental to discourses of U.S. nationalism. This absence of critical analysis of racial nationalism in the United States also serves as an extremely productive force in service to President Trump's 'new' nationalism.

Nationalism is an organizing discursive force that "grows in relationship to other political, cultural and ethnic projects," (Calhoun 2006, 17) and an ideological mechanism that "in different political and historical contexts can be put to radically different uses" (Doyle and Pamplona 2006). Debates about what nationalism *is* often center around the notion that nationalism is either "an extension of ancient ethnicity" or a "distinctly modern" concept" (2006, 66-68). I would argue that to form a more developed understanding of U.S. nationalism as a historical and cultural process it is essential to interrogate both ways of conceptualizing how it operates. Discourses of race, racist ideologies, and the political and cultural expulsion of racial and ethnic difference from what constitutes as a good and proper American citizenry have been put to radically different uses in the formation and maintenance of the United States self-identity. Gary Gerstle is interested in understanding distinct American nationalisms and his insights suggest that one of the more unique elements of the United States is that its "nationhood depended equally on the contradictory but coexisting ideologies of civic and racial nationalism" (2006, 272). Gerstle is pointing to the ever-present tensions between how the United States perceives itself as a superior democracy and what it actually does in practice. The U.S. has historically claimed the concept of civic nationalism based on notions of democracy, equality, and openness to all individuals "irrespective of race, religion, gender, ethnicity, or political creed" (2006, 272-274). According to Gerstle, racial nationalism in the United States "expressed a sense of peoplehood grounded in common blood and skin color and inherited fitness for self-government" (p. 272) and the cultural and political exclusion of non-white racial and ethnic populations from full participatory citizenship is central to the nation's founding. Gerstle, Calhoun, Baynton, Carey, and additional scholars from multiple disciplines have interrogated United States histories of exclusion. Taken together, these authors provide a thorough genealogy that illustrates the multiple ways that the dominant ideologies coming from the white and primarily protestant race has consistently situated itself as America's pure and superior citizen.

While immigration and civic nationalism in the United States "underscored the voluntary nature of nationality," (Doyle and Pamplona 2006) immigration status and national origin also served as a harsh weapon of national exclusion. In the building of American nations, and particularly so in the United States, "indigenous peoples throughout the America's… were dominated, marginalized, and often in political rhetoric forgotten by national founders" (Calhoun 2006, 218). In 1790, Congress established race

as a significant factor of inclusion/exclusion when it passed legislation limiting naturalization to "free white persons" (Gerstle, p. 273). From its very foundations U.S. nationalists "propagated a racial nationalism that conceived of the country in racial terms, as a home for white people… of European origin and descent" (Gerstle, 270-274). In 1870, Congress responded to white anxieties over regional wage depression and unemployment along the Pacific Coast (largely the result of a combination of factors, including post-Civil War reconstruction, the national economic depression, and a shift from mining to industrial labor) by passing the Chinese Exclusion Act, which prohibited the immigration of Chinese laborers. White labor leaders argued an influx of Chinese migrant labor along the Pacific Coast were directly responsible for the decline in employment and pay embarked on a successful public campaign that blamed Chinese immigration and dehumanized Chinese immigrants. Political satirist Thomas Nast's cartoon "Throwing Down the Ladder by Which They Rose," illustrated Nast's frustration over the Exclusion Act (and support for Chinese Immigrants), the brutal treatment of Chinese individuals and populations, and derogatory representations that frequently appeared in local and national newspapers. Nast's editorial cartoon, published in *Harper Magazine,* depicts a large wall around the United States border that is eerily reminiscent of our current day immigration discourse *(figure 2).*

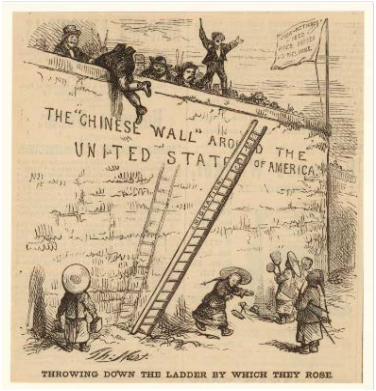


Figure 2: Thomas Nast, 1870 "Throwing Down the Ladder by Which they Rose" New York Public Library

Barbara Weinstein brings critical attention to the colonizing histories embedded in the very essence of the construction of the United States. Weinstein has made the case that "every single one of the New World nations that emerged from… old empires included a substantial number of persons subjected to the bonds of chattel slavery" (2006, 248). Although in 1868 the 14th Amendment granted citizenship to "all persons born or naturalized in the United States," (Library of Congress 2018) naturalization was afforded to a white privileged citizenry that continued (and continues) to find new mechanisms to project white superiority, ideologies of bigotry, and to oppress and exclude black populations from the nations imagined identity.

Modernity and Progressive Era politics at the turn of the twentieth century ushered in a new focus on mechanisms for the removal of racial difference from America's body politic. Eugenic studies, social hygiene policies, ideologies of social control, jim crow, separate but equal, and a myopic national focus on breeding superior human stock racialized the nationalist discourse. Charles Davenport was a staunch eugenicist, zoologist, abolitionist and founder of the U.S. Eugenics Records Office. In a letter to Madison Grant, Davenport made his case for the removal of all non-white races from the U.S. when he inquired if they could "build a wall high enough around this country… to keep out these cheaper races, or will it be a feeble dam… leaving it to our descendants to abandon the country to the blacks, browns, and yellows"

(cited in Black, p. 37). Chicago Chief Justice Harry Olson argued, "America, in particular, needs to protect herself against indiscriminate immigration, criminal degenerates, and race suicide," (Laughlin 1922, v) and when Davenport addressed the "problem of the negro," he suggested one viable solution would be to "export the black race at once" (Black 2003, 39). In 1920, Physician Martin Barr and Professor of English E.F. Maloney published "Types of Mental Defectives" (*figure 4)* which claimed; "the physical characteristics of all mental defectives are easily recognizable: the dark skin, curled hair, and thick negroid lips of the Ethiopian, the prominent cheek bones and deep-set eyes of the American Indian, and the tawny skin, coarse hair and peculiar Chinese cast of countenance of the Mongolian" (1920, 2-3). During the 1932 Third International Congress on Eugenics in New York, Davenport asked the primary question of Progressive Era eugenicists; "can we by Eugenical studies point the way to produce the superman and the superstate?" (1932, 22). Throughout the early decades of the twentieth century, race betterment and the construction of the pure American stock took on a newfound urgency, one that demanded the removal of all racial and ethnic identities that did not fit neatly into the white, protestant elite American frame.

