“If you are not outraged, you are not paying attention!”
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ARCHIVING ACTIVISM
The Citizen Curating Project Confronts
The Pulse Nightclub Shooting
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Part I: The Pulse Nightclub, Orlando, Florida:
The Orlando Pulse Nightclub shooting of June 12, 2016, is the worst contemporary mass shooting, in terms of the number of casualties, in United States history. The target was a gay bar on Latin music night. Most of the victims belonged to the LGBTQ community and the Latin community, though there were also a number of European and African American victims. The shooter, Omar Mateen, was an American citizen, born in the U.S. of Afghani parents. In phone calls with the police during the shooting, he declared his allegiance to ISIS. He died at Pulse from police gunshots.

The framing of this attack is of utmost importance. Was it an act of terrorism against the United States in the name of ISIS? Was it an act of eliminationist violence aimed specifically against the LGBTQ

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4 Most terrorist attacks in the U.S. are carried out by Right Wing, white supremacist, and anti-government groups and people. See Department of Homeland Security’s report “Rightwing Extremism: Current Economic and Political Climate Fueling Resurgence in Radicalization and Recruitment.” Additionally, Muslims in the U.S. are far more likely to be victims of violence than they are to be perpetrators.
community? Was the Latin community also targeted, or was it incidental to the attack? Was it an act of self-loathing by a closeted gay man raised by a homophobic father? Was it the act of a mentally ill person with bipolar disorder, or the act of someone who was evil? Was it a result of patriarchal conditioning that teaches men to use violence as the best way to resolve issues? Was it a result of lax gun laws? Indeed, it appears to be all of the above, yet the various frames suggest different policy responses. To prevent another such attack from happening, we could combat religious extremism or the hatred of LGBTQ people and the hatred of Latino minorities, which was exploited by the Trump campaign during the period in which the shooting occurred. We could focus on improving mental health intervention, tightening gun laws, changing the culture of patriarchy, and so on. All of these and many more policy areas seem relevant.

But what conditions relevant to my life made this shooting possible? What responsibility do I have for the shooting? To address these questions, I look to my own process of subject formation. In it, I see that my socialization is not so different from Mateen’s. I, like Mateen, was exposed to American’s national mythology, with its justifications for eliminationist violence. I, like Mateen, grew up in a patriarchal society, with its ideology of masculine dominance, its mood of anger, and its disgust for deviation from masculine norms. I, like Mateen, have relative autonomy in terms of my ability to believe what I want and to act out my beliefs, no matter how delusional. Mateen and I emerged from similar fields of possibility, though we manifested our being in different ways.

In relation to the victims, I also share much of their subject formation. Like them, I was interpellated into an apparatus of entertainment that encourages consumption and pleasure, linked particularly to alcohol, music, and sexuality. I shared the American ethos of free expression, of social freedom, and of “being oneself.” I had never visited Pulse, but in my younger days I did visit LGBTQ

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5 Most mentally-ill people are not violent, and, in fact, are more likely to be victims of violence than they are to be perpetrators.

6 See Althusser for a discussion of subject formation within an Ideological State Apparatus.
nightclubs and, in other places, was bullied by people who called me gay, though I identify as straight. I can identify with the victims. My self-portrait emerges by noting the points of similarity between the broader ideological lessons of the society and my particular experiences of subject formation. It is metonymic; I am part of a broader whole. The policy recommendation follows from the self-portrait. To make a long story short, the recommendation I put forward is that the humanities needs to establish an agency for instantaneously monitoring our collective mood and then reporting it back to the nation. In other words, we need to monitor our collective’s symptoms and suggest possible diagnoses; we need to take our Pulse.

Part II: The Purpose of the Humanities:

The study of the humanities has, at its core, a burning question: “How do I live a life worth living?” This key question raises associated questions, such as, How do I attain and maintain attunement, or a healthy connection to self, others, and environment? What is my duty beyond myself to collective being? Am I obligated to try to redirect my group if it goes in the wrong direction? If I am unable to redirect my group in a healthier direction, am I obligated to disassociate myself from the group and even to denounce the group?

