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Stranger Things in strange times: Nostalgia, surveillance and temporality

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In 2016, Netflix aired the first season of its new series, Stranger Things (Duffer Brothers, 2016-). Premised as a science fiction show, Stranger Things takes its inspiration from the 1980s, focusing on the type of nostalgic teen narratives made famous by Steven Spielberg and John Hughes. Set in the sleepy suburban town of Hawkins in 1983, the show follows the disappearance of a young boy, Will Byers, and the mysterious arrival of a girl called Eleven. When Will's friends (Dustin, Lucas and Mike) discover clues which indicate that Will is trapped in an alternative universe (latterly known as the Upside Down), they join forces with Eleven whose psychokinetic powers hold the key to defeating the monsters who reside there (the Demogorgon, Demodogs and Mind Flayer), and returning Will alive. With self-referential nods to '80s cinematic classics such as E.T. (1982), Ghostbusters (1984), The Goonies (1985) and Aliens (1986), the Netflix series successfully taps into the current fascination with all things nostalgic. Such interest in the nostalgic is evident in other contemporary film and television programming from Summer of 84 (2018) and IT (2017) to the current season of American Horror Story entitled "AHS 1984" (2011-), the Eighties have never been so popular. Such a cultural visual phenomenon is not unusual; we have long looked back at past decades with rose-tinted spectacles as evidenced by the ongoing fascination with the postwar era (such as the 1950s and 1960s), but the resurgence of such a particular historic nostalgia seems to yield more profound resonance with our contemporary moment.

Given the tumultuous nature of our current political climate, the popular screen turn toward the Reagan era is of note, replete with references to the rise of the Christian Coalition, the end of the Cold War, and the excess associated with the growing consumerist and capitalist tastes of yuppie culture. It is also of note that the Eighties saw great technological advancement and a strengthening of the 1971 global surveillance network, ECHELON. With consideration of Seasons 1 and 2, this essay reads Stranger *Things* in light of its use of nostalgic surveillance systems, drawing parallels between the then emergent technologies and the show's various surveilling structures. In doing so, these spaces are interrogated in terms of the political relevance – both in relation to the 1980s and that of the contemporary moment. My interest in Stranger Things lies in the show's use of the near perfect parallel between Cold War Americana (replete with "contained" values) and its evidence in the Reagan era in which the show is set; and the subsequent resurfacing of these values in the current political climate. Surveillance itself is partly implied in this essay's methodology, adopting a position which recognizes the surveilling quality of television programming itself. Surveillance is, as this essay demonstrates, part of the nostalgic and part of the political - we watch the nostalgic and

we surveil from within a political sphere. It is important to note, that under such a reading, surveillance of television is bound to the *contemporary* and not the past, where the nostalgic becomes the means by which to blur temporal borders and boundaries. Engaging with the notion of the ideal American family, the (inverted) idyllic past, and the influence of politics on screen culture, this essay views the role of nostalgia as a means to reevaluate the importance of *Stranger Things* in strange (political) time (and times).

Nostalgia Now

Everywhere we look, the nostalgic turn appears. In recent years culture appears to have made an overt shift, and rather than looking forward, toward a future of innovation and change, contemporary culture increasingly looks backward. While nostalgia, as this book makes clear, is a predominant preoccupation of culture throughout its history, today's nostalgia appears more viscerally and perhaps more obviously than in previous years. The question remains as to *why*. According to an article in *The Guardian*, our attraction to the nostalgic is "a kind of inbuilt neurological defense mechanism which can be marshalled to protect us against negative thoughts and simulations."[1] This assessment certainly seems logical. If we consider the political forces at work in the contemporary moment, such negativity may encourage us to look to rosier hues in an attempt at comfort. However, such an explanation does not gel with the academic definition of the term "nostalgia" which literally means a "painful return home." The definition provided by the 2019 Nostalgia Conference in Poland may offer a more accurate version where it becomes "an emotion so common it can feel banal" and a space which is filled with "social media [where] memories are text, photo and video content." [2] Such a definition is perhaps more accurate in the contemporary moment, recognizing the role the hyperreal plays in the acknowledgment of the lost "home," yet the "pain" of nostalgia remains absent from most visual ephemera associated with our current backward looking cultural turn.