I have provided a limited analysis of the various ways that racial discourse and ideologies of exclusion serve as the core devices that have driven and continue to support American nationalism. The confines of this essay and time restrictions do not permit what would be a complete exploration of this topic. I have not attended to the violent expulsion of Japanese Americans during WWII, the ongoing marginalization of American Indigenous populations, the 1900s vilification of Irish, Polish and Russian immigrants, the ever-present derogation of Mexican Americans, or the multiple threats that Muslim Americans contend with in their daily lives. Fousek has defined nationalism as "a style of thought about identity, loyalty, and solidarity that values the nation above all of sources or objects of identity" (2000, 17). In making the case that race is central to nationalism discourses in the United States, I would push back on Fousek's definition and argue that it is actually the white race that is valued above all other sources of national identity.

PART 2: FEEBLEMINDEDNESS AND DISABILITY AS AN ESSENTIAL COMPONENT US NATIONALISM

** Note regarding use of terminology and definitions: The term feebleminded/ness has a complicated and violent history. At the turn of the twentieth-century the idea of feeblemindedness was applied ambiguously to numerous forms of difference. These identities include multiple types and forms of physical, mental and intellectual disabilities, racial and ethnic identities, gender (particularly women), sexual identity, and religion. Feeblemindedness was leveraged to explain a host of criminal and anti-social behaviors. In the context of my work I do not intend to attach the social, cultural, and political conflation of the early twentieth-century categorization of feeblemindedness onto current day identities or contexts. I follow the cultural model of analysis that Patrick McDonagh employed in his study "Idiocy, A Cultural History" where my study "shift(s) from describing a presumed objective condition… to analyzing the terms, the language and structures that articulate the cultural idea" (2008, 17) of feeblemindedness. This approach allows me to explore how the use of feeblemindedness gets articulated *across* populations, time-

> periods, and geopolitical locations. Like McDonagh, I engage Foucault's theory of discursive formations where my "critical concern becomes not whether we are referring to exactly the same physiological condition across the years, but whether the terms used to designate a condition are part of repeating, transforming, and interconnected discourses" (p. 17).

The October 2017 online edition of NOS Magazine, the self-described magazine for neurodiversity culture and representation, featured the headline "Stop Using Intellectual Disability as an Insult" (Smith 2017). Ivanova Smith authored the article, self-identifies as a person with an intellectual disability, and makes the argument that "many autistic and intellectually disabled people were diagnosed as morons" during the era of eugenics" (2017). Smith's article draws attention to recent cultural conversations regarding the intellect of the current President of the United States *(figure 3)*. The media eagerly reported that Secretary of State Rex Tillerson called Trump a moron, and equal attention has recently been afforded to accusations that Chief of Staff John Kelly "likes to call President Trump an idiot" (Hart 2018) and that he "has referred to Trump as 'an idiot' multiple times to underscore his point" (Lee, Kube and Ruhle 2018). Pundits, reporters, and the public expressed general amusement and even giddiness when these pejorative terms that historically link to intellectual and mental disabilities were applied to the President, while few demonstrate any critical understanding or concern for the highly charged and violent eugenic histories that produced them. United States nationalism discourses maintain a primary focus on the normalcy of an individual's physical, intellectual and/or mental fitness and negative interpretations physical disabilities and intellectual, mental, and developmental difference have served as essential mechanisms of exclusion throughout the histories of U.S. nationalism and citizenship discourse.

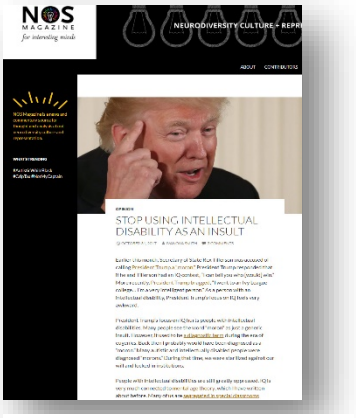
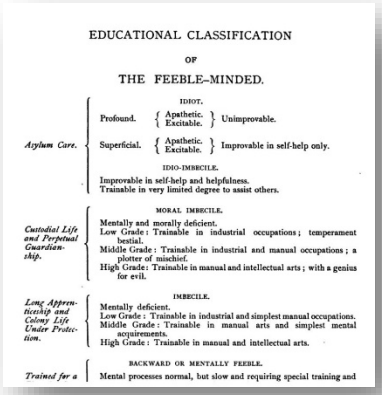


Figure 3: NOS Magazine "Stop Using Intellectual Disability as an Insult"

Allison Carey has argued that "people with intellectual disabilities tend to be characterized by their deficiencies… thus, when judged by the standards of the ideal citizen the person with an intellectual disability may appear unworthy, at best, and a threat to the nation… at worst" (2009, 1). Baynton has argued that in the historical context of immigration, race, and citizenship politics in the United States disability was a powerful marker of exclusion and his research has shown that "when categories of citizenship were questioned, challenged, and disrupted, disability was called on to clarify and define who deserved, and who was excluded from, citizenship" (2013, 17). Baynton has more recently argued that while there are ample studies that have "examined the roles played by race and ethnicity in arousing anti-immigration sentiment… the extraordinary prominence of disability rhetoric in anti-immigration literature… remains largely unexplored" (2016). Snyder and Mitchell described the 1900s "solidifying

fiction of and idealized American body politic" as consisting of both the "material body of the citizen (with all its variety of appearances, capacities and vulnerabilities) and the idealized body of the nation" (2015, 23). The 1882 Act to Regulate Immigration refused entry to "any convict, lunatic, idiot, or any person unable to take care of himself or herself without becoming a public charge" (Forty-Seventh Congress 1882). In the late 1890s, in response to social demands for the continued and permanent segregation of mental defectives Martin Barr, Superintendent and Chief Physician at the Pennsylvania Training School for the Feeble-Minded, began the work of categorizing mentally deficient classes through photographic evidence, graphs, charts and detailed written lab notes and documentation. In 1904 Barr published his results in "Mental Defectives, Their History, Treatment and Training" and later refined his classification system with E.F. Maloney in the publication "Types of Mental Defectives" (Barr and Maloney 1920). The reports categorized mental defectives as the primary classification with the five sub-typologies; idiot, idio-imbecile, imbecile, moral-imbecile and backward or mentally feeble— and these categories were further broken down into graded moral and behavioral characteristics for the purposes of recommending what kind of social restriction or institutionalization was appropriate for each typology (figure 4). During this same time period, the clinical manual "Backward and Feeble-Minded Children: Clinical Studies in the Psychology of Defectives, with a Syllabus for the Clinical Examination and Testing of Children" (Huey 1912) acknowledged that institutions, diagnosticians, educators and the general public conflated the feebleminded, idiot, imbecile and moron categories and called for an industry standard in terminology. The American Association for the Study of the Feebleminded later "took official action, settling at least tentatively. For American practice, the following points:



EDUCATIONAL CLASSIFICATION
OF
THE FEEBLE-MINDED.

IDIOT.

Asylum Care.
- Profound. { Apathetic. / Excitable. } Unimprovable.
- Superficial. { Apathetic. / Excitable. } Improvable in self-help only.

IDIO-IMBECILE.
Improvable in self-help and helpfulness.
Trainable in very limited degree to assist others.

MORAL IMBECILE.

Custodial Life and Perpetual Guardianship.
Mentally and morally deficient.
- Low Grade: Trainable in industrial occupations; temperament bestial.
- Middle Grade: Trainable in industrial and manual occupations; a plotter of mischief.
- High Grade: Trainable in manual and intellectual arts; with a genius for evil.

IMBECILE.

Long Apprenticeship and Colony Life Under Protection.
Mentally deficient.
- Low Grade: Trainable in industrial and simplest manual occupations.
- Middle Grade: Trainable in manual arts and simplest mental acquirements.
- High Grade: Trainable in manual and intellectual arts.

BACKWARD OR MENTALLY FEEBLE.

Trained for a
Mental processes normal, but slow and requiring special training and

Figure 4: 1920 Types of Mental Defectives: Martin Barr and E.F. Maloney

> 1.) The term feeble-minded is to be used generically to include all degrees of mental defect due to arrested or imperfect mental development, as a result of which the person so affected is incapable of competing on equal terms with his fellows, or of managing himself or his affairs with ordinary prudence. 2.) The feeble-minded are divided into three classes, viz; Idiots… Imbeciles… Morons" (1911).

During the early to mid-1900s, eugenicists, government agencies, and criminal courts "portrayed feeblemindedness as *direct cause of* (original emphasis) of poverty, crime, sexual deviance, and moral degeneracy" (Carey 2009, 56). Social hygiene professionals, feminists, legislators, educators, philanthropists, immigration officials, journalists, the public, *and eugenicists* all took a harsh view of *all* individuals categorized as feebleminded regardless of their disability, race, class, gender, ethnicity or

religion[1]. Mitchell and Snyder have argued that "to contrast charges of deviance historically assigned to blackness, femininity or homosexuality, these political discourses have tended to reify disability as a 'true' insufficiency, thereby extricating their own populations from equations of inferiority" (2006, 17). Based on the construction of feeblemindedness as a "synonym of human inefficiency and one of the great sources of human wretchedness and degradation," (Fernald, 1912, 3) modern science, the government and civil society endorsed segregation, sterilization, and rights restriction policies while feminists and civil rights activists fought against the leveraging of feebleminded stereotypes to rationalize *their* exclusion from full citizenship. Progressive Era eugenic science was "primarily a nationalist project," and its supporters were troubled over what they perceived as human traits of inferiority they perceived as a threat to the ideal "superior national race" (D. Baynton 2016, 16-19). Progressive Era nationalism held the purity of the national politic as its paramount concern; however, the promotion of a pure race meant the advancement of a genetically sound, physically vigorous, mentally and intellectually superior white Protestant stock and the ambiguous use of categories of disability and feeblemindedness were the central component of this nationalist discourse.

PART THREE: THE MUTUALLY INFORMING DISCOURSES OF FEEBLEMINDEDNESS, DISABILITY, RACE AND US NATIONALISM

On September 5, 2017 U.S. President Donald Trump announced that his administration would rescind Differed Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) and remove the policy set in place by the Obama administration that allowed 800,000 undocumented immigrants to live, work, and participate openly in U.S. society. When U.S. Attorney General Jeff Sessions announced the elimination of the deferred deportation program he argued the Obama policy "yielded terrible humanitarian consequences… [and] denied jobs to hundreds of thousands of Americans by allowing those same jobs to go to illegal aliens" (ABCNews 2017). The nativist tone in his statement was deeply reminiscent of U.S. racial ideologies of protectionism and the threat of the 'uncivilized other' that dominated national identity and race-purity discourses in the early decades of the twentieth-century; the Attorney General acknowledged the historical frame of isolationism in his opening remarks:

> "We inherited from our Founders, and have advanced, an unsurpassed legal heritage, which is the foundation of our freedom, safety and *prosperity* [my emphasis]… Our nation is comprised of good and decent people who want their government's leaders to fulfill their promises and advance an immigration policy that serves the national interest" (ABCNews, A.G. Jeff Session Makes Announcement on DACA 2017).

Cultural analyst Michael Pickering has argued that nationality and nationalism largely function through a socially and politically organized characteristic of belonging that necessitates "keeping in

[1] Portions of this description of Baynton's work appear in my dissertation.

public view its negative counterpart of not belonging" (Pickering 2001, 107). In the days that followed Attorney General Sessions' announcement, activists, the public, media commentators and government representatives frequently conflated DACA policy with President Trump's universal attempts to halt refugee admissions, restrict travel from Muslim-majority nations, restructure the U.S. Green Card system through the merit based "RAISE Act," and build a wall on the southern border. Restrictionists appeared across news and social media platforms to endorse President Trump's claims that "immigration security is also a matter of national security" and to argue that undocumented immigrants are *un*-American, "low skilled… high school dropouts… driving down wages," (MSNBC) responsible for "massive displacements of African American and Hispanic workers" (ABCNews). Immigration rights proponents drew from similar ableist and racist rhetorics to *legitimize* the 'Americanness' of undocumented immigrants. They defended the economic and social contributions of DACA recipients by arguing they "go to school… they are Americans," "they are not criminals, they contribute to the economy," and by suggesting "they have American values, play little league and… are as American as anyone else" (CNN 2017). Cultural scholars explain and approach nationalism as a discursive and relational process, as both ideological and material, and, as an "organizing and energizing force" (D. Mitchell 2000, 272) that situates particular individuals and groups into categories of belonging and of not belonging. Each of these groups, the President, the Attorney General and the individuals in these discussions vehemently debated what, or whom, constituted the authentic character of America's national identity. Proponents for and against DACA were in agreement that social and economic *productivity* is a primary metric for authorizing what kinds of individuals are deserving of the 'authentic American' label, however, the race-purity and eugenic histories that helped to shape the fear of dangerous and improperly developed 'Others—those that do not belong—were largely absent from these conversations.

