

The Critical Pedagogical Potential of Using Jacob A. Riis' Works about the Immigrant Poor in 'Gilded Age' New York¹

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Abstract

The article seeks to contribute to working-class and social justice pedagogy by developing concrete angles on teaching/exploring some of the (a) short fiction, (b) journalistic-photographic work and (c) sociography of poverty by the Danish-born US immigrant, muckraker (<http://goo.gl/6WeGtM>) and social reformer Jacob A. Riis (1849-1914, <http://goo.gl/xmNDTD>), a writer and activist still too little known outside the U.S. The article suggests approaches for teaching material by Riis as a focus in a critical EFL classroom, centered on real historical and contemporary social issues such as poverty in capitalist relations of production, immigration and its myriad aporias. Through the prism of Riis, it suggests looking at concrete social deprivation in the 'Gilded Age' from the context of a critical pedagogy in the 'New Gilded Age' (McAlevey, 2016) today, also with classroom materials for today, including David Rovics' political folksong. On one level, the article is largely aimed at practicing EFL teachers. More broadly, it seeks to contribute to a neglected area in Marxist and social-anarchist critical pedagogy in this journal, namely ideas for concrete alternative curriculum and their practical teaching within the cybervortex of an exacerbating capitalist 'society of the spectacle' (Debord, 1967; 1988). The article is also grounded on a material fact too little foregrounded in critical pedagogy discourse: the openness for introducing CP approaches/questions specifically within a burgeoning subject area

(TEFL) that has spread globally as default imperial lingua franca. TEFL has no set disciplinary ‘subject content’: the door potentially is uniquely wide open in EFL classes in many countries to talking/writing critically about political, socioeconomic and environmental issues, global, glocal, local. The present article expands somewhat on TEFL as a contested transnational space for introducing and experimenting with CP and social justice pedagogy.

Keywords: Jacob Riis, Critical Pedagogy, TEFL, Gilded Age, social empathy theory, poverty, migration, housing



‘Street Arabs [homeless kids] in their sleeping quarters’

Photo, Jacob A. Riis, 1890 (<http://goo.gl/86wNYa>)



‘Homeless children’ ca. 1890

Photo, Riis (<http://goo.gl/qVYCWD>)

Introduction

The article suggests various angles on ways some of the literary and journalistic-photographic work and sociography of poverty by the Danish-born US immigrant, muckraker (<http://goo.gl/6WeGtM>) and social reformer Jacob A. Riis (1849-1914, <http://goo.gl/xmNDTD>) can be used inside social-justice EFL (English as a Foreign Language) pedagogy. Riis’ analytic work is well-known especially in the US and integrated into teaching history, civics and sociology in many schools and curricula, but it generally has not been tapped inside EFL, teaching English language learners (ELLs). The approach adopted here

embodies a kind of critical 'Content and Language Integrated Learning' (CLIL <http://goo.gl/5W4ZiM>), but centered on real historical and contemporary social issues often avoided in EFL textbooks and syllabi. It introduces some of Riis' analytical work on the dire situation of immigrants in the NYC tenements 1880-1910 - what he termed "cockroach capitalism" (Yochelson & Czitrom, 2007:44) - and recommends in particular a number of Riis' short stories, largely still ignored in critical pedagogy anywhere. The use of his short fiction, often based on factual realities from the tenements he had encountered, is especially useful in classes centered on teaching EFL learners. The article also relates in a range of foci to teaching contemporary global/glocal issues with a focus on immigration realities under 'immiseration capitalism' (Hill, 2012; 2013) and its myriad aporias, a 'system in shambles' (Polychroniou, 2016). Also explore a section on the radical folksongs of Dave Rovics. It contains many relevant hyperlinks in short goo.gl form: in part reflecting on concrete social deprivation in the 'Gilded Age' (Digital History, 2016) from the current context of the gross inequities of the 'New Gilded Age' (McAlevey, 2016), such as worker exploitation in NYC today (Hylton, 2017).

On one level, the article is largely aimed at practicing EFL teachers. But more broadly, it seeks to contribute to a neglected area in Marxist and social-anarchist critical pedagogy in this journal, namely ideas for concrete alternative curriculum and their practical teaching. The article is also grounded on a material fact too little foregrounded in critical pedagogy discourse: the openness for introducing CP approaches and material specifically within a burgeoning subject area (TEFL) that has spread globally as default imperial lingua franca. Significantly, TEFL has no set discipline-based 'subject content': the door potentially is uniquely wide open in EFL classes in many countries (including ELLs in UK/US/CA) to talking/writing critically about sociopolitical and other issues, global, local and personal, building toward a more critical radical

pedagogy. For an initial introduction to Riis, watch this 7-min. talk (<http://goo.gl/b8r8H4>) by Prof. Daniel Czitrom.

TEFL as a contested space for social justice pedagogy

EFL teachers are increasingly challenging the long-standing prohibitive shibboleth within EFL publishing and numerous syllabi known by the acronym PARSNIP: no **p**olitics, **a**lcohol, **r**eligion, **s**ex, **n**arcotics, **i**sms or **p**ork (Meddings 2006; Smith et al., 2015; Howard et al., 2016). Crookes (2013), Lütge (2015), Ellis (2016), Hastings & Jacob (2016), the EE Wiki site (<http://goo.gl/rxejZC>), and practical books on teaching Global Issues in ELT by Linda Ruas (<http://goo.gl/c9k8WC>) are also reflective of this shift in critical pedagogical consciousness, as is Ruas (2017). Articles by Akbari (2008), Mazdaee & Maftoon (2012), Shakouri & Abkenar (2012), Aliakbari & Allahmoradi (2012), Safari & Pourhashemi (2012), and Sahragard et al. (2014) discuss the opportunities for and risks of dealing with CP-oriented material in Iran, where EFL educators have been robustly debating the ways critical pedagogy, developed in the West, can be included in local TEFL.

