

Please cite as: Senft, T. (2015) "The Skin of the Selfie," in Ego Update: The Future of Digital Identity, Alain Bieber, ed. Düsseldorf: NRW Forum Publications.

The Skin of the Selfie

Theresa M. Senft

*And death is when someone keeps calling you
and calling you
and you no longer turn around to see
who it is.*

Yehuda Amichai, "I Lost My I.D."¹

This is an essay about power and faces. Specifically, it about the faces that manifest in the global self-imaging practice referred to as "selfie culture." More specifically still, it is about circulation of selfies featuring the face of Sandra Bland, an African American activist with the group Black Lives Matter, who police claim hung herself in a cell after being imprisoned after a routine traffic stop. If Yehuda Amichai is right to observe that the essence of death is the inability to turn to face those who call us, then the essence of life must be its opposite: the ability to see those who see us, and to engage that seeing with action. If this is true, what do we do with the face of Sandra Bland, a woman who once offered herself to our gaze, but who now can no longer turn to respond?

I Know Very Well, But Just the Same

To approach this specific question, we need to engage a more general one: What does it mean to speak of a photograph circulated online as empowering—or alternately, disempowering? In and of itself, the belief that photographs can hold actual or potential force over human bodies seems a bit mystical. Images are

things. They don't do anything beyond show themselves to viewers. How this sort of showing morphs to the phrase "show of power" requires a lesson through the relationship between images, symbols, icons and brands.

Historically, these lessons have had different teachers. For Freud, the connection between image and power occurred in early childhood as the infant begins to associate the seen with the known, as it moves into the 'looking' phase. To stay in that stage too long is to develop the fetish *scopophilia* commonly understood through the figure of the male "Peeping Tom" or the female narcissist (Freud, 1976).

Marx coined the term "commodity fetish" to explain how capitalism encourages a worship of goods in order to keep workers distracted from the fact that value (and thus power) does not rest in commodities themselves, but in the systems through which these objects circulate (Marx, 1976). Echoing the diaries of colonial Europeans who claimed that Africans happily accepted cheap beads for land, Marx considered contemporary fetishism a form of "savagery" in which an obsessive relationship to a part is seen as more significant than a measured relationship to a whole, and personal desire trumps material facts.

"Pity the fetishist," the saying goes, "who is offered a woman, when what he want is a shoe." As an academic known for publishing on selfie culture, I often find myself dialoguing with reporters charged with answering for their readers once and for all whether taking and circulating photos of oneself constitutes an empowering act, or a disempowering one. When I ask, "What do you mean by empowerment, here?" I am generally met with eye rolls and anecdotal evidence from personal interviews. Sometimes I hear about scientific research that I have argued elsewhere is flawed in its construction, and inconclusive in its findings (Senft & Baym, 2015a).

I also hear a fair amount about the importance of "virality" online, which tends to amount to a quasi-magical theory that in digital space, feelings are transferred

“into a property, as something that one has, and can then pass on, and as if what passes on is the same thing” (Ahmed, 2004: 10). In her work on emotional contagion, Sara Ahmed argues that everyone knows that “shared feelings are not about feeling the same feeling,” and yet it is difficult to deny the force of feelings multiplied across networks. Attempting to develop an explanation for this force, Ahmed argues, “It is the objects of emotion that circulate, rather than the emotion as such...Such objects become sticky, or saturated with affect, as sites of personal and social tension” (2004: 11).

Seen as objects of emotion, it is understandable enough why we might perceive as empowering selfies generated to raise money for charitable causes, or selfies featuring individuals engaged in behaviors acceptable for only some of the population (women driving in Saudi Arabia or sporting facial hair in the United States, gay people kissing in Uganda, soldiers refusing to engage in conflict anywhere in the world.) Similarly, when we see a malicious meme that “borrows” a photo generated for an entirely different audience, or learn of an activist who was killed after being tracked by the data in a photo posted to Twitter, or read about a child committing suicide as a result of online bullying that began with the “wrong” sort of photo, perceiving selfies as disempowering makes sense.

Psychoanalyst Octave Mannoni once observed that the fetishist’s cry is, “I know very well, but just the same.” If I have learned nothing else during my time studying selfie culture, I have learned that questions regarding dis/empowerment have nothing to do with images, and everything to do with a desire for a sense of control over the environments through which images circulate. Fetishistic logic helps solidify a sense of psychological control by temporarily blinding us to social forces, and for many of us, scotoma seems a small price to pay for a sense of certainty about which sorts of materiality should matter online and off, and which should not.

