

24th Annual

RICHARD A. HARRISON SYMPOSIUM

A celebration of student research and achievement in the
humanities and social sciences.

**2020 Harrison Symposium
Lawrence University**

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Preface

The Harrison Symposium celebrates independent and collaborative student research in the Social Sciences and Humanities. The Harrison is usually held as an annual conference in May, but this year's shift to remote teaching and the new coronavirus pandemic eliminated the opportunity for in-person presentations. Instead of cancelling the event, students nominated by faculty members were invited either to participate in next year's Harrison, or to contribute to the volume you are now reading. Reimagining the Harrison as a written artifact was inspired by the 1997 Harrison Symposium. In the early years of the conference, the Dean of Faculty Richard A. Harrison (1991-1997) published the proceedings of the symposium – formerly known as the Humanities and Social Sciences Symposium though the event was later renamed in Harrison's honor – as a collection of papers. Margaret E. Madden, then Associate Dean of the Faculty, notes in the introduction to the 1998 proceedings that "Faculty members and departments on campus who received the first symposium collection were pleased to have some visible record of the high level of accomplishments of humanities and social science students, whose products are often not as visible as those students of the performing arts or sciences." I hope that this version of the Harrison will also serve as a way to publicly and communally celebrate the wide-ranging and incisive research undertaken by students at Lawrence.

Although this year's volume continues the tradition of showcasing excellent student work, it challenged students to ready their research for print instead of oral presentation. I want to thank all of the nominated students for their work this term, along with a number of faculty and staff that supported the process. Many thanks to:

- Faculty members who nominated students
- Gretchen Revie at Mudd Library for reference and resource expertise
- Julie Haurykiewicz at the Center for Academic Success for editing expertise
- Colette Lunday Brautigam at Mudd Library for arranging a permanent home for the volume in Lux
- Carrie Naumann Korb for designing the Harrison cover-art
- Thelma Jimenez-Anglada for advice and resources on running the Harrison
- Associate Dean of the Faculty Peter Blitstein
- The Office of the Provost and Dean of Faculty
- Lawrence University Archives for access to Harrison symposia proceedings

Personally, it has been meaningful to engage with students I wouldn't otherwise have met, and to witness the mentorship and expertise my colleagues offer their students. I am pleased to invite you to join me in admiring the innovation and creativity of Lawrence students. To the contributors, thank you for sharing your work with us.

Chloe Armstrong (2020 Harrison Organizer, Assistant Professor of Philosophy)

Contributors

Meralis Álvarez-Morales ('22, nominated by Professor Fares) is a global studies major with a concentration in arts and exchange and Spanish minor. Born in Ponce, Puerto Rico and raised in the southside of the city of Chicago, her culture, heritage, and its expression has always been important to her. As an artist herself, she is fascinated with the expressions and origins of cultural and national identities and the self through the visual and performance arts.



Tia Colbert ('20, nominated by Professor Brook) is majoring in English and minoring in creative writing and Greek.



Maggie Davis ('21, nominated by Professor Armstrong) is a classics and linguistics major and a German minor from Abington, PA. She was nominated for her work in Epics and Ethics (CLAS 260) with Professors Brook and Armstrong.



Barbara Espinosa Barrera ('20, nominated by Professor Mark Jenike) is from Ecuador and majoring in economics and anthropology with a minor in biomedical ethics. Barbara has been passionate about fighting hunger since before coming to Lawrence, and is so glad that they were able to conduct this study as their last project at Lawrence. Barbara thanks Prof. Mark Jenike, for guiding them through this process and for nominating their work.



Sam Goldbeck ('20, nominated by Professor Ongiri) is a film studies major. Inspiration for this paper came from a love of classic Hollywood film and an investment in the liberation of marginalized communities.

Tom Goldberg ('20, nominated by Professor Albrecht) is a mathematics and philosophy double-major from Redwood City, CA. His experiences with friends and family members with ASD inspired his paper, which he completed in the Philosophy Capstone 600.

Clancy Loebel ('20, nominated by Professor Kononova) is a Russian Studies major with minors in economics and English creative writing from Milwaukee, Wisconsin. Clancy's love of poetry inspired the translation project, and Clancy is very grateful to their capstone advisor, Victoria Kononova, for all of her help and support these past two terms.



Cynfor Lu ('20, nominated by Professor Hoffmann) is an English and economics double-major from Australia and Oregon, depending on how you define where you are from. This work, completed in the English Senior Capstone, was inspired by a curiosity of why something becoming animate that isn't supposed to be animate is so scary, but quickly evolved into its current iteration when Cynfor realized that the act of becoming animate wasn't the horrifying part. Instead, it was everything afterwards.



Sam Luedtke ('20, nominated by Professor Ongiri) is a computer science and film studies double-major with a minor in mathematics. He developed this project in Computer Science Senior Seminar and Film Studies Senior Seminar.



Contributors

Sam Miller ('20, nominated by Professors Albrecht, Guenther-Pal, and Ongiri) is a film studies and philosophy double-major, and developed this project in the Philosophy Capstone 600.

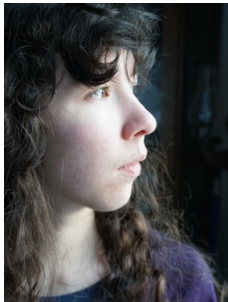
Hikari Mine ('20, nominated by Professors Caruthers and Lhost) completed their work in the Economics Senior Experience.