The evening of Sessions' DACA announcement, MSNBC host Rachel Maddow aired an extensive exposé *Clear Throughline* that drew direct associations between President Trump's immigration doctrine, Sessions' DACA declaration, the Progressive Era American eugenics movement, and the inscription of feeblemindedness onto immigrant populations in the 1924 U.S. Immigration Act. The expose generally took issue with Sessions' erasure of "explicitly race based motives" in his recall of the political construction of the 1924 U.S. Immigration Act and characterized the Attorney General as an "unabashed admirer of the eugenics based race specific immigration bans of the 1920s Klan era" (Maddow 2017). Maddow centered her argument on the 1919 appointment of race purist and Congressman Albert Johnson as Chairman of the U.S. Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, Johnson's hiring of Harry Laughlin as the committees expert eugenics agent, and a chart published by Laughlin in 1921 (*figure 5*), and the Johnson-Reed Immigration Act of 1924:

> "After the 1918 midterm elections, when the Republican Party took over leadership of the congress… that is what made it possible for Albert Johnson to *take real power* (my emphasis), he became Chairman of the Committee on Naturalization and Immigration… Albert Johnson, whose whole public profile had been built around the defense of the white race and the threat that non-white immigrants posed to white civilization in the United States… as soon as he took over, the Committee on Naturalization and Immigration hired themselves an expert eugenics agent. Together, these two eugenicists, they got to work" (Maddow 2017).

Figure 5: 1921 ERO "All Types of Social Inadequacy" Source: Truman University

The program accurately described the 1924 bill as quota driven based on 1890 immigrant census numbers, however, Maddow's myopic focus on race, eugenics—and eugenicists Harry Laughlin and Albert Johnson—discounted the interlocking cultural, political, social and historical forces that led to the legislations widespread public acceptance and successful passage. To drive the point that the 1924 law "was a eugenics bill… and explicitly race based in its intention," Maddow concentrated on Laughlin's demographic analysis of the 'social inadequacy types' housed in 445 U.S. custodial institutions, with no mention of the institutions, the study or the institutions primarily white, U.S. born subjects: *(figure 5.)*" What this chart purports to show is the relative social inadequacy of various immigrant races in the United States. What counts as social inadequacy? Well, according to the chart, it includes **feeblemindedness,** insanity, crime, epilepsy, tuberculosis, blindness, deafness, deformity and dependency. And then the chart ranks your likelihood of ***being any of those things or having any of those things*** based on your national origin… we really did have a chief congressional eugenicist who was using tax payer dollars to rank the ***relative feeblemindedness*** of American immigrants on the basis of their national origin" (Maddow 2017).

Pickering has argued that the "mutually complimenting" devices of stereotyping and othering operate as tools of "symbolic expulsion" to exclude those that fall outside of what constitutes as "normal safe and acceptable ways of being" (2001, 47-50). Stereotyping *as a cultural process* operates to mark, 'fix' and 'other' difference through the accumulation of "sharply opposed, polarized binary extremes—good/bad, civilized/primitive—" (Hall 2013, 219). These binary extremes are highly ambiguous mechanisms that are both historically dependent and inherently vulnerable to ideological distortions. As Maddow attempted to link Laughlin's chart of social inadequacies to Sessions' and Trump's "racist roots," she made a concerted effort to pinpoint the absurdity of grading the '*relative feeblemindedness*' of ethnic minorities by mocking Laughlin's mere use of the term with air quotes, a head shake and an eye roll. In Maddow's 'ideological distortion' of the category feeblemindedness, she productively drew from

its inherent turn of the century mythological features as a category of difference to leverage its dehumanizing mythology that was used to classify what the United States absolutely was *not*.

Clear Throughline exploited Laughlin's strategic inscription of disabilities and feeblemindedness onto immigrant populations without acknowledging the long history of disabling and abusive practices materially imposed on those individuals. Maddow's "rendering of multiple histories into one single trajectory," (Massey 2006, 92) allowed her to represent a singular story about eugenics, race and the politics of U.S. nationalism without encountering the messy, and *multiple* histories that went into their production. Theories in cultural geography provide a more fluid way to think through the intricate relationship between a nation, its material boundaries, its culture and history, its social and political body and the multiple cultural mechanisms it draws on (or ignores) in the forging of an imagined and uniquely individual national identity.

Maddow's constricted time frame and her erasure of the multiplicities involved (by centering on Trump, Sessions, Laughlin, Johnson and racial exclusions) illustrates what Massey identified as a maneuver of 'evasive imagination' that "*turn[s] space into time, geography into history"* (2006, 91). Maddow's report implied Trump and Sessions' restrictionist view of the ongoing construction of the nation's spatial identity is somehow stuck in a long since corrected eugenically racialized and bounded ideological moment that, according to Maddow, "is somewhere between embarrassing and painful to think about" for more advanced social theorists and for society in general. The problem with this analysis is that it situates Trump and Sessions' constitution of the current day spatial make-up of the nation as temporally and socially distant, and as Massey has argued, "by thereby ignoring the relations that have contributed to *producing* (original emphasis) these positions, deprives those who hold such a stance of any political purchase *upon* (original emphasis) them." (Massey 2006, 91). This evasive maneuver eliminates the need for questioning how U.S. nationalism gains social and political value in particular historical conditions or for exploring how the commonly held assumptions of improper development they draw from maintain relevance across time, place, and cultural practices.