Humanists address these questions through four interrelated projects:

**Literacy** is the ability to communicate within particular communities using specialized discourses. For example, advanced academic work requires new habits of reading and writing, such as asking critical questions and keeping detailed notes while reading, which do not come naturally for most people. My mentor, Professor Gregory Ulmer, reminded me that a pencil is probably the cheapest technology but the most expensive to learn to use effectively. The literacy required for becoming a professional writer takes years of practice and hard work to attain.

**Critical thinking** is the ability to cogently evaluate the merits of a text or idea. Without critical thinking, we are unable to function effectively in professional and civic worlds. We need familiarity with a wide range of texts and ideas to be critical thinkers. We benefit by
gaining many perspectives and gathering research from beyond our immediate fields of inquiry.

_Self-knowledge_ was the first imperative of learning, beginning with the Delphic Oracle’s instruction to Socrates: “Know thyself!” We attain self-knowledge by creating an inventory of our beliefs and behaviors, discovering our values, and checking for congruence between our beliefs, behaviors, and values. The processes for attaining self-knowledge come from many disciplines, including the sciences and the arts. The pursuit of self-knowledge shows us what we care about and why we care about it.

_Citizenship_ means engaging with the world, balancing our growing empowerment with humility. The citizenship process is similar to the self-knowledge process since it also entails examination of values, beliefs, and behaviors, but of groups to which we belong, our traditions, and our collective actions and their consequences. By studying science, literature, and the arts, we learn what it means to have responsibility, power, and limitations in our historical time and place.

A humanist’s goal is to bring people to attunement, which is a life in congruity. We can find pleasure from living in attunement, but it is not the easy pleasure of vice. Rather, it is the pleasure Plato identified as the reward for the lover of wisdom, a devotion that can also involve immense sacrifice. Can this pleasure be taught? I argue here that curating can deal with the difficult problems raised by the humanities. Curating is the selection of archival materials and their arrangement in an exhibition. The process of archival research and production can be imagined as a process of attunement, of orienting oneself to reality and acting to make possible the greatest wellbeing for all. We call this process the pursuit of wisdom.

A wise citizenry takes an active role in looking at its past so it can reason about its future. It must articulate its values, ask if its behavior is congruent with those values, and calculate the costs of its behaviors, changing them if necessary. Humanists use a range of methods in our pursuit of wisdom. These methods are found in the history of writing.
Part III: The Citizen Curator Project As Activism:

When we define curating as a form of writing, curating revises our understanding of both curating and of writing, especially as we change our writing practices in relation to electronic media. Just as the invention of the printing press occasioned new forms of writing, including Montaigne’s essay, Cervantes’ novel, and Ramus’ textbook, information technologies that emerged in the 19th and 20th centuries occasioned new genres as well, including Poe’s detective story, Cortazar’s proto-hypertexts, Breton’s automatic writing, and Gyson’s cutups. Each textual practice affords different ways of thinking and facilitates new possible identities, each with different values, behaviors, and consequences.

Curating, as a subset of writing, follows the history of invention with its own genres and logics. Our understanding of curating has changed significantly over the past half millennia. Curating began with the Renaissance “cabinets of curiosities,” then advanced to the Enlightenment’s museums with their classification systems, timelines, and scientific worldviews. Museums then incorporated re-created environments to convey a sense of context for their objects. In the industrial age, museums added participatory and interactive features to their exhibits. Early modernist exhibits incorporated reflexive perspectives, explicitly addressing the ways in which curating shapes perceptions and meanings. More recent “new media” exhibits have incorporated experiential and networked modes. Our understanding of curating will continue to change as technologies and institutions change.