Dying Eyes, Living Hands

The mantra, “I know very well, but just the same” doesn’t just give a sense of temporary safety in an unsafe world. It also helps reconcile two major (and contradictory) arguments about mediated images circulated by pundits and scholars these days. The first argument, rehearsed above, concerns the power of images to shape action at the psychological, social, political and economic level. The second argument, made famous by philosopher Jean Baudrillard, is that we are now so frequently bombarded with images that we have become numb to any power they once had to influence our thinking or behavior.

In his work on media, vision and ethics, Hagi Kanaan (2013) argue that the eye has now reached “a state of clinical death” due to process called flattening. The flattening aesthetic is one in which we spend most of our lives facing screens in such a way that depth, time, mistakes, cracks, and invisible others are entirely eliminated. As viewers, we function as addicts, argues Kanaan, simultaneously craving and drained by that which we use to forestall actual engagement in the world.

As is generally the case with addiction, ethical responsibility tends to be the first casualty of flattening, argues Kanaan. To illustrate, he turns to the famous window metaphor developed by philosopher Emmanuel Levinas in *Totality and Infinity*. When we look at a living person through the glass pane of a shut window, Kanaan explains, “ostensibly, the other person is right in front of us, fully there.” Indeed, he continues, “looking at him or listening to her through the window can teach us a great deal about the other person, perhaps even all there is to know.” Still, with the window closed, we always “remain on one side of the glass, at home, within ourselves.” (2013: 37)

Although it is hard to argue with this critique as it applies to mass media, I find it incomplete, at least with regard to participants in digital networks. David Bothroyd (2013) points out that in the digital realm, images don’t exist solely only as static objects that are passively viewed in a front-facing manner. They are

also products of a process Mark Hanson calls 'imaging' that involves human-machine collaboration at every turn. Noting the links between the word "digital" and the digits of the body, Elo (2014) argues the finger is today at least as significant a factor as the eye in how images are created and received, and touching at least as significant as vision.

Consider how vision and touch meet in the selfie. In the first step of selfie production, the photographer holds in some way the camera to see the physical skin of her face, laying the camera's eye on top of her own. Satisfied with this overlap of eyes, the photographer touches her device to shoot. She then manipulates the image with her fingers, hand once again in dialogue with her eyes, not so much for verification that what she once saw on her screen is what now appears, but for verification that what she sees after crops and filters is what she now desires. When she feels the photo sees what she wants, she then touches the device again to save it.

Eye-finger dialogue (again, sometimes about veracity, but often about another sort of desire) happens once more when someone (sometimes the photographer, sometimes not) uploads, downloads, or otherwise moves the photo through social media venues, where it is then discussed, altered, sorted, mined and otherwise touched by the skins of other hands on other surfaces.

Towards a Phenomenology of The Grab

The past ten years have seen a rise in what Sarah Ahmed and Jackie Stacey have dubbed "dermography": a mode of analysis that "takes the skin not only as its object, but as a point of departure for a different way of thinking;" that thinks "about the skin, but also think *with* or *through* the skin." (2001: 1) To "think through the skin," argue Ahmed and Stacey, we need to reflect "not on the body as the lost object of thought, but on inter-embodiment, on the mode of being-with and being-for, where one touches and is touched by others. (2001: 1)

Covering and connecting bodies, skin has multiple functions. It stands for a container of the self, a surface for the Other, and a boundary between. When we skin another, we commit an act of violence. When we skin ourselves, we endure temporary wounding that makes us more conscious of anything or anyone with the potential to touch our flesh.

In earlier work, (2008, 2013, 2015) I have argued that social media viewers produce, consume and circulate visual material not by gazing (as one would a traditional film shown in a cinema), nor by glancing (as one might do with a television turned on in a room), but in a segmented and tactile manner I have come to think of as grabbing.

As both embodied personalized sensation and social metaphor, grab-based phrases have power built into their syntax: consider how the economic and psychological expressions “land grab” and “attention grabbing” inscribe in the listener an image of a passive body acted upon by active one, or how we use the expression “up for grabs” to describe an event in which the power outcome is unclear, and we are unsure who (or what) the victor will be.