Such a CP-orientation is integral to bringing “creative, critical and compassionate thinking into ELT” (Pohl & Szesztay, 2015), a major guiding aim inside the Global Issues SIG (GISIG gisig.iatefl.org) in IATEFL—where all are committed to importing current critical issues into EFL classrooms, under the motto *CARE GLOBAL TEACH LOCAL!* and *ENGLISH FOR CHANGE*. As Margit Szesztay (2014), former coordinator of GISIG and now President of IATEFL notes: “my main aim as an educator is to encourage a critical, non-conformist stance in my students. Encourage them to shake off social conditioning, see the world around them with fresh eyes, question taken-for-granted assumptions.” JALT in this critical stance is also integral to the Social Responsibility Interest Section (SRIS <http://goo.gl/k2nKqd>) of TESOL, Inc. and

the grouping Global Issues in Language Education (GILE <http://gilesig.org>) inside Japan. Educators oriented to CP are encouraged to familiarize themselves with these hands-on initiatives inside the field of TEFL. Among the few articles published in JCEPS centering on TEFL as a specific internationalized space for developing CP is Sadeghi (2008), an empirically-based study highlighting her experimentation with English language learners in Bandar Abbas in southern Iran. I recommend readers explore her article in tandem with this present contribution. My article is more programmatic in focus and breadth. The broader need is for EAR, 'exploratory action research' (Rebolledo et al., 2016; <http://goo.gl/FxpZkC>), looking empirically at teaching specific CP materials, their actual down-to-Earth impact, what students think & want as more global citizens. This can be supplemented by Critical Practitioner Inquiry (CPI) as a counter-hegemonic model of action research developed largely in the global South, foregrounding "practitioner knowledge" (Dahlström, 2016; see also Dahlström, forthcoming; and www.globalsouthnetwork.org).

Lingua frankensteinia

Yet as a veritable icon of linguistic neo-imperialism, the 'TEFL-Industrial-Complex' (TIC) has, like its military cousin the MIC, spread its tentacles concomitant with the neo-colonial entrenchment of English in school syllabi, nearly everywhere welded to capitalist neoliberal globalization and its EKE policy orientation: education for a knowledge economy. Critical pedagogues need to underscore this fact in the politics of language more fully, as underscored in Phillipson (2016b). Hill (2017) stresses the self-evident dictum: "Critical analysis should be self-critical." In many school systems, the overblown centrality of English is a key factor behind poorer academic achievement, especially among non-privileged pupils, as exemplified in the problems in Ghanaian education (Taluah, 2016; Kwarteng & Ahia, 2013), Malaysia problematic as well (<http://goo.gl/goo.gl/Qkpy3j>). Solloway

(forthcoming) explores resentment of and resistance towards English and English-medium instruction in the UAE. As Phillipson (2016a) stresses: “European colonisation was legitimated by the fraudulent myth of *terra nullius*. Americanisation worldwide is furthered by projecting US norms and lifestyle as a *cultura nullius* for all. English is marketed as a *lingua nullius*, for instance in British promotion of English worldwide, as though English is a universal ‘basic skill’... Privileging English intensifies the gaps between the world’s haves and have-nots. This is also now in effect in the countries of the European Union.”

Inside TEFL, that has been discussed at length (Bunce et al., 2016; Phillipson, 2016b), and in exacting detail at the micro level by Wierzbicka’s *Imprisoned in English. The Hazards of English as a Default Language* (2014). Our classes can also self-reflect on this questionable dominance of English as *lingua frankensteinia* and *lingua bellica*, *lingua economica*, *lingua cultura*, *lingua academica* (Phillipson, 2016a:13, 14, 16) as a ‘counter-hegemonic’ critical issue in itself. Moreover, the need for working-class pedagogies of TEFL (Templer, 2009) continues to remain underexplored in an EFL praxis too heavily skewed toward ‘meritocratic’ elite values and privileged learner communities and social strata (Templer, 2008).

Approaching Riis’ work as a canvas of ‘class war from above’

Banfield (2015:10) discusses the need for a revolutionary socialist education, stressing: “For Labour – and humanity – education is about envisioning alternative possibilities and participating in the radical openness of history. It expresses pedagogies of hope enlivened in and through the development of class-consciousness.” Foregrounding aspects of social class in texts read with EFL students, esp. mini-fictions of the kind Riis often preferred qua genre, can plant some of those seeds. In describing the need of socialist-oriented curriculum, Hill (2017) stresses:

Encourage Critical Thinking across the curriculum. Teach children not 'what to think', but also 'how to think'. This includes how to think critically about the media and politicians, how to become aware of and evaluate alternative visions of the past, the present and the future, and how to question the curriculum and of any classroom, school, local, national or international community/ society- 'who benefits from this? who loses?' ... *the curriculum and the hidden curriculum should actually address, identify, critique, and combat social class exploitation under capitalism, and its attendant class discrimination.*

This is in keeping with what Marx (*Capital*, I:534) termed 'revolutionary ferments' (*Umwälzungsfermente*) transforming capitalist society, embodied in alternative curricula, as explicated by Castles & Wüstenberg (1979:7, 9, 189). Marx (*Capital*, I:534) underscored, here & now still valid: "The development of the contradictions of a given historical form of production is the only historical way in which it can be dissolved and then reconstructed on a new basis." Although Riis was not a radical socialist in his day, there is reason to suggest that his diverse corpus of work, a highly "empathic synthesis of visual imagery, statistics, journalism, anecdote, vignette and history pointed the way toward a more compassionate and clear-eyed comprehension of New York life" (Yochelson & Czitrom, 2007: 119). It can function in part as a powerful *heuristic* lens within such a radical education project, grounded on "empathic sociability" (Rifkin, 2010), moving toward societies of genuine socialist compassion and equity (Hill, 2013), and spurring grassroots resistance to the ever-intensifying "class war from above" (Hill, 2012; 2013; 2017). As Dave Rovics' protest song 'Occupy Wall Street' puts it: "Because all of us are victims of class warfare, being waged on us by the 1%" (<http://goo.gl/v7NW84>, min. 0:25; cf. Rovics below).

That *heterotopia* of "class war from above" is remarkably evident in much of Riis' work, and virtually all his short stories, most a mouse-click away online.

We need to recall: Riis was in a city working in neighborhoods where Eugene Debs had a strong grassroots following, the IWW anarchist labor movement was developing in the tenements, and Emma Goldman was the paradigmatic Jewish socialist anarchist many poor workers' families identified with. But Riis consciously stayed very clear of this organized left. He was a close friend of Teddy Roosevelt, and oriented more to Christian 'social gospel' and the need for reform. Despite his sense of injustice, inequity, exploitation, suffering and despair all around him. Riis' work is marked by extraordinary empathy for the plight of the poverty-stricken and bewildered immigrant masses, and importantly, he himself shared those immigrant experiences. His own biography in younger years shaped his profound empathic identification with New York's downtrodden and poor.