The Citizen Curator Project, established in 2014 in Orlando, encourages ordinary citizens to try curating for themselves and to approach the task as a form of public policy consultation. Curating as activism requires that we assume the identity of uninvited consultants who have witnessed catastrophe, deliberated about it, and wish to share our epiphanies and policy recommendations with policy makers and other members of society. Because curating has been crucial to ideas of community in the modern era—for example, museums arose with nations and reflected national priorities—we want citizens to think of

7 See the call for participation here: www.cah.ucf.edu/citizencurator
curating as another means of building and shaping community, a means of increasing their own agency within a more democratic and participatory process. The Citizen Curator Project invites participants from the area to create a series of exhibitions on various themes. In spring and summer 2017, we are focusing on the theme of “Eliminationism and Resilience.” A particularly potent example of eliminationism, defined as discourses, actions, and social policies that seek to suppress, exile, or exterminate perceived opponents, is the recent Pulse nightclub attack, whereas the Orlando United campaign may be viewed as an act of resilience.

To promote contemporary civic discourse and engagement, we encourage projects that explore strategies for combating racism, discrimination, and eliminationism or other social practices that seek to marginalize others. The Citizen Curator Project facilitates creative engagement with local museum, library, and archival collections and invites participants to respond to the theme, “Eliminationism and Resilience.” We urge participants to experiment, not only with a range of perspectives on the theme and historical source material, but also with the idea of what an exhibit can be. Anyone with an interest in affecting social change through exhibitions can be a Citizen Curator. This includes, but is not limited to, students, artists, activists, educators, and members of the community. No previous experience with curating is required.

Because our goal is to empower citizens through increased access and use of archives, we want people to imagine themselves as consultants, addressing themselves to policymakers. Thus we urge them to make powerful statements with their exhibits. Citizen curators need to learn the major elements of persuasive communication, including an understanding of purpose, audience, and context. Through our evolving Guidebook for Citizen Curators, as well as workshops, we include instruction in the major points of rhetoric and narrative, as well as instruction in curating practices. Additionally, as new technologies arise such as platforms for online curating, we explain ways to maximize the potential for citizen curating in these new arenas.

For this year’s exhibits, we have provided the purpose or “frame” for the citizen curators. The purpose is to consult on the problem of eliminationism (and its obverse – how to promote
Eliminationism, a term coined by Daniel Goldhagen in *Hitler’s Willing Executioners*, described how virulent anti-Semitism provided the motive and drive for ordinary Germans to participate willingly in the mass murder of their neighbors and of strangers, including innocent men, women, and children. David Neiwert has provided a more detailed definition:

What, really, is eliminationism? It's a fairly self-explanatory term: it describes a kind of politics and culture that shuns dialogue and the democratic exchange of ideas for the pursuit of outright elimination of the opposing side, either through complete suppression, exile and ejection, or extermination. What distinguishes eliminationist rhetoric from other political hyperbole, in the end, are two key factors: 1) It is focused on an enemy within, people who constitute entire blocs of the citizen populace, and 2) It advocates the excision and extermination, by violent means or civil, of those entire blocs.

Addressing the problem of eliminationism means rethinking our public policies within many policy areas including education, law and policing, political access (particularly as related to gender, race, and sexuality), a decaying public sphere, employment, security, guns, suicide, violence and terrorism, religion, mental illness, media representations, technology, healthcare, public monuments and history, and other relevant issues.

Our research topic is ideology, though we do not usually use this term outside the university because it often produces misunderstanding and denial (no one wants to admit they have an ideology). However, we address ideology by identifying our personal and collective blind spots that contribute to eliminationism such as ignorance, intolerance, denial, delusion, and the desire for domination. In other words, we seek to identify our personal and collective blind spots and put these in our exhibits.

Our design is relatively open. We offer people the choice to select a mix from the list below:

1. Educational Exhibits: These exhibits seek to inform and educate the public. For example, the Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington
D.C. educates the public about the events of the holocaust, but does not present clear arguments about its causes.