In the selfie production process, grabbing begin with the photographer’s decision take a photo of herself. The political reasons behind the decision to photograph oneself vary: sometimes it’s because we want to control how our image is produced; other times we are perfectly willing to sacrifice control, but nobody else is available to take our photo. Once we press the camera button, and a digital image is grabbed and saved onto our phones or computers, we have the option to edit, where grabbing works to cut up and reconstruct images on the screen.

Again, editing is fueled by range of motivations. Sometimes a photographer crops or applies a filter to a photo for reasons that fit into our general notions of the social: for instance, when she attempts to emulate (or refute) particular norms of beauty, propriety, civility, citizenship, love. Other times, edits occur for deeply personal reasons: to replicate a mood from childhood, to document her mental

state, to zoom in on an element of the face as if using a mirror.)

Sometimes the reason a photo is edited in a particular way is because it needs to be consistent as a part of a set, or as part of a conversation—which often happens when photo is sent as a response to the photo of another person. Geo-location and hash tags can be similarly used to segment and reconstruct material in ways that are sometimes personal, sometimes social, sometimes earnest, sometimes not, sometimes clear, other times deliberately obscure.

Once a user takes and edits a photo, it remains on her phone or computer until she decides (or someone decides for her) to release it into circulation, where it goes through another series of grabs. Even if one's photo is never circulated beyond one's phone or computer, however, it's important to understand that both its visual and metadata (time taken, geographical markers, I.P. address) are grabbed on any server on which the image rests in what is colloquially known as "the cloud." When we understand that photos we presume to be private may be copied off storage servers by government agencies, by corporate hackers, or (far more common) by someone familiar with our passwords, the political ramifications of the grab become quite apparent.

If we think of selfies in terms of skin that grabs and is grabbed, we might liken its visual content to epidermis, and metadata to subdermal material. On a body, skin exposed is actually far less vulnerable than skin unexposed, yet in public conversations about selfies, the surface dominates. Consider fights that rage over a photographer's conscious choice to upload specific images to social media environments, where they are grabbed by others in the form of likes, shares, friending, votes, comments, remixing, parodies and memes. Because this sort of information leaves visual traces, researchers focus on it like surgeons inspecting a skin graft, noting how material is accepted or rejected as it is introduced to the bodies associated with terms like "my friends," "my co-workers," "the people I know on Instagram," "my community/faith/nation," and so forth. "

While there is value to this sort of research into image circulation in networks, from a haptic standpoint, it stays at the level of cutaneous or skin-based contact, where “touch” is understood purely in terms of what can be read on the surface. To get at issues like tension, movement, balance, and perceptions of proximity and distance, we need to go deeper. As the expression, “Where’s the ‘dislike’ button?” affirms, avoiding, snubbing, stalling, ignoring, and refusing has at least as much communicative significance as recognizing, joining, aligning, attesting, and affirming.

Depending on how much social power I have in a given environment, when you grab me, I may acquiesce, I may grab you back, I may move elsewhere, and so forth. These actions may be clearly visible, they may be obscured from my vision by other sorts of activities, or they may be intentionally hidden from view. Even people who swear that in principle “everything is fair game on the internet” make personal choices with how they deal with images “up for grabs” as they across geographies and temporalities. Is this meme accessible in London, but not in Shanghai? If I’m a Chinese student studying abroad, I may think twice about circulating it to friends who may be subject to government censorship. Did this sexy image start off in a one-to-one arrangement like a text and move to a publicly consumed “revenge porn” site? This may affect how, or if I engage with it when it winds up in my spam email box.

If it is relatively easy for social media researchers to track social dynamics online when they occur at the visual level, and it becomes harder when they occur in non-visual ways, it is nearly impossible to get at the third level of grabbing online. I am thinking here of the proprietary ‘algorithmic level’, in which social media companies subject all the visual data, metadata and user-generated data resting on their servers to mathematical formulas meant to predict future behavioral trends. From a phenomenological standpoint, we might say that companies use algorithms for two reasons: to monitor, predict and direct the affective flows of user-generated content (this is the point of customized tickers

and news feeds on individual pages); and to target them emotionally as economic markets (this is the point of algorithmic process known as “mining,” which takes data about users’ consumer behaviors and targets them with specific sorts of advertising.)