Riis' opus encompasses analytical essays and books of a kind of sociographic analysis, pioneering photographic "exposure" social journalism and a substantial corpus of literary short fiction. Thus, educators can develop multi-mediated approaches to dealing with the themes of social justice Riis explores, honing social empathy (Krznicaric, 2012, 2013; 2014; Rifkin, 2010) through the word and photographic image. His tales, many of them mini-fictions of less than 1,500 or even 1,000 words, are masterpieces in American short fiction of social empathy with the impoverished. Most of these tales deal with issues in immigrants' lives a century and more ago under the throes and inequities of 'Gilded Age' US capitalism—but are also very relevant to the aporias and abominations of neoliberal hegemony and its fallout today (Hill, 2012; 2012a), which can be analyzed as a 'New Gilded Age' (Calderone, 2014) with huge gaps between the miniscule wealthy elite and the rest, self-termed the 99% (<http://goo.gl/aNRkKC>). Riis provides a kind of visual/narrative archaeology of the 'fractal city' in Soja's (2000) sense. Riis' work is quite evidently also especially germane to working-class pedagogy, since it focuses a powerfully

empathic eye on the distress of the US working class around 1890-1910. And remains relevant to historical working class studies (<http://goo.gl/HqLn17>), reflected in a new open-access journal.

Honing social empathy

Before presenting materials by Riis, introduce social empathy to students watching and discussing this superb video from MindShift (<http://goo.gl/UbUA2t>). Krznaric (2013, min. 0:50-1:05) defines empathy as “the art of stepping into the shoes of another person and looking at the world from their perspective ... It’s about understanding where another person is really coming from.” He talks about the “global empathy deficit” and the urgent need for an empathic “revolution in human relationships” (min. 1:50), stressing that “our brains are wired for empathy. We are Homo Empathicus” (min. 2:55). Riis probably would have agreed. Honing such capacities is possible in EFL teaching and central to critical pedagogy. Krznaric’s 2012 video, which will fascinate students, also focuses on the honing of social empathy, here his blog (<http://goo.gl/86QrgH>). Krznaric’s book (2014) is also worth exploring, as is Krznaric (2014a).

Interior monologuing as an empathic pedagogical method

The ‘interior monologue’ is a powerful tool for sharpening students’ social imagination, as they attempt in imagination to enter the minds and hearts of others, either from fiction or reality, and to deepen their sense of empathy with those imagined individuals in their situation. As Bigelow and Christensen (2001, p. 28) observe: “After watching a film, reading a novel, short story, or essay, or performing improvisation skits, the class brainstorms particular key moments, turning points, or critical passages characters confronted.” It can then be written in the form of a letter, a diary entry, a poem, or even acted out in a student-authored skit. Christensen (2000; 2009) and her 2001 article with

Bigelow provide numerous concrete examples. They note (2001, p. 31): “In our experience, success with interior monologues depends on:

- Drawing on media or readings that are emotionally powerful
- Brainstorming character and situation choices so most students can find an entry into the assignment
- Allowing students the freedom to find their own passion—they might want to complete the assignment as a poem, a dialogue poem, or from the point of view of an animal or an object
- Giving students the opportunity to read their pieces to the entire class
- Using the collective text of students' writing to launch a discussion of the bigger picture.”

The present paper does not offer such examples of interior monologuing, but Templer (2016b; 2016c) provide many ideas for student interior monologue as homework or classwork, as students work with several Riis’ stories. Templer & Tonawanik (2011) provides interior monologue suggestions looking at a broad range of texts, discursive, visual and musical.

Introducing Riis

Let me suggest you begin exploring Riis’ work by reading with students by reading some short stories about the very poor in New York, literary texts but based on everyday fact. Born in Denmark, Riis emigrated to New York in 1870 at the age of 21, and after living seven years in extreme poverty, became a police reporter for the New York TRIBUNE and later the EVENING SUN. As a reporter working night-shift duty, he met many immigrants and observed first-hand their life worlds, their poverty, courage and desperation in the New York slums, ca. 1878-1913. Tuerk (1980:262) notes: “That he would choose to focus on immigrants and their children reflect in part his own status as a Danish-

American immigrant who, through unceasing labor, became a success in America.” Writing in 1980, Tuerk laments: “The short stories of Jacob A. Riis are largely ignored today” (p. 259). That neglect is still evident within TEFL, American literature study and /teaching, and in research on Riis. It needs to be remedied in and by our praxis.

As starters

First acquaint students with Riis by means of a brief biography (<http://goo.gl/VgNRvB>) in simple VOA English (+ MP3), with extracts from his 1901 autobiography, *The Making of an American* (<http://goo.gl/dNNz28>). Another biography: <http://goo.gl/dNNz28>. Somerville (2015) provides a brief biography springing from a story about Riis' “flower project” for slum kids; this also a good brief essay: <http://goo.gl/FxH9LC>. With intermediate-level learners, read “The Rent Baby” (<http://goo.gl/UMfTxX>), the lead story in the 1903 collection *Children of the Tenements* (<http://goo.gl/WiX4Cv>), about a very poor Jewish peddler Adam Grunschlag, his wife Hansche (both Jewish immigrants from Austria), his 4-year-old son Abe and a nameless tiny “rent baby” living with the family in the New York slums, and their ordeal on Christmas Eve—with a happy ending on Christmas Day, despite anti-Semitic slurs against Adam (see also “Rent Baby” below). This story encapsulates many of Riis' themes: poverty, despair, immigrant hardship, poor tenement housing and living conditions, police corruption, anti-Semitism. Riis' most famous analytical-sociographic book is *How the Other Half Lives* (1890, www.bartleby.com/208/). Here useful videos about Riis (<http://goo.gl/fp37gz>) and his work. Riis' study *The Children of the Poor* (1892, <http://goo.gl/Q4zMHp>) is a kind of socio-ethnography of poor children in NYC. Somerville (2015): “In 1880 there were an estimated 600,000 New Yorkers in 24,000 tenements that had no water above the first floor, terrible ventilation, unsanitary conditions, and poor sewer connections.” By 1890, some 1.2 million of NYC's 1.6 million lived in 37,000

tenements. The “other half” had burgeoned into the “other three-quarters” (Czitrom, 2016:84).

Energizing visual social imagination

Present these photos/drawings below and ask students to discuss and describe what they see, or engage in interior monologuing. Here Riis’ photo of an impoverished Jew (http://goo.gl/ZrQm8F) on Sabbath eve, living in a coal cellar in NY (ca. 1890). Students can explore this article about Riis’ photos of the NYC poor (http://goo.gl/gWkhJS) from the 1880s on; here a tenement child (http://goo.gl/vfd3eL). A lesson plan (http://goo.gl/13MqUt) on a Riis photograph documenting poverty, ca. 1890, suggests projects and numerous source material links. Reflect on this iconic photo (http://goo.gl/vXHFhc), one of Riis’ most famous. Below two photos of street children that students can explore, they can click on the links for a larger photo. Ask students: what has driven these kids into the street?