In the collection *Uncovering Stranger Things* (2018), critic Kevin Wetmore argues that it is precisely these shifting meanings – the slipperiness of linguistic meaning – that aids our understanding of both the feeling and the use on screen. For Wetmore, nostalgia went from being associated with homesickness in 1688, to being a psychiatric disorder in the early twentieth century, to then being associated with melancholy by the mid-century. This latter version he argues, then further shifted in the last fifty years, where:

[Fred] Davis's study suggested that people were capable of distinguishing between Hofer's definition of Nostalgia [a version associated with homesickness] and a newly established, yet wider ranging form of melancholy for the past. From this point in history, nostalgia was no longer simply a definable region, a topography that one could physically return to in order to satiate a longing for home. [3]

Such shifting associations might prove helpful in ascertaining the aforementioned why of contemporary nostalgia, and further, may determine why *Stranger Things* specifically holds such a prominent place in our collective cultural memory. For Wetmore then, contemporary nostalgia is not about home as topographical space, but as abstract home feeling. Such non-space of the home therefore suggests the possibility of reading contemporary nostalgia as an in-between – a time and space without traditional borders, boundaries or temporality.

If we apply this *in-between* reading to *Stranger Things*, much of its appeal becomes clearer. Despite Wetmore's suggestion that "*Stranger Things* serves a membranous function, fostering a nostalgia through which viewers can connect in the present with their past selves," [4] the show does not attempt to connect to a specific time or place. Consider for instance the way in which the show continually references movies from the 1980s – movies which are only recognizable because time here sits *in-between* the past and the contemporary moment. We are only able to recognize the Alien-like incubator on Will's mouth in Episode 8 ("The Upside Down") because we watch with self-reflexive knowledge. As viewers, we can note the nostalgia of four boys on bicycles as being like E.T. and the homosocial relationships which mirror *The Goonies* and *Stand by Me* precisely because *Stranger Things* resides in an *in-between* – not 1980s, not 2016, but both. Rather than suggest the show connects us to past selves, the show in fact creates a non-space and non-time *in-between* both.

Later in the collection, Wetmore does acknowledge the show is more than simply an exercise in 1980s nostalgia on screen, for:

the danger the Duffer's wished to replicate is an indication of how nostalgia operates beyond simple intertextual references ... while the polyphonic voices of King, Spielberg, Craven and Carpenter are all influential on the aesthetic, and viewers enjoy the referential nature of the series, *Stranger Things* offers more than a vessel that simply collects eighties nostalgia. [5]

By collecting and manifesting visual ephemera, which is temporal, and projecting it into a between space which remembers, that temporality evaporates, rendering the show as much more than a "vessel that simply collects" nostalgia. Indeed, the show, according to this essay creates a void between the traditional concern over binary past and present, and instead favors a relational direction backward and forward – something which Svetlana Boym terms "sideways."[6] For Boym, "the danger of nostalgia is that it tends to confuse the actual home with the imaginary one,"[7] and as argued above, such misconception would result in a singular and one-directional movement backward. What the sideways of Boym's hypothesis does is enable a transactional movement where "the nostalgic desires to obliterate history … [and] revisit time like space"[8] is in one instance denied, and on the other, facilitated. A sideways nostalgia does not obliterate history – *Stranger Things* is not about the 1980s – rather by moving horizontally, this type of nostalgia produces another time and space which is both past and present in response to "a longing for continuity in a fragmented world." [9]

As a form of nostalgia then, which does not simply go backward or forward, but instead ties the contemporary to the past via a sideways motion, *Stranger Things* becomes both about the Reagan era *and* about Trump, and views them as one in the same. Via the sideways nostalgia, such self-aware nostos becomes a product of the contemporary and positions itself within a non-temporal time and space, folding traditional boundaries and binaries in on themselves. For *Stranger Things* then, Hawkins becomes part of the Trump administration and the attempt to control and police bodies becomes a nod toward both Reagan's and Trump's "Make America Great Again" slogans.[10] Ultimately, read in this way, *Stranger Things* becomes a visceral representation of America's concern with the fear of foreign invasion. It is precisely this fascination with the past remade as "great" which I find so interesting and worthy of investigation.