Question Two:

In his critical 1996 essay "Cultural Studies and its Theoretical Legacies," Start Hall reflected on some of the key "historical conjunctures" and "theoretical moments in cultural studies which interrupted the already interrupted history of its formation" (2007, 39). Hall was deeply introspective about what he called "a decisive turn" in his own theoretical work and what he identified as the "deadly seriousness" of intellectual work and critical reflection in cultural studies projects and practices. (36-39). "Cultural Studies and its Theoretical Legacies" was an intentional response to questions generated from both within and outside of cultural studies regarding the field's legitimacy and seriousness as an academic discipline. Hall argued for, struggled over, wrestled with, and theorized about the efficacy of cultural studies, the materialities of discursive analysis, "textuality as a source of meaning," and "the point of the study of representation" (35-44). While thinking through my response to this question regarding the tensions between "disability as a trope of difference (cultural representation work) and "embodied experiences of disability (the materiality of difference) I returned to Hall's 'theoretical legacies' and located three points of contact that relate and respond to the current tensions in disability studies this question draws attention to. First, I will argue that western disability studies *and* critical cultural studies can benefit from what Hall described as a "ruptural intervention" from postcolonial and transnational disability studies work. Second, I will engage Hall's epistemological stance on "the political nature of representation itself… as a site of life and death" to address postcolonial and transnational disability studies critiques that suggest cultural models and theories of disability and representation do not respond to embodied materialities. Finally, I will engage Halls reflection on "language and textuality as a site of life and death" (35-44) to address how my dissertation, as a representational and postcolonial disability studies project, will respond to the tensions between the materiality of difference and cultural representation.

Postcolonial disability and transnational feminist disability studies scholars are critical of the "monopolisation of most things disability by Western disability studies" (Grech 2012, 59) and they argue this dominance of Western European and North American perspectives in disability studies work is particularly troubling to disability populations and disabled individuals living in the majority world. Nirmala Erevelles has expressed a deep concern over what she has identified as a lack of intersectional work in feminist disability studies projects that have "effectively critiqued the category of woman upheld by mainstream feminism" but ignored engaging "difference along the axes of race, class, ethnicity, sexuality, and nationality" (2011, 19). This lack of intersectional work is particularly troublesome because

it devalues and ignores those individuals "located perilously at the interstices of race, class, gender, *and* disability" (Erevelles and Minear 2010, 129) and evades any serious analysis of the material and social structures that *mutually* "sort and define bodies and… shape bodily experience" (Connell, 1370). Sean Grech draws attention to mainstream development epistemologies that critically attend to race and ethnicity but have demonstrated a limited interest in disability perspectives, and he believes this "inattention to majority world disability has been further supported… by a disability studies focused exclusively on disability in the West" (2011, 87-89). According to Grech, this homogenized understanding of disability in the majority world reinforces global development ideologies that construct the so-called third world as "backward, undeveloped, and often brutal to its weaker members" (2011, 89). Raewyn Connell has contextualized disability studies as a "field of knowledge [that] currently has the same global North focus as other fields of the human sciences" (2011, 1372) and represent disabled lives as "unworthy, objects of pity and disgust, tragic, or simply disposable" (2011, 1370).

Generally speaking, these postcolonial/transnational disability scholars problematize feminist and cultural disability studies "overreliance on metaphor at the expense of materiality," (Erevelles 2011, 119) the disability social model's indiscriminate transfer of identity/rights based language from the North to the South (Grech, 88) and representational analytics that emphasize discursive interventions at the expense of transformative ones (Erevelles 2011, 119). In "Theoretical Legacies," Hall identified what he called a "ruptural' moment in the formation of cultural studies where the "intervention of feminism… reorganized the field in quite concrete ways" (2007, 39). The field of disability studies is currently engaged in its own ruptural and intellectual intervention driven by postcolonial/transnational epistemologies that contest mainstream notions about the intersections of disability, impairment, embodiment, race, geopolitical and development structures, and the "material constraints that give rise to the oppressive binaries of self/other, normal/abnormal, able/disabled, us/them (2011, 119).

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. 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)[2]. Erevelles has situated proponents of the social model as "disability scholars [that] have described disability as a socially constructed category that derives meaning and social (in)significance from the historical, cultural, political, and economic structures that frame social life"

[2] *This brief summary of the social model also appears in my field statement.*

(2011, 103). Erevelles and additional postcolonial disability scholars acknowledge the social model has successfully challenged "the physical and social dynamics of society in relations to disability" (Chataika 2012, 181) and served as a productive mechanism in the struggle for social justice and equality in the global North. However, postcolonial/transnational feminist critiques of the social model include (but are not limited to) the following:

1.) Arguments that the social models focus on the social and physical environment turns *away* from the actual material and embodied disability experience.
2.) The social model affords privilege to "upper and middle-class disabled people [that] may enjoy a level of social and economic accessibility" (Erevelles 2011, 117).
3.) The social model is over-emphasized in majority world contexts.
4.) The social and the cultural models of disability are both "unequipped and even reluctant to engage with contextual, historical, economic, and many critical aspects that differentiate the Global South in its intricate heterogeneity" (Chataika, 181).

To be clear, this abridged summary provides a limited view of the multiple ways that postcolonial scholars have contested the social model. However, there is a general consensus that the western social model of disability, with its focus on the discursive production of disability lacks a basic concern for the material and embodied features of disability. Disability populations in the majority world disproportionately experience the impacts of global policies driven by Northern centric development agendas. Colonial and neoliberal "foundations and practices" have produced unequal trade policies, environmental degradation, widespread community displacement, extreme global poverty, war, racial and ethnic nationalism, and gender oppression (Grech 2012, 86-88). Global development practice "framed within the minority world view… is theoretically ill equipped to deal with… the nuances of majority world contexts," and this lack of appreciation for global contexts has damaging effects on people with disabilities that live in those geographic regions that do not mirror the contexts in which the social model was constructed.