‘A snug corner on a cold night’

From J.A. Riis, *Children of the Poor* (p. 246)

(<http://goo.gl/YDBXVi>)



‘Street Arabs sleeping in Mulberry Street’

From J.A. Riis, *How the Other Half Lives*, Ch. XVII

Ch. XVII <http://goo.gl/voqUnA>)

Also below: photos of evictions of the poor: how do the children feel, the mothers evicted?



Tenement eviction, *Scribner's*, June 1892
Collection M.K. Blanck (<http://goo.gl/kcxvPG>)



Tenement eviction, *Harper's Weekly*, 1 Feb. 1890
Collection M.K. Blanck (<http://goo.gl/J3RM8E>)

Inability to pay rent and evictions of the poor: how do the children feel, the mothers evicted? Such duress regarding payment of rent and evictions were common in the tenements, a theme in Riis' tales. As Hill (2017) notes, speaking of here & now, it strongly echoes capitalist inequities in the past:

For many millions of workers' families - including what in the USA and elsewhere are called 'middle class' workers - an everyday reality in this current era of capitalism, neoliberal capitalism, is indeed 'immiseration capitalism', is declining standards of living and for millions, poverty, absolute as well as relative, with fear, homelessness, fear of unemployment, of eviction, of not being able to last till the next pay-cheque or social security benefit, of not being able to materially help children, and fearing for their futures, are stalking the capitalist heartlands.

Riis' photos comprise a kind of 'archaeology of poverty' in the tenements, visual artifacts unearthed in a politics of vision of dystopic and heterotopic spaces (Martin, 2011). Here a classic drawing of a landlord demanding rent (<http://goo.gl/oAcDjv>) from a poor family. A major question is: who owned the tenements, such as here on Roosevelt St. (<http://goo.gl/r4aKd1>), who were the landlords? What was this nouveau riche capitalist class preying on immigrants? There was "police blackmail" of small merchants (cf. Riis, "The Rent Baby") and rampant police corruption (Czitrom, 2016:31, 70, 104). Students can

discuss these striking photos, integral to schooling their own “visual social empathy.” They can write or act out interior monologues and dialogues. For other images on NYC tenement life, see the detailed article on ‘New York City, Tenement Life’ (<http://goo.gl/sNVgvR>) by Maggie Blanck, and her essay ‘*Kleindeutschland*’ on the Lower East Side in New York City, from 1855-1880s, the third largest German-speaking urban area after Berlin and Vienna (<http://goo.gl/DqFWms>). Crozier et al. is an anthology on Lower East Side life (<http://goo.gl/7mA8bT>) and here an array of other *NY Times* articles on Riis (<http://goo.gl/kUZpYP>).

Students can explore/discuss the rooftop photo below of immigrant kids at Ellis Island ca. 1901. They will be familiar with other photos of refugee and immigrant children in the media today. Millions of refugee children (<http://goo.gl/Ya4WV4>) across the world are celebrating year’s end in great hardship (<http://goo.gl/XLK5YF>) this year as last. Teachers can read Julie Pratten’s interview (<http://goo.gl/oVftro>) on Heart ELT’s work with volunteer teachers in refugee camps, and watch this video (<http://goo.gl/fgnYaB>) on working with the kids. Ponder “Sand Child” (<http://goo.gl/VW6MHi>), a striking song for “social empathy literacy” in Krznaric’s sense.



Jacob A. Riis, Children of detained or waiting immigrants on the new rooftop garden of Ellis Island Immigration Station, ca.1901 (July 4? (<http://goo.gl/WX6xTd>) This is the Second E.I. Station (<http://goo.gl/9mAiz9>), opened December 1900. Today it houses an Immigration Museum (<http://goo.gl/XrhR6V>).

Migration as a focal flash point: “The wretched refuse of your teeming shore”

What in fact was Ellis Island (<http://goo.gl/t3DHYp>)? The peak of immigration into the US (<http://goo.gl/v6U1fX>) was in the decade 1900-1910. By 1910, New York’s population had increased to 4,760,000, growing very fast, a classic age in mass immigration across the Atlantic from Europe to the U.S. Nearly 40% were immigrants, many living in a degree of poverty they had never expected. Students can read the iconic poem ‘The New Colossus’ by Emma Lazarus (1883) inscribed 1903 on the Statue of Liberty. Its famous final lines: “Give me your tired, your poor, / Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free, / The wretched refuse of your teeming shore. / Send these, the homeless, tempest-tost to me / I lift my lamp beside the golden door!” (<http://goo.gl/egqt4U>). The flood of refugees from poverty, violence, war and deprivation has reached a new peak today, pouring now mainly into Europe. If you teach Roma kids in Eastern Europe, most are from subaltern lowest-income backgrounds at home. Many are

in families whose older members work as migrant laborers in Western Europe and the UK, perhaps near where you teach. What do students know about local migrants, their families, have they had any contact? Are there common local prejudices against migrants? Are immigrants typically marginalized, feared, distrusted? What is fear of the ‘Other’? Many Britons wish to stem the tide of migration into the UK, clearly a factor in the vote for Brexit (Tilford, 2015/16). Migrants and refugees are an easy prey for a huge new criminal mafia (<http://goo.gl/bTRqwx>) of ‘people smugglers,’ and are frequently subjected to terrible ordeals underway. Watch Europe’s Migration Tragedy (<http://goo.gl/scM8sw>) detailing some of this. Teachers and learners can discuss the recent strong position statement on immigration policy by TESOL (2017), by U.S. EFL teachers.