Surveillance Systems in Stranger Things

For evidence of a political blurring between the Reagan era and that of Trump, we need not look much further than the 2016 Presidential campaign when Trump revived Reagan's own 1984 slogan—"Make America Great Again." While many who adopted the slogan may not be aware of its Cold War origins, the slipperiness of these two political eras make folding the temporal void somewhat simpler.

In 1983, Reagan initiated the Strategic Defense Initiative which sought to protect the U.S. from attack by nuclear weapons by researching high functioning computer systems, lasers and communications with foreign nationals. Part of this early from of surveillance included the collection, retention and dissemination of information obtained in the course of "lawful foreign intelligence." [11] Such an expansion of the government's surveillance tactics enabled data collection activities - the type of which are now part of the collection of information which flows through Google and Yahoo. In the name of national security, the Reagan administration utilized the SDI and directive 12333 to press for more surveillance power which included spying on U.S. citizens, permanent residents and anyone within the U.S. Stranger Things in turn, replicates various types of surveillance systems in its plot. Take for example the way in which telephones act as locators of a person's place (connecting Will to his mother), or the images of wiretapping in virtually every episode in Season 1. Hawkins laboratory also houses the gateway to the Upside Down, an allegory perhaps for Reagan's administration, purportedly protecting the town from the reality of a "foreign" place and "alien" beings. Further nods to early surveillance can be found in the documentation of the Upside Down itself, relying in Season 1 on photographs (when Jonathan accidentally captures an image of the Demogorgon while spying on Nancy), and the electrical signals which flicker with every monstrous presence. It would appear that when viewed according to the time in which the show is set, technology and the Upside Down are inextricably linked.

Such omnipresence of surveillant technology offers a link between the contemporary and the past by suggesting the presence of surveillance strategies employed by Reagan and all successive governments are still alive and well. The Hawkins' laboratory for instance, is reminiscent of the AT&T building at the front of Laura Poitras' Project X. Similarly, the wiretapping evident throughout the first season reminds the viewer of the cases of computer camera hacking by the NSA. The fear of "foreign" and "alien" bodies also seems to sit well within the current political climate where immigration tensions and the expulsion of migrants make near daily headlines.[12] The use of technology in Stranger Things is therefore a means by which to evidence the blurring between past and present; between Reagan and Trump. It acts as a vessel by which to remind us of the manner in which governments have the ability to monitor, oversee and act as gatekeeper (quite literally in the case of the show). Such rhetoric is manifested in the show's surveillance systems in ways which defy the logical temporal categorization, precisely located somewhere between the past and present we watch. As Catherine Zimmer argues, on screen, technology and ideology are inseparable [13] for both serve as "cultural technology," flattening any historical distinction between screen temporality. In other words, what we see instead of an archaic form of surveillance, is our own surveillant world, thereby exposing the elements which force the narrative temporal boundaries to collapse.

Topography and Temporality in the Upside Down

As an *in-between*, *Stranger Things* offers more than simply an opportunity to return to our lost 1980s home; rather, the show provides us with a critique on the values we still hold. As a space, Hawkins is reminiscent of the postwar images of Cold War perfectionism, where suburban tranquility is interrupted by invasion. Frequently seen as highly emblematic of Americanism, the dominant ideology of the postwar promotes suburbia, child-centric living, Hollywood, togetherness, Tupperware and television. As a nostalgic product itself, the Cold War is a time of picket fences, of great political and social conservatism, moral familial values and wholesomeness; and for the most part, this version of the Cold War is still shored up on screen. The films which *Stranger Things* references (*E.T., The Goonies, Stand by Me*) are all tales of suburbia, togetherness and social conservatism. Similarly, even those which attempt to unearth some kind of postwar counterculture, remain limited by nostalgic hue. This layering of nostalgia – the nostalgia for the 1950s, layered into the vision of the 1980s, seen in the contemporary moment – is pertinent to my argument for the show's folded temporality, precisely as neither view of any part of this temporality appears to be wholly accurate.