2. Rhetorical Exhibits: These exhibits present a thesis and use curated materials as support. For example, photographer Sebastião Salgado’s exhibits argue that the flow of global capital creates refugee crises, and his images amount to evidence for his claims.

3. Experimental Exhibits: These exhibits seek new ways of composing with archival materials, but may have rhetorical or educational aims as well. Experimental exhibits may focus on issues related to the ethics of curating, such as witnessing, working with difficult material such as racist artifacts, or on intellectual property rights and censorship. Experimental exhibits may present different forms of curating, making use of sampling and collage, presenting multiple perspectives on the same materials (i.e. from a social scientist’s perspective, a legal perspective, a philosopher’s perspective, etc.), or employ avant-garde genres. We are encouraging participants to experiment with the puncept of “Pulse.” The puncept, invented by Gregory Ulmer, gathers together discourses based upon the similarity of their terms (the way a pun does). Thus we gather together all the meanings of the word pulse and note its use in various discourses (such as medical, electrical, musical, religious, and military). We note its presence in other words, such as impulse, repulsive, and compulsion. From these words, we form patterns and conduct additional research as the patterns suggest we do, relating this work back to our purpose and research question.

Just as writing has a variety of audiences—from the public, to a restricted group, to private use—so curating can be directed at a variety of possible audiences. We most associate curating with public museums, meant to attract as broad an audience as possible. Other groups that are restricted from curating in public spaces, such as families, curate their own exhibits in the form of family photo albums. Similarly, other groups—such as private clubs, organizations, and secret societies—curate exhibits for their members only. Finally, we can curate for ourselves much as a person can write a journal, and not only to create a record but also to address problems and to foster invention.

Our goal is to encourage ordinary people to take ownership of their historical, cultural, and intellectual legacies. It is a project of
democratization, of expanding the power of people who don’t normally make history. Plenty of CEOs and other wealthy people sit on the boards of universities and museums and have disproportionate power to determine what “counts” as history, as identity, and as acceptable discourse. Many other people are left out and their history and identity get defined for them, and usually not in their interests.

The risk of democratization is that it can play to the “madding crowd”; in other words, sometimes people think they are acting a grassroots way, but in fact they are acting out their dark side and/or the will of the elites. Witness the Tea Party, a vicious animal set loose on America by the Koch Brothers, but whose followers know little or nothing about their benefactors. By encouraging citizen curating, do we risk turning the power to retell history over to the Tea Party? Possibly. Is it worth the risk? Yes. For our projects, we have a board that reviews submissions, so there is gatekeeper protection. Of course, anyone can curate a website without encountering any gatekeepers and can use that website for good or evil.

The Citizen Curator Project aims to bring about a collective being that can deliberate about its present and future based on knowledge of its past, but any such deliberation is hindered by blind spots. Unless we deal with our blind spots, our deliberations will lead us astray. Where are our blind spots? Most Americans have little or no understanding of the U.S. as an imperialist country, yet the U.S. has overthrown approximately 60 governments around the globe since World War II, mostly by force, at a terrible cost in human lives, suffering, environmental damage, and so on. People outside the United States have no problem identifying the U.S., at least its government, as being imperialistic. Similar blindness affects people in Japan and Turkey – most citizens in these countries deny their genocidal acts against other peoples. So, when U.S. citizens face a deliberation about Iran, for example, without taking into account our own history as an imperialist country, we are acting blindly.

The primary obstacle to this work (identifying and owning our own blind spots) is that most people react negatively to it. Admitting blindness, ignorance, foolishness, fault, guilt, etc. can seem like a form of weakness, or a mark of irredeemable shame. People feel their identity is at stake; we see such reactions happening over proposals to
take down the Confederate flag. But when we own our blind spots and all of our history, including the faults and guilt, we can be stronger because we are now prepared to be most effective at deliberating.