Protest song as a contemporary framework: David Rovics

Apropos the refugee crisis, David Rovics, has a powerful protest song “They’re Building a Wall” (2008, <http://goo.gl/GZmGHd>) about the Israeli/Palestinian Separation Wall, also applied in the second half to the U.S./Mexico border wall, (<http://goo.gl/uEaHmh>) now looming large in Trump’s transformed ‘Fortress America’ (see also Taylor, 2017) A great song and text (“No more walls no more refugees/No more keeping people upon their knees”) cum striking visuals to hone social empathy for the present hour, also his song “Bullies” (<http://goo.gl/uttoHD>), here the lyrics (<http://goo.gl/YqwKoD>). Here his album “refugees”: <http://goo.gl/jGK6po>. Teachers can experiment with many of Rovics’ songs (<http://goo.gl/P4Q6aT>) for social justice, including the highly controversial “Jenin” (<http://goo.gl/kuTmsf>). The song embodies an interior monologue about a suicide bomber in Occupied Palestine, here the lyrics (<http://goo.gl/edPcGM>). His song “Aleppo” (<http://goo.gl/WTNbP5>) is also a variant on an interior monologue about a boy from Aleppo who dies. Rovics has several songs about landlords, based on his own experience with landlords in

Portland, Oregon. Here the song "Landlord" (<http://goo.gl/1qkMYT>): "Who gave you the right to be a landlord, to live a life of ease while others toil?" Here his song about gentrification, "Letter to My Landlord" (<http://goo.gl/SAQk5R>). Other tracks can be explored, including related songs like "Douglas Macleod," and the organizing song "Everything Can Change." His album "The 99%" (<http://goo.gl/7xSKm9>) contains many great tracks to discuss and analyze with students (and others). Here the great anti-capitalist song: "Occupy Wall Street" (<http://goo.gl/v7NW84>). Were Riis alive today, he might well come to broadly agree with Rovics, born 1967 in NYC (<http://goo.gl/gVR99x>).

Critically exploring mass migration then and now

Students can discuss in groups if they can imagine becoming migrants themselves, 'Others' living in another society, the problems they might face. It is a good focus for interior monologuing, imagining being in the shoes or grave of the immigrant 'outsider.' Or trapped behind a Great Wall against migrants. Some questions worth exploring with students:

- Do students have family members, friends now working abroad? What are their migrant experiences?
- What do students (and teachers) really think of 'multiculturalism' in your country?
- Is there distrust in particular of Muslims, culturally-rooted Islamophobia, deeply ingrained racism against other ethnicities?
- Are there adequate programs for learning the major language for newcomers to the society (and their children) where you live?
- What about programs at school, in the community for developing strong literacy in their own home language (Kyuchukov, 2006) as a linguistic right (Phillipson, 2000; 2016a), strengthening their general cognitive

development through MTB (mother-tongue based) literacy (Templer, 2016a; Skuttnabb-Kangas, 2011; Yonamine, 2017)?

- Do you live in a place where (im)migrants are being pro-actively integrated into society & economy by clear government measures? What concrete measures are in place?

Fedrowitz (2016:33-85) discusses experiences teaching refugees from Bosnia in Germany; also relevant is her video advice on teaching foreign language to refugees (<http://goo.gl/t82n8m>). Stories of U.S. immigrants can also be tapped, exploring Story Corps interviews (<http://goo.gl/iejFfh>).

New York tenement immigrant ballads a century ago

Immigrants spoke scores of languages. They also wrote and enjoyed songs about their lives. The Yiddish ballad “Di New Yorker Trem” (‘The New York Tears,’ 1910, <http://goo.gl/s8ZDso>) is a stark narrative of Jewish NY immigrants’ woe and dismay, similar in some ways to Riis’ stories about poverty, here as a ballad. Another sad Yiddish ballad describes the 1907 polio epidemic in NY, “Kinder Mageyfe” (‘The Children’s Epidemic,’ <http://goo.gl/4wd3KG>). These are ballads Riis had probably heard of and maybe knew. Such ballads can sharpen learners’ musical social empathy. Here other Yiddish songs (<http://goo.gl/LdTRzS>) from Jewish NYC ca. 1890-1910. Riis’ article “The Jews of New York” (1896, <http://goo.gl/Npj2kT>) reflects his strong interest in American immigrant Jewry, then a rapidly expanding community. Riis clearly had some contemporary stereotypes in his perception of Jews (see ‘Jewtown,’ <http://goo.gl/YGxzpx>), but writes: “There is no more patriotic a people than these Jews, and with reason. They have no old allegiance to forget. ... The economic troubles of the East Side, their sweat shops and their starvation wages, are the faithful companions of their dire poverty.”

A potpourri of other Riis tales

Riis' compelling stories of fiction, based on fact, are generally not known among most English teachers today, yet “enjoyed a considerable vogue in their day” (Tuerk 1980:259). Riis, like Conrad and Nabokov, learned to write literary English as an L2 later in life in New York, an “immigrant fictionist” writing in a language learned after emigrating. As Riis stressed in the preface to *Children of the Tenements*: “... none of the stories are invented. Nine out of ten of them are just as they came to me fresh from the life of the people.” Riis' posthumous book, also of short stories, *Neighbors: Life Stories of the Other Half* (1914, <http://goo.gl/NPo31k>) contains a brief story “His Christmas Gift,” also worth reading with students, an extraordinary tale of crime and forgiveness, based on fact, with a NYC immigrant murder trial (<http://goo.gl/1wRD9o>). “The Snow Babies' Christmas” (<http://goo.gl/KSt9Nz>) is set in a local TB hospital.

Children of the Tenements contains other Xmas stories as well, such as “What the Christmas Sun Saw in the Tenements,” “The Little Dollar Christmas Story,” and “Merry Christmas in the Tenements.” (<http://goo.gl/nKboSQ>). All these tales are in Riis, *Christmas Stories* (1923, <http://goo.gl/9jZS36>). *Out of Mulberry Street: Stories of Tenement Life in New York City* (NY: Century Publishing, 1898) is an earlier collection (<http://goo.gl/5SCzvJ>).

A touching Christmas Eve flash fiction about a poor street musician, “Kin” (661 words, <http://goo.gl/cMcS8m>) is one of Riis' shortest min-fictions. Templer (2016b) provides a detailed lesson plan centered on “Kin.” Teachers can copy the mini-story “Kin” and read with students. How does it reflect the gulf between rich and poor in New York in the 1890s? Is it relevant to today? The chief protagonist is what the British call a “busker,” playing music to solicit money on the street, in the US known as a “minstrel” or “street musician.” There is a subtle reference probably to NY Police Board president Theodore Roosevelt (1896-97) in the story: can you find it? Riis as a police reporter often accompanied Roosevelt on his “late-night rambles” checking on police

“bluecoats” patrolling on the beat (Czitrom, 2016:289). Roosevelt was elected governor of New York State in 1898. Riis had a quite close relationship (<http://goo.gl/uhejfq>) with the later President Roosevelt (1901-09), and published a campaign book (<http://goo.gl/zJaSDW>) on him in 1904. Roosevelt famously referred to Riis as “the best American I ever knew” and “ideal American citizen” (Yochelson & Czitrom, 2007:3, xvi).