Returning to the idea of the sideways nostalgia from Boym, what Stranger Things' version of suburbia does is flatten and horizontally recreate several specific time periods into one metonym. Take for example the Reagan era fear of alien invasion.[14] Such an invasion of American values from within the suburban idyll is clear in the subtext – the Demogorgon which lives within our community will infect our youth (quite literally). However, such an invasion also applies to the Cold War where the threat of invasion was marshaled against homosexual children and possible communists. Both Will and Eleven appear as queer characters who evade the surveillance systems of Hawkins' laboratory and expose the town to the threats of the Upside Down. What this suggests is that both the 1950s and 1980s can elide into one visual, cultural and temporal sphere, only in this version, "suburbia [is that which is] both simultaneously infected and ... that which infects." [15] Such a reading can also apply to our contemporary moment. The Hawkins laboratory (a government institution) is unable to contain the threat of invasion, so creates "alternative facts" to hide the threat, such as the use of a dummy corpse to close Will Byer's case. In each temporal version, the same threat is upheld and the same values come into play in an effort to contain foreign bodies/invasion/threats, so that in effect "rather than demarcating clearly between that which was and that which is, viewing this series entangles the two."[16]

In applying this reading, in all three temporal periods we find the mark of nostalgia which actively works to contain the image of America and American values. However, all three temporalities also expose the more authentic marginality, transgression and escape. The culture which drove both the Eisenhower administration, the Reagan government and currently drives the Trump administration suffer from the same paradox, where any attempt to contain this image and these values, results in a break, a fracture or a fold. What this form of sideways nostalgia does therefore is expose the fact that both the 1950s which informed the 1980s, and the 1980s which informs the contemporary are all themselves fractured temporal spaces which regularly break into the hyperreal and fold into new versions of themselves. Thanks to such nostalgic dislocation, the traditional temporal and spatial frames which would enable us to identify authenticity, are regularly displaced, resulting in a kind of queering of time.

Queer Space and Time

Elizabeth Freeman's *Time Binds* (2010) argues for the presence of a "queer time," or in her words, of "queer temporality" in our history where "queer time overtakes both secular and millennial time"[17] producing "lost moments of official history."[18] For Freeman, queer time provides not only "an escape from history … [but also] access to an alternative history"[19] where "queerness is a powerful site from which we might read another."[20] Freeman's critique is leveled against poetry, film and literature, arguing for the possibility of a history which has gone largely unseen, and characterized by bodily sensation. For her, visible "queer temporalities … are points of resistance to this temporal order that, in turn, propose other possibilities for living in relation to indeterminately past, present, and future others."[21] Such breaking of the temporal order and envisioning of an alternative past, present and future is what I would argue *Stranger Things* attempts and successfully achieves, by breaking the temporal frame which divides the Reagan era and the contemporary; but it does so in a manner which folds producing a queer space.