Finally, there is the disciplinary level of the selfie, in which governments claim the right to seize corporate data (both raw and algorithmically sorted) to aid them in efforts like facial recognition, law enforcement, or anti-terrorism initiatives. As anyone who suffered through the Facebook “real names” policy knows, this is the level where one does not exist within corporate structure until government issued identification is produced featuring an image of one’s face. As anyone ever fired from a job because a clearly doctored photo appears to feature them engaged in an illegal or “inappropriate” act, this is the level where the skin of the selfie matters more than the skin of the self.

From Epistemology to Ethics

In this essay, I have been urging researchers to move away (for a time, at least) from epistemological and representational questions about what digital images mean as they appear on our screens. Instead, I suggest we concentrate on phenomenological questions about what images do as emotional, technological, economic, and political objects circulating through networked bodies. By focusing on the two-way quality of grabbing, I believe we come to understand narratives about the empowering or disempowering nature of images for what they are: frontal, gaze-based fetishes that depend for their strength on a fantasy that one viewer’s perception of power matters more than the experiences of others.

When we think of images both as static objects appearing on our screens and as living entities grafting to our skins, we can for a time break the “death of the eye,” to consider how individuals and communities touch and are touched by

the images of others. When we understand touch as both personalized sensation and the result of social, machinic and biological forces, we move from the space of phenomenology to framework of ethics, in which we find ourselves wondering what to do with that which faces us.

It is with ethics in mind that I now return to the question with which I began this essay: What do we do with the face of Sandra Bland, a woman who intentionally offered herself to our gaze, but who can no longer turn to respond? It's a question I find difficult to consider without making reference to grabbing and being grabbed.

On my laptop screen this very moment, I see live streaming footage grabbed by reporters from the streets of Ferguson Missouri. Last week, a federal State of Emergency was declared in Ferguson, yet tonight, police are permitting white men to roam the streets with guns (Townes, 2015). On various blogs, Black Lives Matter activists discuss the fact that photos of their faces have been loaded into computerized recognition systems and their personal communications monitored by federally funded by "anti-terrorism" forces (Joseph, 2015).

On my Facebook pages, left-wing supporters of presidential hopeful Bernie Sanders worry that Black Lives Matter members who "rudely" interrupted Sanders to demand he address issues of racial justice in his platform are "shooting themselves in the foot." (Lind, 2015) In my newsreader, I have flagged an algorithmically generated alert that details the push for a Darren Wilson Day to commemorate the officer whose actions set off the Ferguson protests last year (Moore, 2015), and deleted an alert that actress Jennifer Aniston invited neither *Friends* co-star Matthew Perry nor Matthew Leblanc to her wedding.

It is through these skins that I write about the skin of Sandra Bland, a woman I would like to say I first encountered through the videos she posted to Facebook speaking out against police violence on behalf of Black Lives Matter. In truth, like

nearly all White Americans, my first exposure to Bland was her arrest video shot by a bystander. In it, I saw a Texas police officer drag Bland out of her car and throw her to the ground. I heard her shouting she was in pain, and yell to the bystander, "Thank you for recording." By the time I had seen the footage, Bland had been pronounced dead in her Texas cell after allegedly hanging herself after three days in custody.

I have a strong recollection of two conversations I had the night I watched the Bland video. In one, a friend was trying to convince me that in-jail suicides are extremely difficult for police to fake. In another, a colleague insisted that facts in the Bland case weren't adding up. Bland was educated, professional, and an activist. She had spoken to family members who were working to arrange to post her bail. Though she had spoken of depression in the past, Bland was at the time of her arrest in a great mood, slated to begin her dream job in university administration at her alma mater the following month (Sanchez, 2015.) Could both these realities be true? Asking the same question, African American writer Roxane Gay answered in the affirmative, arguing, "Even if Ms. Bland did commit suicide, there is an entire system of injustice whose fingerprints left bruises on her throat." (2015)

Days have now dragged into weeks since the story of Bland's arrest and death reached the Internet. Like nearly everyone else who gets their news through social media, I have find myself otherwise distracted while waiting for the federal investigators assigned to look into her case to issue their report. Personally, I don't have particularly great hope that a report will change much: witness Ferguson, a city where external investigators found incontrovertible evidence of racial bias and police corruption, yet most of the civilian population still finds themselves with pending warrants for arrest, with more issued every day (Ellis 2015).