The lead story in *Neighbors*, “The Answer of Ludlow Street” (<http://goo.gl/eYnDtm>), 1,359 words, is among the most shattering short tales about impoverished Jewish immigrants and suicide in New York ever written. It offers a strong contrast to the story “Kin” that follows it - as does the short-short (861 words) “When the Letter Came” (<http://goo.gl/WAa344>) in *Children of the Tenements*, about an impoverished German immigrant, a brilliant airship inventor, Godfrey Krueger, who also commits sudden suicide in the grip of poverty, both stories explored in depth in Templer (2016c). Buk-Swienty (2008:171-73) discusses Riis’ fascination with tenement suicides. More generally, here are many classic very short stories (<http://goo.gl/2ZDe5m>) for American high school students. They can whet students’ appetites anywhere for fictional brevity, and nurture a love for free voluntary reading (Krashen, 2004), central to autonomous literacy.

Riis writes in *Neighbors* (pp. v-vi) that the stories “... have this in common, that they are true. For good reasons, names and places are changed, but they all happened as told here. I could not have invented them had I tried; I should not have tried if I could. For it is as pictures from the life] in which they and we, you and I, are partners, that I wish them to make their appeal to the neighbor who lives but around the corner and does not know it.” See also “Where He Found his Neighbor” in that same collection, and their Xmas tree (<http://goo.gl/CJnWe4>), the children in “wild delight.” All these tales are in

Jacob A. Riis, *Christmas Stories* (1923, <http://goo.gl/4GZxCy>). In terms of aesthetic theory and social commitment, Tuerk (1980) suggests that Riis “does deserve to be placed beside [Stephen] Crane because of his subject matter” (p. 263), and comes close to the “critical realism” of William Dean Howells, whose later work “truthfully reports warped and maladjusted social relationships” so that they can be dealt with and improved (p. 261).

As mentioned, read “The Rent Baby” (<http://goo.gl/suXDJZ>) a dark yet ‘happy-end’ Christmas tale of the Grunschlag family’s ordeal, Jewish immigrants living in a dark, damp back basement on Hester Street: “Truly, much money was made in America, but not by those who paid the rent. It was all they could do, working early and late, he with his push-cart and at his stand, she with the needle, slaving for the sweater (<http://goo.gl/Vq9juX>), to get the rent together and keep a roof over the head of little Abe.” It is a somewhat longer tale, 2,600 words. It was probably based on a real-life story Riis had encountered in the tenements, names altered.

Couple this story with a flash fiction (719 words) “Abe’s Game of Jacks” (<http://goo.gl/ceRFNE>) about three small Jewish boys and an ordeal of tenement fire on Allen Street. This story was written sometime before 1898, but reflects the frequent tenement fires that plagued the Lower East Side and which Riis witnessed, with all the human tragedy. On March 13, 1905, a disastrous tenement fire at 105 Allen Street took 19 lives, mainly young Jewish children. Two newspaper reports from the time are available online in full: one in the *NY Times* (<http://goo.gl/M412Ru>), another in the *Nashua Telegraph* (<http://goo.gl/FpVsDw>). A unit could be put together, using the Riis tale and the two accessible newspaper reports, themselves highly detailed. Students could write an interior monologue of one of the dead, or a family member of a victim, or one of the firemen—or one of the many injured, including policeman John

Dwan (described in the *NYT* report), or Lt. Bonner (in the *Telegraph* report), whose heroic rescue story is told. Compare Riis' story, almost clairvoyant in some details, with the description of this later horrific disaster. Riis originally published the tale in *Out of Mulberry Street*, pp. 67-70. In Feb. 1898, Riis published his personal account "Heroes Who Fight Fires" (<http://goo.gl/TBBGgY>) in the *Century Magazine* (pp. 483-497) where he often wrote. Students can browse *Century Magazine* for Riis' other articles (<http://goo.gl/LkXRPi>). His last article there, "The Battle with the Slum," (<http://goo.gl/NGx97V>) appeared in Nov. 1913 (pp. 49-51), seven months before his death. It is well worth reading as a final statement by Riis on his work and his core concern with safe, livable housing. The last paragraph is a call to arms against the scourge of child labor, urging women to lead a "war on home manufacture in the tenements."

Triangle Shirtwaist Factory disaster 1911

The most disastrous great fire in Gilded Age New York was the 25 March 1911 Triangle Shirtwaist Factory (<http://goo.gl/QpJXpb>) fire, killing 145 young immigrant garment workers, 102 of them Jewish: "The tragedy brought widespread attention to the dangerous sweatshop conditions of factories ... It was a true sweatshop, employing young immigrant women who worked in a cramped space at lines of sewing machines. Nearly all the workers were teenaged girls who did not speak English, working 12 hours a day, every day." It was the worst mass disaster in NYC history before 9/11, a Black Swan Event of shattering consequence (Taleb, 2010) enshrined in NYC working-class memory. Students can use a detailed lesson plan (<http://goo.gl/Kd7N9u>) on that inferno, its causes and consequences. It points up the exploitative garment industry of that era, a labor problem still today. In a notorious court decision (<http://goo.gl/Zod7wH>), the owners of the shoddy factory building, its exit

doors locked as the fire raged, were sentenced to a fine of \$75 to the family of each of the victims; criminal charges were dropped, despite public outrage. This was an egregious incident of white-collar corporate negligence and crime in NYC a century ago. But abuses galore and exploitation grind on, particularly in the growing commercial laundry and dry cleaning industry, which employs largely immigrant workers, especially Latina, many who speak little English. There are massive industrial operations and also smaller 'sweatshop' laundries, often with toxic and hazardous working conditions in NYC today. This is 'dirty laundry' here & now, not only sewing shirtwaists but washing sheets and slacks (Hylton, 2017).

Using the tales within a broader focus on Riis

Explore various other Riis' tales as well, experiment with them in class, write up findings. His fact-based compelling social fiction, literature powerfully shaped by empathy and too long ignored in ELT, deserves (re)discovery (Yochelson & Czitrom 2007; Pascal 2005). Most stories are, as mentioned, a mouse-click away (<http://goo.gl/MKdd4d>). Basic studies on Riis include Ware (1938), Pascal (2005), Buk-Swienty (2008), Yochelson & Czitrom (2014). Historian Prof. Daniel Czitrom gives a 7-min talk (<http://goo.gl/b8r8H4>) as mentioned earlier and an A-1 lecture (<http://goo.gl/7Zd5si>) that students (and teachers) can listen to at home, highly recommended. As he notes (Czitrom, personal communication, January 4, 2017):

A sort of mid-way point between the journalist mindset of *How the Other Half Lives* and the stories you are looking at might have been the various human interest items Riis wrote for newspapers around the country in the 1880s. I discuss these in some detail in my 'Jacob Riis's New York' essay. Like most journalists and literary artists Riis took material from wherever he could to produce the effects he wanted from readers: outrage, empathy, charity, a desire to help the less fortunate.