Queerness and Stranger Things are already interlinked. Both Will's and Eleven's characters are decidedly queer. In the very first episode of Season 1, Will's mother informs Sheriff Hooper that Will is "not like most ... they make fun of him and his clothes ... he's a sensitive kid. Lonny used to say he was weird and called him a fag" ("The Vanishing of Will Byers"); and after his disappearance, the local children theorize that "he's probably dead – that's what my dad says. Says he was probably killed by some other queer" (Episode 3, "Holly, Jolly"). Eleven too, is presented as a queer character, with shaved head and a nonconformist gender identity. Critic Emily Roach notes that "Eleven ... is frequently depicted in confined spaces, literally hiding in the closet" [22] while Will's experiences offer "continued connection with it ... [leaving him] disconnected from his friends." [23] For Roach, the Upside Down is an allegory for the AIDS crisis and the Reagan administration's marginalization of AIDS sufferers and LGBTQ issues.[24] Roach further makes a compelling case for the reading of queer coding. Gender subversion and monsters as parallels between queerness and oppression, determining that Will's homosexuality and Eleven's queerness render them to be cast aside into the world of the Upside Down. Roach contends that Hawkins and the Upside Down act as "direct commentary on AIDS the struggles of gay men in the Eighties." [25] Indeed, Reagan's administration famously refused to recognize Civil Rights for gay individuals, and only after 1985 when Rock Hudson received HIV treatment, did Reagan broach the subject. Reading Stranger Things as a critique of the period in which it is set is certainly very interesting, and I would agree with Roach's determination that the Upside Down is a metaphor for the AIDS crisis during the Reagan presidency; however, I also want to suggest that such a reading is limited by its insistence on that very parallel between show setting and the 1980s themselves. While queerness is evident in the characters in *Stranger Things*, the "queer time" or sideways *in-between* space/time does not fit into a literal unpacking of the version of the 1980s evident on screen. Rather, what I wish to argue for is the creation of queer time which creates an alternative queer space both in the Upside Down but also in Hawkins itself, for the lens by which we view the show cannot be transposed between past and present; it calls for an alternative.

In arguing for the queerness of time and space, it might be helpful to consider the role of membranes. Earlier in this essay, Wetmore termed it a "membranous function" which acts to connect us to our past selves; while Freeman's titular "time binds" suggests a "visceral body" as a "means for and effect of convoluting time." [26] And membranes of

various sorts are present throughout Stranger Things-it is a membrane which marks the door to the Upside Down; it is a membrane which enables Will's mother to view Will in the Upside Down version of Castle Byers; it is a membrane which attaches itself to Will's mouth in order to infect; it is a membranous slug which he coughs up and initiates Season 2; it is a membrane which separates the Demogorgon, Demodogs and Mind Flyer from the "real" version of Hawkins. Membranes exist throughout the series with passageways between spaces and time, connecting and disconnecting worlds to one another. But membranes also remind us of the implicit queerness of such alternative spaces and its infection, calling to mind the lipid membrane which protrudes a viral membrane in HIV-1. Biologically speaking, membranes are the barrier between the viral genome and the cytoplasm of the host cell; not unlike the membranes which act as barrier between the infecting Upside Down and the world of Hawkins. If, as I have argued, the Upside Down is a queer space and the show produces a queer time, these membranes serve the function of replicating a translucent barrier between the suburban tranquil of the values upheld by the Cold War/Reagan/Trump eras, as well as threaten their destruction. In turn, these membranes offer a dislocation of traditional temporality, offering an opening by which to access an *in-between* which is neither one, nor the other. In effect, by resisting the homogeneity the show wishes to instill (as image and as collective memory), queer space and time, accessed through a membrane and travelling sideways, disrupts the status quo.

Further weight is given to this reading by Adrienne Reich's writing on "The Ecology of the Upside Down." She argues:

The ecology of *Stranger Things* is a system, related to fixed mappable land (as we see with the strange, connecting tunnels Will draws from this Upside Down consciousness) and it is time and place contraction that is not stable, that shifts across registers, dimensions, and duration (a character may be alive in the Upside Down for what seems like quite a long time but turns out to be a very short one in the diegetic real world). In the ecological schema of *Stranger Things* then, both environment and time-space are in an alternative but breachable dimension to that hegemony. [27]