In addition to the blind spots we have within our knowledge of the world, we also have blind spots within our ethics. When we deliberately pursue purely instrumentalist aims (such as how to increase energy production) we ignore the byproducts or consequences of our actions. To deliberate ethically means to think about the consequences of our actions upon oneself, other people, other species, the environment, and for the distant future. We thus introduce to citizen curators the concept of externalities. An externality is a “cost or benefit that affects a party who did not choose to incur that cost or benefit.” (Wikipedia) Barry Commoner commented on externalities related to our technologies: “Clearly, we have compiled a record of serious failures in recent technological encounters with the environment. In each case, the new technology was brought into use before the ultimate hazards were known. We have been quick to reap the benefits and slow to comprehend the costs” (44). How do we become aware of our externalities?

To begin deliberations about a public policy issue, we pose a statement that includes a series of questions: We (we ask “who are we?”) have a problem (we ask “what is the nature of this problem?”) and we want to take actions (we ask “what actions?”) that move us closer to a state of personal and collective wellbeing. The process of understanding who we are and what the problem is—and the relationship between the two—involves reasoning by analogy. We feel the sting of recognition (the problem in me) when we see it “elsewhere.” This “elsewhere” can be real—something from history or a foreign land or from art and literature touches us from afar—which arouses empathy and enables us to identify our blind spots. Though our denial mechanisms prevent us from seeing our own blind spots using self-examination, we can see blind spots in the analogies we find elsewhere and thus we can apply the lessons from these analogies to ourselves. The analogies describe relationships: A is to B as C is to D (for example, America interventions in Iran are like Soviet interventions were in Eastern Europe).
To do this work, we must be open to identifications that raise both pleasurable and unpleasurable feelings. In other words, we must be able to experience discomfort as we make discoveries during the process. We have to be able to drop our cognitive defenses, overcome psychological resistance, and be willing to alter our identities. For example, if the pattern in our materials shows that we take pleasure in our own destruction (through environmental degradation, dehumanization, and violence), we have to be willing to consider how strongly the pattern attunes us to our underlying reality.

Must we begin with the premises that we are citizens of a racist and imperialist nation, and that we worship the figure of the vigilante, subjugate women, and destroy the environment? No. For the process to work, we must be willing to subject our thoughts and beliefs, no matter what they are, to testing. Such testing cannot be purely internal to the individual, however; introspection won’t do. The same faulty operating system we use to create and maintain our beliefs is the same faulty operating system we use to check those beliefs.

Instead of relying upon internal processes of self-examination, we need a way to externalize our cognitive system so we can see it as holistically as possible and “debug” it. Curating gives us the space to debug our cognitive systems. And Gregory Ulmer’s Mystory and its subgenres, including the Electronic Monument, give us the means to curate with this end in mind. The Mystory is Ulmer’s approach to teaching humanities knowledge. It works in a poetic way to produce reflective disclosure, though it is not a form of self-expression. Rather, it produces self-portraits, revealing to us the points of our identification. Ulmer calls these points our premises: “the inventor’s ideological premises do not determine in advance the outcome of the process but constitute the field, place, diegesis, or chora of its genesis” (2005, 84). An Electronic Monument selects a public calamity as source material for the self-portrait. Contained in the calamity are the dimensions of our larger situation. In other words, the calamity contains wisdom that can be put to use.

8 To see my projects based on Ulmer’s work, refer to the essays and chapters under my name in the “Works Cited” section.
In fact, the Mystorical exhibition becomes a kind of “bachelor machine” we can re-imagine as a modern oracle. We are not entirely in control of the process but should yield our initiative to the accidents of language and the serendipities that arise within discourse networks. What do we put in our exhibits? Our encounters with the three dimensions or poles of judgment (Kant): True-False, Good-Bad, and Pleasure-Pain (or Attraction-Repulsion). We ask where we are on each of the poles and where they meet. Ulmer’s Popcycle guides us in the selection and arrangement of the material. Ulmer identifies four quadrants of the Popcycle—Family, Entertainment, School (national mythology), and Discipline. Each of these institutions shapes our identity as we move through it. The bachelor machine of the curated show reveals a tracing of signifiers through these institutions.