Since the death of Sandra Bland, more police brutality cases have been reported, more uprisings against brutality have occurred, more celebrity weddings have

transpired. Like all such videos, the bystander footage of Bland's arrest seems to have already faded from public view. Yet interestingly, although a Google image search certainly turns up Bland's mug shot, it now seems dominated by the selfies Bland took that still remain publicly accessible on her Facebook page. In these photos, she appears dressed in professional clothing, smiling, and (in the case of her videos) speaking directly into her camera about the realities of racial profiling in America.

Clicking through these first set of these smiling images on Google Images leads the viewer to a range of memes for which Bland's face has been grabbed, her skin marked by tags like #WhatHappenedToSandraBland, #BlackLivesMatter, #SayHerName and #IfIDieInPolicyCustody. Click deeper, and Bland's smile appears to have been likewise been grabbed—and presumably monetized—both by conservatives at Fox News, and self-avowed racists at the site Storm Front (where it seems to be from time to time substituted with the image of African American professor Brittney Cooper of Rutgers University.)

Facing the Skin

What are we to do with the smiling face of Sandra Bland? From an ethical standpoint, what matters most about the face in a selfie is that it belongs (or belonged) to an actual human being. Levinas sees the face both as an image to be viewed and as a window “that must be there in order to be opened, in order for us to see through and recognize” the Other, explains Kenaan. Albert North Whitehead sees the act as a less transcendent affair than involves instead a sort of cycling between aesthetics and ethics, and between pleasure and concern. (Whitehead, 1968, in Shaviro: n.d.) This sort of cycling can be seen in the phrase, “facing reality,” where we move from a largely subjective experience of something or someone, to a state in which the experiences of those outside the self are taken into account.

From an optimistic point of view, the idea that a selfie might have potential to

wedge open the glued shut window known as “media numbness” is tantalizing, whether it comes in the form of revelation, or something slightly more pedestrian. Yet optimism doesn’t seem quite the right emotional response face of Sandra Bland—at least not anymore. As animated she appears in her photographs, as informed, intelligent, dignified and hopeful she once was, Sandra Bland is now dead, even as her skin continues to graft itself across networks digital and otherwise.

Death is when someone keeps calling you, and you no longer turn around to see who it is, writes Yehuda Amichai. Roxane Gay puts it in more urgent terms, writing, “As a black woman in America, I do not feel alive. I feel like I am not yet dead” (2015). What do we do with the face of Bland and the words of Gay, emanating from one body that is now dead, the other not yet? We face them. Not as Levinasian “windows to the Other,” but as constitutive elements of a social skin in which we find ourselves all stitched.

To argue that all skins are stitched is not the same as countering “Black Lives Matter” with “All Lives Matter.” The “All Lives Matter” mantra operates at the level of a fetish: we know very well (because statistics tell us so) that Black bodies have always been at higher risk for state-sanctioned violence in the United States, yet we intone our moral belief in equality of all lives just the same.

To face Sandra Bland, we need to move from generalized statements about morality to an ethics of specificity. It is entirely possible for me to simultaneously oppose the rise in police brutality and government surveillance around the world, and respect that different bodies experience these phenomena differently. My tight-lipped warning to my nephew to make no jokes to the officers issuing us a speeding ticket in Virginia (where we are regarded as Northerners) is not equivalent to Bland’s assault, arrest, and death in jail after being deemed disrespectful and “mouthy” by police in Texas. Nor is my certainty that I am under government surveillance for my endorsement of Black Lives Matter equivalent to the certainty articulated by those using the hash tag

#IfIDieInPoliceCustody.

To face Sandra Bland is to refuse a generalized morality that sacrifices situational ethics. It is also to refute a particular form of empowerment narrative that bears the name “respectability politics.” In this narrative, bodies most at risk are told if they were just caught in a different place, at a different time, using a different tone of voice, born into a different gender, age, class, or education level, they could have prevented the violence done to them. When we turn from a fetishistic fascination with image to a more considered analysis of skins, we understand respectability politics for what it is: victim blaming. To face Sandra Bland is to fight for and alongside others who may or may not resemble us, and whose personal and political tactics we may or may not always endorse. We do this not for moral reasons, or even charitable ones, but out of self-interest. We do it because we understand that at this rate, the next selfie featuring a dead face may be our own.