Erevelles has defined materiality as "the actual historical, social, and economic conditions that influence (disabled) people's lives, conditions further mediated by race, ethnic, gender, class, and sexual politics" (2011, 117). Erevelles questions why certain bodies and bodily experiences matter more than others and she extensively theorizes how "to shift the tenor of the discussion from description to explanation" (2011, 25) in order to expose the historical and political violences that impact disabled lives. While she is supportive of discursive methods that "critique the abstract and yet very material concept of normativity," she has also expressed unease with discursive methodologies that "think about disability merely as a trope of difference" (Erevelles and Kafer 2010, 204-205). What Erevelles is suggesting here is that literature, representation, and discursive analytics center on the mediated and textual

dehumanization of disability (by focusing on the deconstruction of pejorative signifiers and stereotypes) with little thought given to the actual embodied experience of disability or the political, historical and social structures that oppress disabled lives. While I admit I lack fluency in the nuances of Erevelles argument—a theoretical gap I intend to explore as I move through my dissertation studies—I draw from my understanding of theories of representation to counter the notion that discursive techniques are insufficient for interrogating and explaining histories of power and structural oppression. Stuart Hall and the field of cultural studies wrested with the tension between the textual and the material that Erevelles' argument brings to the surface—what Hall theorized as the "constitutive and political nature of representation" (Hall 2007, 41). In the passage below, Hall speaks to the significance of textual construction and analysis and he addressed where power is located in sites of representation:

> "There's always something decentered about the medium of culture, about language, textuality, and signification, which always escapes and evades the attempt to link it, directly and immediately, with other structures. Yet, at the same time, the shadow, the imprint, the trace of those other formations, of the intertextuality of texts as sources of power, of textuality as a site of representation and resistance, all of those questions can never be erased from cultural studies" (2007, 41).

Grech shares Erevelles concern regarding the dominance of western thought in majority world contexts, however, in his interrogation of the relationship between disability histories, colonialism, and the neoliberal agenda he draws heavily on the notion that "discourse, power and knowledge are intertwined, interdependent, and inseparable… exposing the relation between power, meaning and practices" (2012, 87-89). For Grech, exploring how generalized meanings about disability operate within a discursive system is an essential step in understanding how structures of power maintain control over disabled lives and bodies. Antonio Gramsci's conceptualization of cultural hegemony destabilizes and complicates where power is located in any given cultural or discursive production. Gramsci believed forces of hegemony "alter their content as social and cultural conditions change: they are improvised and negotiable, so that counter-hegemonic strategies must also be constantly revised" (During 1993, 5). Prevailing hegemonic structures do not coerce or force people to submit to dominant value systems, but rather those existing systems actively engage the spaces of culture to persuade society to consent and accept the status quo as a natural 'common sense' state of affairs. Foucault theorized that power "circulates… it is deployed and exercised through a net-like organization… we are all, to some degree, caught up in its circulation" (2013, 34-35)[3].

[3] *This summary of Gramsci is an edited version of what appears in my dissertation proposal.*

I underscore the importance of Gramsci's work in cultural studies because I believe it answers much of Erevelles' critique of disability representation work. Erevelles expressed frustration that "in recent years, disability studies in the United States has leaned so heavily toward cultural/literary studies and the arts (which is brilliant and very necessary work) that it has often failed to interrogate other aspects of disability that are also critical to the field." She clarified her point by arguing that "disability as transgressive text… does very little to explain how—quite literally—to survive in an ableist world" (2010, 207). If we consider the notion that power circulates and is embedded in all social, political, familial, and cultural structures it can be argued that deconstructing *how* each of those systems interprets and understands disability is one step in *changing* those very systems that perpetuate negative myths and stereotypes. Michael Pickering broadly defined cultural representations as those "words and images which stand in for various social groups and categories… ways of describing and at the same time of regarding and thinking about these groups and categories" (2001, xiii). Images, texts, movies, social media posts, commercials and all forms of mediated and textual representation (and, Hall was explicit that representation includes all forms of communication such as gestures, sounds, pictures, symbols, and other ways of expressing meaning) are all in some manner *consumed* by a multiplicity of identities and embodied forms. It is critical that we interrogate the full circuit of culture and explore the production, consumption, and reproduction of representational discourses if we are to shift the meanings and assumptions they construct. In the introduction to "Cultures of Representation Disability in World Cinema Contexts," Benjamin Fraser highlights disability politics in global media spaces and he emphasized the need explore and "respond to struggles that appear, morph, and reappear in specific places and at specific times—always with human consequences" (2016, 3). This is the point of representational analysis and the intervention that cultural studies offers critical and postcolonial disability studies scholarship. Surviving in an ableist world means access to healthcare, fair and appropriate education, safe and affordable housing, equal employment, freedom from abuse and neglect and a host of additional material consequences that, while governed by bureaucracies and structural systems demand some level of social and cultural consent. For Hall and for cultural studies, there is no ultimate fixed authority or method for controlling representational discourses and eventually "meaning begins to slip and slide; it begins to drift, or be wrenched, or inflected in new directions" (2013, p. 259). These 'slippages' open new spaces for social justice movements and new meanings to emerge.

Hall's final thoughts from "Theoretical Legacies" provide a direct, material and concrete response to questions of life, death and representational practice. Hall believed cultural studies "holds the theoretical and political questions in an irresolvable tension… I have been reminded of this tension very forcefully in the discussion on AIDS." He underscored the seriousness of the discussion when he asked; "What in God's name is the point of cultural studies? What is the point of the study of representation if

there is no response to the question of what you say to someone who wants to know if they should take a drug and if that means they'll die two days later or a few months earlier?" This is the question that postcolonial/transnational and feminist disability scholars are asking today. How does the work of representational analysis relate people's lives and what difference does it make? Hall's final reflection specifically addressed "textuality as a site of life and death" in the form of the critical question; "how can we say that the question of AIDS is also not a question of who gets represented and who does not?" (2007, 42). We have the benefit of hindsight to understand the legacy of the 1980s HIV/AIDS movement, its influence on the media, and the profound representational shifts the movement instigated in the news media, film, television, educational settings, and in the public arena; these representational 'slippages' had a profound influence on the lived outcomes of many HIV positive individuals. Interrogating this shift and understanding these representational sites as places and "terrain[s] of struggle and contestation" (Hall 2007, 43) where power, politics, and difference circulate—and get recirculated—is the "essential nature" of cultural studies work.