According to Reich, the Upside Down quite evidently occupies its own time-space, capable of challenging our traditional perception of these governing ideas. As a membrane too, the slipperiness with which two disparate spaces and times can connect with one another (via Will's body) further attest to the possible connection between character body and the *in-between* space of an alternative queer time. Here, the Upside Down as Reich argues, quite literally queers time, shifting registers, dimensions and duration. As an alternative space, what we are witnessing is more than simply another space, but rather the negation of hegemony – a refusal to abide by the preexisting notions of spatial and temporal measurement; and in its place, the creation of a queer space which can connect with and to bodies, and is capable of manipulating and shaping them in ways which permanently deny them access to the Cold War suburban ideal. Will's maps demonstrate the permeable, membranous qualities shared between the diegetic "real" Hawkins and that of the Upside Down tunnels beneath the surface; only unlike the maps which determine space in the town, those of the Upside Down are not contained – they are ever expanding, ever shifting and ever capable of turning what is invisible, into visibility. As a queer space then, the Upside Down rejects all versions of Hawkins – that of the Cold War, the 1980s and the contemporary – and in its place, erects a navigational tool which transgresses the boundaries of authority and power,

replacing it with an alternative.

Conclusion

At the most basic level, *Stranger Things* disrupts boundaries, binaries and borders of traditional time and space; and such temporal collapse between the past and the present is played out by the use of nostalgic visions of suburbia. The show self-reflexively acknowledges that its version of suburbia is not so far removed from that of the Cold War, featuring characters who are evidently Republican (Nancy Wheeler's parents); are predominately white; which houses a government energy laboratory in its midst; is under surveillance etc. Suburbia here then is not only a vehicle for the production of a type of nostalgia, but also another temporal fold – a space which is forever rooted to a vision of America without specific origin. And as the nostalgic hyperreal, Hawkins represents a version of the perfect home we long to return to, but one we can never access as it has never existed. In some ways, what the queer space of the Upside Down threatens to expose is precisely this temporal collapse between the past and present where repeated and layered versions of Cold War rhetoric persist in our contemporary moment.

The Upside Down, seen by some critics as a space of perversion, death, and as an allegory for HIV, is perhaps harder to definitively identify. We know it is an unknown which already exists and could therefore be what Freeman would call the "failure of modernity" and "the capitalist system" [28] from which queerness finds its site of resistance. If we consider the space in the simplest terms – as one which can infect, making bodies seemingly Other from which they can never fully recover (or therefore return to the suburban idyll), the space is complicated because it also watches us. As such, the Upside Down might not be a space of decay, but rather an alternative queer space which is never fully visible, or entirely invisible. Certainly, this space is connected to Eleven, communicating through psychokinesis, and it is also deeply connected to Will through the Mind Flaver's possession of his body (Season 2). But it is also therefore not a foreign space, despite the attempts by Hawkins' laboratory officials to control its "threat." Rather, this is a space which looks like our world, which connects to our world via a membrane and is capable of influencing us and our bodies - this is a familiar space, even sharing the same qualities (buildings, streets etc.) as Hawkins itself. It is therefore not so terribly Other, but a world of our own which reveals the folded nature of its temporality – being at once here and also absent.

The Upside Down is all around us and yet, we don't see it. If we are to extend the reading of queer time and space into the characters themselves, the Upside Down becomes a metaphor for that very same fear of threat of invasion; only inverted. It becomes the rot which the Republican dream may be infected by and ensures the narrative becomes one of a fight between those who follow the rules (the rules of science, industry and capitalism) and those who break them. For the queer characters such as Eleven and Will, and those who deviate from gender stereotypes (such as Nancy and Jonathan) the membrane's increasing elasticity witnessed in the progression between Season 1 and 2 suggests the Upside Down acts as a catalyst for change, and even, conversely to popular opinion, a facilitator of freedom. As the membrane stretches and the two worlds become increasingly visible to one another (Season 3 being the point at which they are almost inseparable) so too does the queerness of Hawkins. It isn't until Season 3 when Will openly embraces his homosexuality; Eleven embraces her identity; Nancy shuns female gender stereotypes; and Steve accepts his gender performativity.

While the encroaching of the Upside Down does spell rot (the pumpkin patches in Season 2 for instance), it is, according to my reading of queer time and space, an exposure of the rot which *already* existed at the heart of Hawkins, for this is not Other, it is not alien, nor is it foreign—it is that which has previously always been hidden and closeted in the suburban dream.