Notes

1. Note: This essay originally appeared in *Ego Update: The Future of Digital Identity*, edited by Alain Bieber and published by NRW Forum. The book accompanied an art installation of the same name in September 2015, at the NRW Forum in Düsseldorf, Germany.
2. I am indebted to Hagi Kenaan for introducing me to Amichai, and to Gregory Seigworth and Brittney Cooper’s influence throughout this essay.

Works Cited

- Ahmed, S. (2004) *The Cultural Politics of Emotion*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Ahmed, S. & Stacey, J. (2001). *Thinking through the Skin*. New York: Routledge.
- Amichai, Y. (1982) “I Lost my ID” (in Hebrew), *The Hour of Grace*. Tel Aviv: Schocken, p. 40.

- Ellis, B. (2015) "One Year Later, Ferguson is Still Pumping Out Arrest Warrants." CNN Money, August 6. Available at <http://money.cnn.com/2015/08/06/news/ferguson-arrest-warrants/>
- Elo, M. (2012) 'Digital finger: beyond phenomenological figures of touch', *Journal of Aesthetics & Culture*, Issue 4.
- Freud, S. (1976) *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality*. United States: Basic Books.
- Gay, R. (2015) "On the Death of Sandra Bland and Our Vulnerable Bodies." *The New York Times*, July 24. Available at http://www.nytimes.com/2015/07/25/opinion/on-the-death-of-sandra-bland-and-our-vulnerable-bodies.html?_r=0
- Jenkins, J. (2015) "After 20 Years, Confederate Flag In 'The Last Capitol Of The Confederacy' Comes Down." Think Progress.org, August 10. Available at <http://thinkprogress.org/culture/2015/08/10/3689854/danville-confederate-flag-comes-down/>
- Joseph, G. (2015) "Exclusive: Feds Regularly Monitored Black Lives Matter Since Ferguson." Firstlook.org, July 24. Available at: <https://firstlook.org/theintercept/2015/07/24/documents-show-department-homeland-security-monitoring-black-lives-matter-since-ferguson/>
- Kenaan, H. (2013) *The Ethics of Visuality: Levinas and the Contemporary Gaze*. United Kingdom: I B Tauris & Co.
- Levinas, E. (1969) *Totality and Infinity*. United States: Pittsburgh, Duquesne University Press.
- Lind, D. (2015) "Black Lives Matter Versus Bernie Sanders, Explained." Vox.com, August 11. Available at: <http://www.vox.com/2015/8/11/9127653/bernie-sanders-black-lives-matter>
- Marx, K. (1976) *Capital: Volume 1*. New York: Penguin Books.
- Moore, D. (2015) "Police organization's 'Darren Wilson Day' in Columbia, Mo., sparks protest, criticism." *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, August 10. Available at: http://www.stltoday.com/news/local/metro/police-organization-s-darren-wilson-day-in-columbia-mo-sparks/article_abdc5401-24ff-5b25-9454-db9b9987b64f.html
- Paterson, M. (2007) *The Senses of Touch: Haptics, Affects and Technologies (Senses and Sensibilities)*. Berg Publishers.

- Sanchez, R. (2015) "Who Was Sandra Bland." CNN.com, July 22. Available at <http://www.cnn.com/2015/07/22/us/sandra-bland/>
- Senft, T. & Baym, N. (2015) "What Does the Selfie Say: Investigating a Global Phenomenon." *International Journal of Communication* 9, Feature 1588–1606
- Senft, T. (2013b). "Microcelebrity and the branded self." In J. Hartley, J. Burgess, & A. Bruns (Eds.), *A companion to new media dynamics* (pp. 346–354). Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Senft, T. (2008). *Camgirls: Celebrity and community in the age of social networks*. New York, NY: Peter Lang.
- Shaviro, S. (n.d.) "Self-Enjoyment and Concern: On Whitehead and Levinas." Available at <http://www.shaviro.com/Othertexts/Modes.pdf>
- Townes, C. (2015) "White Militiamen, Openly Carrying Large Guns, Descend On Ferguson After State of Emergency Declared." ThinkProgress, August 11. Available at <http://thinkprogress.org/justice/2015/08/11/3690259/white-armed-militiamen-appear-in-ferguson-after-state-of-emergency-declared/>
- Whitehead, A.N. (1968) *Modes of Thought*. New York: The Free Press.