Grech's intellectual work attends to the relationalities between the colonial encounter, neoliberal policies, and the global development agenda. For Grech, history is a key analytic for exploring the intersecting nodes that resonate through the lives of disabled populations and individuals located in the majority world. 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 disabled people continue to endure the consequence of colonial actions that are stubbornly present in modern day neoliberal environments (2012, 52-55). This attention to history and its relationship with contemporary practices in one key point of contact between Grech's work and my own epistemology. The early-twentieth century Progressive Era eugenics movement was a colonial project that I believe resonates throughout current day humanitarian, global development, and charity practices. Grech calls for critical postcolonial disabilities scholarship that draws out colonial history while remaining focused on making "present and credible, suppressed, marginalized and disaccredited knowledges… by critical Southern thinkers" (2012, 55). Grech advises postcolonial disability projects must consider history as one of the primary sites of interest. Racism, racial exploitation, and gendered marginalization's that are central to the colonial encounter, and disability as a core category of difference was a potent signifier during U.S. Progressive Era that continues to resonate throughout the neoliberal agenda today[4].

In my own dissertation work on the discourses of U.S. nationalism, I will address Erevelles' theories of intersectionality and disability and "seriously engage "difference" along the axes of race, class,

[4] Portions of this analysis of Grech's work also appear in my final field statement.

ethnicity, sexuality, and nationality" (2011, 119). My response that follows further addresses how I will engage intersectionality and postcolonial disability theories in my dissertation work.

Question Three:

In my response to this final question regarding how my work will address the material realities that are linked to the relational and articulating features of U.S. nationalism, Cold War globalism, and neo-liberal global development ideologies, I begin with a contemporary example. This illustrative sample highlights the relationship between three representational artifacts to demonstrate how I will engage the intersectional spaces between epistemologies in postcolonial disability studies, cultural studies approaches to historical archive research and textual analysis, contemporary digital humanities "animated archive" ontologies, and postcolonial digital praxis.

On April 30, *Disability Scoop*: *The Premier Source for Developmental Disability News*" published the headline "Trump Administration Seeks to Bar Immigrants with Disabilities." The article addressed a recent draft proposal published by the Department of Homeland Security (DHS), which outlined a set of adjusted immigration rules devised to increase immigration restrictions based on "the potential use of public services by immigrants or their family members" (Davis 2018). Author Michelle R. Davis spoke with Michelle Garcia, the Latino community organizer for the disability advocacy organization *Access Living*, and their discussion highlighted the serious impact the proposal is having on the organization and the community it serves. Garcia's clients are worried that the proposed regulations specifically target their families because of disability related issues and she expressed particular concern for those "who have children with disabilities who are American citizens… not seeking services for their children, out of a fear it could lead to their own deportation" (Davis 2018).


Politics & Law

Trump Administration Seeks To Bar Immigrants with Disabilities

The Trump administration is moving to make it more difficult for immigrants with disabilities and their families to get a visa or attain permanent residency in the United States.

April 30, 2018

Figure 6: Disability Scoop April 30, 2018

The DHS proposal is available for review online through the Office of Information and Regulatory Affairs website. The proposals opening statement outlines the agency's intention to "add several definitions that apply to public charge inadmissibility determinations" for immigrants seeking admission, those already in the U.S. that seek an adjusted status, and those of nonimmigrant status that are at risk of becoming a public charge (2017). The report cited historical recommendations that defined public charge as "an alien who for some cause is about to be supported at public expense by reason of poverty, insanity an poverty, disease and poverty, idiocy and poverty" (Department of Homeland Security, 43). Time and space do not permit a full

analysis of the DHS proposal, however, under "Section D. Public Charge Inadmissibility" the authors turned to Progressive Era and Cold War Era immigration statutes to defend the historical legacy of its recommendations:

> Since at least 1882, the United States has denied admission to aliens on public charge grounds. The INA of 1952 excluded aliens who, in the opinion of the consular officer at the time of application for a visa, or in the opinion of the Attorney General at the time of application for admission, are likely at any time to become public charges. The Attorney General has long interpreted the words "in the opinion of" as evincing the discretionary nature of the determination. (Department of Homeland Security 2017, 25).

As I have previously discussed on page six of this exam, the 1882 Act to Regulate Immigration refused entry to "any convict, lunatic, idiot, or any person unable to take care of himself or herself without becoming a public charge" (Forty-Seventh Congress 1882). The DHS document ultimately offered its own version of "public charge determinations," that encompassed age, health, family status, assets, resources, and financial status, and education and skills (31). Under the health category "Evidentiary Requirements," the Class A determinations for exclusion included; communicable disease, failure to meet vaccination requirements, past or present physical or mental disorders with associated harmful behaviors or harmful behavior that is likely to recur, and, drug abuse or addiction" (63-64). There is no current information available regarding the status of the DHS proposal and the *Disability Scoop* article is one of just two popular media references to its publication. Representational studies are interested in understanding how ideologies accumulate across a wide variety of texts and mediated platforms to mark identities of difference. An essential part of this intertextual analysis is pinpointing what, or who, is absent or erased from this a representational system. While DACA, the RAISE Act, Presidential comments about shithole nations, and the Muslim ban received non-stop news and social media coverage, the DHS proposal to exclude immigrants based on their likelihood to become a public charge (i.e.: disability, poverty, and 'improper development') was met with resounding silences.

Postcolonial digital humanities scholar Roopika Risam is a persistent advocate for digital humanities projects that engage intersectionality epistemologies and she draws from Edward Said's concept of the archive to interrogate "how power operates through discourse, representation, and the construction of the othered colonized subject as an object of knowledge." Risam firmly believes digital humanities practitioners are "uniquely poised to assemble the digital cultural record" (Risam 2015). The DHS proposal, the *Disability Scoop* article, and the Immigration Act of 1882 are material artifacts currently 'archived' in their own distinct popular media, legislative, and archival repositories; however, relationally, they are fruitful exploratory sites for foregrounding how U.S. nationalism and nationalist

ideologies materially influence multiple axes of difference across wide ranging locations and identities of difference. Postcolonial, archive and intersectional research should "pay close attention to reading race and disability… by deploying an intersectional analysis that seeks to understand and transform the structures where power coheres in complex yet dangerous ways" (Erevelles 2011, 119). An interdisciplinary analysis that integrates this analytic with the representational and discursive strategies that I addressed in question two, when applied to the three artifacts, would reveal the relational and material features of their institutional, social and cultural construction. While *Disability Scoop* explained how the DHS recommendations have affected disabled children and their families it did not address the multiple axes of difference also targeted by DHS such as poverty, education and language fluency, and country of origin. These categories are all potential mechanisms for excluding and deporting immigrants seeking admission, those already in the U.S. that seek an adjusted status, and those of nonimmigrant status that are at risk of becoming a public charge (2017). To accomplish this reconstitution of race, disability, and class discourse the current DHS proposal drew from "likely to become a public charge" criteria to exploit the legacy of white purity nationalist ideology while it omitted the oppressive and violent legacies of the 1862 Immigration Act. If passed, the DHS recommendations would have a profound influence on disabled lives, and particular those who live at the intersections of disability, race, and poverty.