Another dimension of the citizen-curated exhibit is the juxtaposition of the personal sacred and the official sacred. To work in this dimension, we combine elements of a “problem” at the personal level—this problem can be related to money, family, career, relationships, etc. —with elements of a “problem” at the collective level—this problem can be related to war, racism, poverty, public health, crime, etc. The materials we use to think these problems are also combined—in particular, we draw materials that have affective power—that activate the axis of attraction-repulsion. This axis is the realm of the sacred (the realm beyond empirical testing and rational calculation).

The primary “audience” of a citizen curator project is the curator herself (such projects are made in the middle, or reflexive, voice). The curator reads the project the way one read the riddle-like pronouncements of the ancient Greek oracles. The curator hopes to find a pattern in the materials that pertains to both the personal and the collective problem. The curator then divines or interprets the materials to determine a prudent course of action.

A curator can be an individual person or a group of people. Regardless, the curator actually fulfills many roles. Some of these roles are inherent to all or most professional curators. Some of these functions include “selecting, filtering, naming, and collecting,”9 as well

9 See Graham and Cook
as collaborating and working among and outside of traditional institutions. These curatorial functions occur in relation to various curatorial “roles”: archivist, artist, critic, historian, documenter, promoter, educator, and many others.

The citizen curator involves a number of additional roles. First are querents; those are people who have a burning issue, question, or problem that they are ready to explore using the citizen curator method. Second are witnesses. Witnesses go into the “repulsive” parts of the culture and report back; they are investigating the abject dimensions of collective identity. These witnesses can make first-hand reports from the field; they can also report on their investigations in the archives. Third are diviners; these are people who can read the patterns in the materials gathered by the querents and witnesses. Fourth are producers; those who can make this material accessible to the public in the curated exhibit.

One of our major problems is how to curate difficult knowledge. We need to “think what we are doing” and to that end we need to confront the losses resulting from our actions. But people’s reluctance to accept responsibility for their actions is profound. To even raise the subject produces enormous cognitive dissonance in many people. Thus we have to deal with the psychology of resistance.

We deal with the psychology of resistance in two ways – by confronting it head-on (the intervention) and by following avant-garde methods (dependent in part upon automaticity, yielding the initiative to our materials). To deal with resistance head-on, we teach about delusion, how it forms, what factors make it more likely to occur and to harden, and what can be done to confront it. We focus on well-known, well-accepted cases to begin – cults, Nazis, etc. The lesson is that nearly everyone is delusional and associated with a cult (we define a cult as any group identity centered upon a delusional and dysfunctional belief system).

Avant-garde methods lead us to thoughts we would never reach or accept on our own. Such methods are machines that think for us and our job is just to see where they lead. Here we are using logic that was formalized by the Surrealists and then theorized, and
elaborated upon, by Jacques Derrida. The analogy for these automatic methods of thought is the game. Notable models to emulate are the Exquisite Corpse, One into Another, The Irrational Enlargement of a Film, If-Then, the Dialogue, Ilot-Mollo, The Method of Raymond Roussel, Translation, Directions for Use, Proverbs for Today, New Superstitions, Soluble Fish, Headline Poetry, etc.\(^{11}\) We may choose some or all of these methods, and adapt them as we see fit. What these methods accomplish is a loosening of censorship (not coincidentally, they are based upon the games Freud invented to help his patients deal with their own forms of censorship that prevented them from reporting their thoughts to him). They are also fun to play and thus activate our desire to learn.

By June 2017, The Citizen Curator Project will have online citizen-curated exhibits available for viewing. Please visit: www.cah.ucf.edu/citizencurator.

Works Cited
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\(^{11}\) See Alastair Brotchie