The essay he refers to is in Yochelson & Czitrom (2007), pp. 1-120. There Prof. Czitrom notes: “Riis evolved a distinctive and highly clinical approach, one that fused empathic descriptions of human misery and resilience, statistical data culled from police and other government sources, and a fierce skepticism directed at popular myth and the more sensational mysteries of the city” (pp. 12-13). A number of those ‘human interest items’ Riis published would also be excellent texts for the EFL classroom, still buried in archival holdings, perhaps some in newspapers online.

The ‘New Gilded Age’ as reflective prism on the past

Riis’ analytical studies as a self-taught sociographer constitute a kind of participant-observer ethnography of immigrant ‘tenement poverty’ in New York at the very height of the influx of immigrants from Europe to the US. His writings critiqued in depth the “cockroach capitalism” (Yochelson & Czitrom, 2007:44) and nascent plutocracy he encountered there. In the present historical conjuncture, we see a mass immigration of the downtrodden and hopeless from the Global South into the EU, a product of “neo-colonial,” “neoliberal” economics (Hill, 2012; 2013) and “globalization,” and the utter chaos of widespread wars, leaving many in joblessness, despair, now searching for “militant hope in the age of Trump” (Giroux, 2017). The manifesto of the People’s Congress of Resistance (PCR, 2017) is a visionary document (cf. Jaffe, 2017). In the US, “the fissure of deep economic inequality, political polarization, pernicious politics, blatant racism and ‘white supremacy,’ bashing women, Islamophobia, and other social ailments are now overtly pronounced” (Bina, 2017). Yet even in the EU: Greece has a poverty level of 35.7%, Bulgaria 41.3%, Romania 37.3% (<http://goo.gl/cNvo52>). Indigence abounds. Over 50% of Bulgarians aged 15-29 are in daily distress, grappling with inferior living conditions (<http://goo.gl/wWfjs7>). The Global Child Poverty Challenge is cataclysmic (Morgan, 2016).

Riis' literary publications are a mode of "critical realism," of life in poverty during an era of growing elite wealth. Central to the study by Czitrom (2016) is the question: "How did the excesses of Gilded Age New York give birth to a powerful national movement for urban reform?" (p. xi.). Czitrom also deals with the imagined "anarchist threat," especially from immigrant groups, and the NYPD "anti-anarchist crackdown" - the radical "terrorist" narrative in that "gilded" era in NYC (pp. 121-25, 128, 162, 206). Ever more Americans see a "Gilded Age 2.0" (<http://goo.gl/uekMyt>) unfolding today, urban megaspace permeated by "metropolarities" in "fractal cities" (Soja, 2000:264ff.). Chicago remains an icon of segregation (<http://goo.gl/NadFpp>), extreme urban violence (<http://goo.gl/G2qF7Z>) and stark inequality. And as mentioned, there is, unabated, worker exploitation and abuse, especially of women, in a range of service industries today (Hylton, 2017).

As Somerville (2015) sums up Riis' work: "His aim was to show the darkest corners of slum life to the public and to jolt them from their complacency." Riis sought to spur what Giroux (2017) terms the "civic imagination" and indeed "civic courage." The "crisis of memory" is confronted by history, including reimagining Manhattan's darkest tenement past. The situation of most refugees everywhere today is far worse. Significantly, President Trump's grandfather Friedrich (1869-1918, <http://goo.gl/6gACxB>) immigrated to *Kleindeutschland* in NYC as an indigent teen barber in 1885, perhaps even crossing Riis' path, living initially with his older sister Katharine on Forsyth St. (cf. Templer, 2016b:38-39). Frederick was a direct participant in that downtrodden immigrant mass, but later prospered as a restaurant and hotel manager (Widmer, 2010); he probably knew of Riis' reform campaigns for housing justice and empowering the poor.

Visual coda: Exhibitions of social photography

Art historian Bonnie Yochelson (2001, 2007, 2015) has been promoting a rediscovery of and fresh look at Riis' work in particular as a social-historical photographer, helping to organize an exhibition in New York, "Jacob A. Riis: Revealing New York's Other Half" (14 Oct. 2015 - 20 March 2016). Connected with that exhibition is a fascinating video, "A Layman's Sermon: The Other Half and How they Live" (<http://goo.gl/MeV4by>), done by Museum of the City of NY, based on a talk Riis gave in 1891. Here more recently an exhibition of Riis' photos at the Library of Congress (<http://goo.gl/t4aaMH>) in Washington, from April to Sept. 2016 (<http://goo.gl/bzkPYV>). Ms. Yochelson speaks here (<http://goo.gl/4nCFvW>) about the LoC exhibition. Her book 2001 features 55 Riis photos and commentary. On Riis' *photographic* "battle" with the slums, read <http://goo.gl/3AsjsR>. Somerville (2015) reminds us: "Thirty-five years after his death from a heart attack in 1914 at the age of sixty-five, a steamer trunk was discovered in the attic of his farm house by the family who had bought it; the trunk contained 412 glass plates, 161 slides, and 193 paper photos. In 1948, the Museum of Modern Art held an exhibit of 50 fifty of his prints, which launched a rediscovery of his work. ... 'Deed not creed' was the motto that defined his life."

Riis noted in *The Battle with the Slum* (1902) that "the sanitary authorities twice condemned the Essex Market school ... as wholly unfit for children to be in, but failed to catch the ear of the politician who ran things unhindered," see XIII. "Justice to the Boy" (<http://goo.gl/TZwDAw>) cf. photos below. Note also this photo (<http://goo.gl/Di8npE>) by Riis ca. 1890 of the crowded backyard, Henry St. Settlement House—the lack of places for tenement kids to play, the need for parks, a key Riis' concern (Pascal, 2005:86, 132-37, 180). Here a classic photo of two small boys, 'Playground in poverty cap' (<http://goo.gl/CcB4Wi>). Martin's (2011) notion of 'visual politics' and the 'politics of space' can help to

frame these images of working-class life worlds. Also



**'Knee-pants at forty-five cents a dozen – a Ludlow St. sweater's' ca. 1890. On the wall a Jewish 'marriage *ketubah*' (<http://goo.gl/bajH1j>)
Photo J. Riis (<http://goo.gl/yCjYxz>)**