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 digital humanities projects. I find Sean Grech's conceptual and analytical "shift from global colonialism to global coloniality" a useful ontology for thinking through and locating the imperial and colonial resonances in U.S. nationalist ideologies. Grech has recommended that approaches to disability in the majority world "focus on the colonial encounter, not only as a historical event that has come and gone, but one that provides the foundations for the continuing contemporary material, discursive, epistemological, and ontological domination of Southern spaces and bodies" (2012, 53).

Grech's "move beyond the postcolonial to the neocolonial" is a productive theoretical instrument that I will engage as I explore whether the U.S. Progressive Era nationalist ideologies drew from colonial and imperial discourses that are re-inscribed onto the majority world through American globalism and neoliberal global development structures. Erevelles' postcolonial strategies and her approach to geopolitics will also help facilitate this work. For Erevelles, "the Third World… is not restricted to

national boundaries, but instead refers to the colonized, neo-colonized, and decolonized countries" (2011, 119). Anita Ghai reflected on how she negotiates the territory between the past and the present and between theory and activism and she believes that "postcolonial writings reflect a colonial past, and etch out a new way of creating and understanding the world. I look at the theory with the hope that oppressed identities and representation of disability can be understood in the domain of postcolonial theory" (Ghai 2012, 273). I will incorporate Ghai, Erevelles, Grech and additional postcolonial disability epistemologies into my own ontological argument that throughout the history of the United States, disability, race, class, gender, ethnicity, and oppressed multiplicities of difference have also felt the deep consequences of global coloniality.

Risam 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). Postcolonial work is about "critiquing the manner in which the production of knowledge is complicit with the production of colonial relations and other relations of domination and exploitation" (Risam 2015). The archive is both an extraordinary site for exploration and a creative platform for constructing an academic argument through digital curation, collection building, comparative analysis, and participatory engagement. The spaces of digital scholarship deliver what I believe are critical points of contact between records of the past and analyses of the present, while providing rich and inviting spaces for cultural criticism from divergent perspectives and disciplines. Risam has also argued, "reading the postcolonial through the digital, however discomforting, enables scholars to make productive and unlikely connections" (2015). Digital archive analysis, platform development, and digital knowledge production is painstaking work that requires focused attention to the historical, social, and institutional features that are embedded within an artifact and the structures of the archive itself. This is why the "relationship between theory and practices in integral to the digital humanities" (Risam 2015) is so vital.

In many instances, the artifacts of U.S. nationalism, Cold War globalism, and neoliberal global development that I analyze have been the subjects of analyses across a range of contexts and disciplinary projects. I will structure my dissertation as a postcolonial digital project that will make visible how the images, texts, documents, and other representational forms that I analyze are leveraged in different contexts and histories. As an example, in my first exam response I include the image of the Martin Barr and E.F. Maloney chart "Types of Mental Defectives" *(figure 4).* Shortly after its publication in 1920, this artifact and its textual categorizations appeared in multiple news stories, government reports, academic and organization presentations, and census documents across the country. Additionally, I have located "Types of Mental Defectives" on numerous websites, in scholarly texts, and recent blogposts. Analyzing the digital artifact is "a function of not only *what's* there—what gets digitized and thus represented in the digital record—but also *how* it's there—how those who have created these projects have presented their

subjects (original emphasis)" (Risam 2017). The Disability History Museum and the American Philosophical Association archives contain digitized versions of Barr and Mahoney's chart and the image I provided originated from a *Google My Books* digitized version of the original text. In each of these contexts and in my own use, the reproduced version (either photocopy or digitized) of the original artifact was leveraged to make a particular argument that generated a specific understanding about its meaning, a meaning that had/has the potential to impact lived experiences. Digital scholarship generates rich opportunities to "confront the whole assemblage of the history of history" (Kramer 2014) and to remediate erasures and historical absences in the cultural record. Digital historiographies attend to "the ways in which archives shape our very perceptions of the past" (Kramer 2014) while they also have the very real potential to reintroduce and re-inscribe "the dynamics of colonialism" (Risam 2017) present in their original construction.

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). For postcolonial digital humanities work, "the relationship between theory and praxis is integral" (2015) and Hering has offered a set of methods and standards for tracking and documenting the intersectional nature of analyzed representations. Methods of appraisal, meta-data development, and artifact validation are important tools of transparency that can help digital scholars demonstrate how the artifact has traveled while also making their critical analyses accessible (searchable) across a broad audience. Hering has defined digital historiography as "the study of the interaction of digital technology with historical practice" (2014) while Theimer underscored the core principles of provenance and digital source/resource criticism to help digital scholars provide critical context to the digital artifacts they work with. Hering believes "the tradition of source criticism in historical theory and methodology complements the archival principle of provenance" and incorporating both methods into the projects analytical frame of analysis will ultimately increase the authenticity of the work. These strategies question "the validity of the information and the source… address the development from earlier to later forms… and question the information in the sources… and how was the description influenced by its contemporary context" (2014).

Theories in postcolonial disability studies, cultural approaches to representation, intersectional approaches of analysis, and digital postcolonial humanities work will help me to demonstrate how U.S. ideologies of nationalism articulate through discourses of disability, race, ethnicity, geography and multiple axes of difference. Working with digital artifacts, archives, tools, and platforms can inspire new theoretical understandings, challenge colonial resonances, and introduce previously untold narratives to wide audiences. Burdick, et al. have suggested, "visualization in the Digital Humanities takes several

different forms, all of which are arguments in themselves" (2012, 43). The defining feature of the 'animated archive' is that its design centers on a "user-centered approach" that can energize and extend the life of digital projects. As I move through my digital archive and representation work, it is my goal to design and develop an "animated archive" that will provide an open space where the public, scholars and students will interact with the digital elements of the final project.

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