In an age where gendered and queer activism is ever more visible, where MeToo, Nasty Women and Trans Rights vocalize the Othering of the marginalized, *Stranger Things* becomes less and less concerned with the past of Reagan and the Cold War, and ever increasingly interested in exposing the great infection Trumps' America reproduces. For all its purported greatness, the gradual creep of the Upside Down warns us that contemporary America is infected, holding on to a half-century old version of the idyllic suburban dream; a form of nostalgia which *Stranger Things* tells us should not be recreated, and cannot withstand its inherently rotten core.

Notes

1. Tim Adams, "Look Back in Joy: The Power of Nostalgia," *The Guardian*, November 2014.

2.<u>http://www.wikicfp.com/cfp/servlet/event.showcfp?eventid=77198©ownerid=94085</u>, accessed 30 September 2019.

3. Kevin J. Wetmore, Jr., ed., *Uncovering* Stranger Things: *Essays on Eighties Nostalgia, Cynicism and Innocence in the Series* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2018), 41.

- 4. Wetmore, 201.
- 5. Wetmore, 46.
- 6. Svetlana Boym, The Future of Nostalgia (New York: Basic Books, 2001), xiv.
- 7. Boym, xvi.
- 8. Boym, xv.
- 9. Boym, xiv.

10. See Donald Trump's presidential campaign articles

https://www.businessinsider.com/category/2016-presidential-election?r=U.S.&IR=T, accessed April 26, 2020; and Michael Wolff 's *Fire and Fury* (2018); Bob Woodward's *Fear* (2018); Joshua Green's *The Devil's Bargain* (2017).

11. See David Newton's *Science and Political Controversy* (London: ABC-CLIO, 2014); and John E. Owens' "Presidential Power and Congressional Acquiescence in the War on Terrorism: A New Constitutional Equilibrium," in *Politics and Policy*, vol. 34, no. 2 (June 2006): 258–303.

12. See "U.S.-Mexico Border: Thousands of Migrants Expelled Under Coronavirus Powers," BBC News, April 10, 2020, <u>https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-us-canada-</u>

<u>52244039</u>, accessed April 26, 2020; "Trump Administration Could Deport Thousands of Viet-namese," *The Independent*, December 13, 2018,

https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/americas/us-politics/trump-vietnamrefugees-deported-us-immigration-white-house-agreement-war-a8681436.html, accessed April 26, 2020; "How Trump Radicalised ICE," *The Atlantic*,

https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2018/09/trump-ice/565772/, accessed April 26, 2020; "Is It Possible to Resist Deportation in Trump's America?" *New York Times*, May 23, 2017, <u>https://www.nytimes.com/2017/05/23/magazine/is-it-</u> <u>possible-to-resist-deportation-in-trumps-america.html</u>, accessed on April 26, 2020.

13. Catherine Zimmer, *Surveillance Cinema* (New York: New York University Press, 2015).

14. See Peter Schweizer, *Reagan's War* (New York: Bantam Books, 2003); Francis H. Marlo, *Planning Reagan's War: Conservative Strategists and America's Cold War Victory* (USA: Potomac Books, 2012); Norman Graebner, *Reagan, Bush, Gorbachev: Revisiting the End of the Cold War* (London: Praeger, 2008).

- 15. Wetmore, 221.
- 16. Wetmore, 197.

17. Elizabeth Freeman, *Time Binds: The Queering of Time* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010, x.

- 18. Freeman, xi.
- 19. Freeman, xi.
- 20. Freeman, xvi.
- 21. Freeman, xxii.
- 22. Wetmore, 137.
- 23. Wetmore, 136.

24. See Emily Roach's article "AIDS, Homophobia and the Monstrous Upside Down: The Queer Subtext of Stranger Things" in Wetmore (ed.), *Uncovering Stranger Things*.

- 25. Wetmore, 139.
- 26. Freeman, 14.

27. Elizabeth Reich, "The Ecology of the Upside Down: Or the Possibility of Black Life in Stranger Things," *Post 45* (online), July 4, 2019.

28. Freeman, xvi.

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