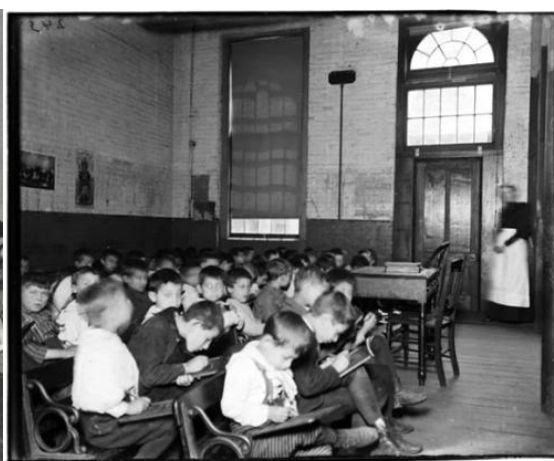


**'Necktie workshop in a Division St. tenement' 1889
Photo J. Riis (<http://goo.gl/jNHFYw>)**

relevant are a range of techniques in “Deep Viewing” in critical visual pedagogy as developed by Pailliotet (1998) and ways to nurture the “imagination of resistance” (Berry, 1998).



'Class in condemned Essex Market School: Gas burning by day' Photo J. Riis (<http://goo.gl/Dsh6cg>)



'Classroom without desks, Essex Market School' Photo J. Riis (<http://goo.gl/2JqYBu>)



Italian immigrant children saluting the flog at the Mott Street Industrial School ca. 1900
[note the brick wall outside the windows, the pupil's grimy clothing, the extreme overcrowding, two young intent teachers, not saluting] Photo J. Riis (<http://goo.gl/8nqN6x>)

Jacob Riis Park

Riis is remembered by many New Yorkers through the Jacob Riis Park in Queens, established in 1936 with a historic ocean beach Art Deco bathhouse: “Today, the park's ocean beach and landscaped walkways, boardwalks and courtyards still provide city dwellers, many of them new immigrants, an opportunity to ... enjoy the open air” (<http://goo.gl/Yq8LcA>), the “people’s beach.”

Conclusion

A broad range of multimedia materials by Riis—supplemented by New York immigrant Yiddish street balladry ca. 1900 and Rovics’ biting contemporary songs—have been suggested for teachers to work with and research: what works with students, why & where? What are effective curricular “revolutionary ferments” in the Marxian sense? They can develop their own concrete units honing aspects of social empathy and critical awareness that

ideally can underpin an evolving anti-capitalist consciousness within a hands-on Critical Pedagogy (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1998) that experiments with curriculum in a subject area (EFL) widely taught across the globe. The tenement world of NYC immigrants, their hardship and poverty in the 'Gilded Age,' was very different from today's realities yet in numerous ways ominously similar to situations across the planet at this juncture in 'immiseration capitalism' (Hill, 2012; 2013; 2017) and its ravages, including toxic industrial working conditions in NYC today (Hylton, 2017). As stressed, the open space of EFL teaching, where teachers can in fact *choose virtually any topic* through which to teach the language, offer CP-oriented teachers and their colleagues a conducive space open to introducing and exploring many issues and questions of global/glocal interest. Despite numerous constraints on dealing with controversial issues in many teaching ecologies (Sadeghi, 2008; Shakouri & Abkenar, 2012), it is through curriculum transformation in solid steps that we can build toward a more critical radical pedagogy for a counter-capitalist yet global wideawakeness among our students (Hill, 2017). But Twenge (2017) raises disturbing questions about the impact of digital technology, smartphones and social media on iGen, the generation born between 1995 and 2012—cybertech fallout on society: shaping consciousness, social relations, learning patterns, lifestyles. CP needs to examine that empirically, empirical research on iGen mentality, attitudes, politics, *e-life*. These are the exacerbating contradictions today between 'relations of production' and 'forces of technology' in *Extremistan* (Taleb, 2010:225ff.). Techno-growth is exponential in the now super-digitalizing capitalist 'society of the spectacle' that Debord (1967; 1988) analyzed with Marxian clairvoyance (see film: <http://goo.gl/PMUimW>). It is high time Debord's anti-capitalist analysis is reassessed, expanded to illuminate the impact of social media, cybergames, jihadi spectacularian terror, our image-saturated consumerist wired society (Harris, 2012), a perspective insightfully elaborated by Evans & Giroux (2015:22-31). As they stress: "Debord's notion

of the spectacle makes a significant contribution in mapping a new form of social control associated with the accumulation of capital. He makes clear that the whole industry of leisure, consumption, entertainment, advertising, fantasy, and other pedagogical apparatuses of media culture has become a crucial element of life, and thus a primary condition of politics” (p. 26). On Debord today, see also PEL (2017).

The very dominance of EFL as a *lingua academica bellica frankensteinia* (Phillipson, 2016a) can also be interrogated through a counter-hegemonic prism within such EFL syllabi inside the ever burgeoning ‘TEFL-Industrial-Complex.’ Many universities have writing courses for students in EAP, English for Academic Purposes, and those courses in particular can include a range of critical topics for students from various disciplines to write on. Aston (2017) discusses this in experimenting with critical EAP writing on climate change at Sheffield University. Mazadaee & Maftoon (2012) describe such efforts in critical EFL writing among students at an Iranian university. More empirical analysis of such curricular experiments, also through the prism of ‘exploratory action research’ (Rebolledo et al., 2016) and CPI (Dahlström, 2016; Dahlström, forthcoming; see also www.globalsouthnetwork.org) centered on concerns of Critical Pedagogy—including working hands-on with social-class-focused materials through the prism of Riis’ ‘exposure journalism,’ for example, and analyzing findings—would be welcome in JCEPS. This can serve to open eyes to the “radical openness of history ... pedagogies of hope enlivened in and through the development of class-consciousness,” as Banfield (2015) envisions. Suoranta & FitzSimmons (2017:292) stress: “We need imagination so that ideas that are deliberated in the classroom can be imagined in everyday practice ... we need to believe in hope that productive change can happen when we work together for just causes that put people before profit. We need to believe in solidarity and human connectedness, because in the final analyses this is where

hope is born.” Riis was deeply dedicated to that. Albeit a keen-eyed observer and pioneer social photographer of poverty and its horrors, he would have abhorred what our so deeply spectacular society has become: a multiplex “social relationship ... mediated by images” (Debord 1967:4).

Notes

¹ Based on a piece in *Global Issues SIG Newsletter*, #35, Dec. 2016, 6-11 (<http://goo.gl/Ydjg6W>), here much expanded.

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