Katherine Mueller ('20, nominated by Professors Carr and Downing) is graduating with a degree in religious studies and music. She's passionate about understanding how individuals tell the story of their spiritual identity, as well as the role that shared creativity plays in strengthening our communities. This project was inspired by the work she's done in leading Taizé services at Lawrence University for the last three years and the people she's met through these services who have pushed her to listen to herself, her larger communities, and the earth in new and more vulnerable ways.



Thuy Nguyen ('21) is majoring in economics and mathematics, and was nominated by Professors Caruthers and Gerard for her summer research.

Callie Ochs ('20) is a candidate for a double-degree in biology and Clarinet Performance, with a minor in Spanish. She was nominated by Professor Jimenez-Anglada for her coursework in Eco-Criticism in the Spanish-Speaking Caribbean.



Logan Robison ('20) is pursuing a BA in ethics and public policy with a minor in music. He was nominated by Professor Albrecht for his work in the Philosophy Capstone 600.



Ben Schultz ('20, nominated by Professor Podair) developed this project in the History Capstone 650.

Martha Strawbridge ('20) is a mathematics major and music minor from Longmont, CO.



She completed her paper for Professor Hoffmann's Senior Seminar in English.

Tamima Tabishat ('20) is from Monmouth, Illinois and Stuttgart, Germany. Tabishat



majored in global studies (Cities Track) and double minored in German and French language and cultural studies. Tabishat's central academic advisors are Professor Brent Peterson (German Studies), Professor Martyn Smith (Religious Studies), and Professor Dominica Chang (French Studies)

Zhiru Wang ('20, nominated by Professor Brenda Jenike) is a biology major, double-



minor in psychology, and biomedical ethics. Wang's interest in Traditional Chinese Medicine (TCM) drives her to research the use of herbal medicine under both the context of biomedicine and TCM. In the winter of 2019, she interviewed traditional Chinese doctors in her hometown, Chengdu, Sichuan, China. These interviews are not only meaningful to her personally but also allowed her to better understand the medical and social role that TCM plays locally and globally.

Dressing the World: From Fast-Fashion to Second-Hand Fashion in Five Global Locations

Interview with Tamima Tabishat, 2019 Harrison Grant Recipient

The Richard A. Harrison Award for Student Research in the Humanities or Social Sciences provides a stipend to a student conducting independent research to be presented at the Harrison Symposium. The project is undertaken during the junior or senior year or summer in-between, and it may be for an independent study, *Senior Experience*, or honors project. Tabishat's project in full can be found in Lawrence's archive Lux:

<https://lux.lawrence.edu/harrison/>

Abstract: This project examines the globalized institutions surrounding fast-fashion and second-hand clothing. Over the past four years, I have conducted independent research in the field of fashion by studying abroad in three major global cities: Rabat, Morocco, Dakar, Senegal, and London, England. Additionally, my work is complemented by my work as a volunteer in a local thrift shop in my home town, Monmouth, Illinois and as a barista in a mall in my mother's home city, Stuttgart, Germany.

As a part of my research in these three major global cities, I have visited a variety of commercial spaces dedicated to clothing, such as thrift shops and markets, malls, and tailoring boutiques. Secondly, I have conducted interviews with consumers, manufacturers, textile mills, and designers. And lastly, I have worked as an intern for entrepreneurs in the field of garment production. Through my experiences, I have explored the essential role clothes play in everyday life around the world and how we treat clothing has the potential to either dramatically enrich or damage the world around us.

The objective of this study is to analyze the what threats the current fast-fashion industry poses to social and environmental sustainability. Central to my study is the analysis of routine habits people have in different contexts in regards to clothing consumption, preservation, restoration, utilization, and disposal. The core of the proposed project revolves around an examination and analysis of possible ways in which consumers and manufacturers can transform clothing as a global institution. I aim to examine how negative trends can be combatted on a micro and macro-level so that the ethical treatment of each worker in the fast-fashion and second-hand fashion trade, and environmental sustainability are the top priority rather than a distant goal or luxury.

I argue that the current fast-fashion and the second-hand clothing industries are not sustainable and cannot continue to exist in this way for much longer without risking collapse and devastation. Malls all over the United States and Europe, fast-fashion garment factories in South-East Asia, and second-hand clothing markets in Africa combine to make an oppressive web of exploitation in the name of couture. These structures are faulty as they rely on inhumane practices and are deeply rooted in greed for exorbitant profits.

I seek to contribute my personal research to support my argument that fast-fashion and the consequential second-hand fashion industry are harmful practices which promote inequality and oppression around the globe. However, I hope to prove that efforts on a micro- and macro-level have the power to turn clothing into a positive force through conscious buying and a transformation of practices along the entire supply chain of an individual garment.

[Interview conducted by Chloe Armstrong, Assistant Professor of Philosophy]

Chloe Armstrong: What inspired your project “Dressing the World: From Fast-Fashion to Second-Hand Fashion in Five Global Locations”?

Tabishat: I was inspired to pursue this project at the end of my sophomore year (Spring 2018). Before this time, I had worked for a local donation center/thrift shop in my hometown, Monmouth, Illinois where I came face to face with an immense amount of unwanted clothing, furniture, and household items that came solely from a county of 17,000 people.

I had also worked as a barista in a mall in my mother’s home city, Stuttgart, Germany for three summers, where I observed consumers engage in endless consumption on a daily basis. After seeing these two circuits of fast-fashion and second-hand fashion operate in a small town and a medium sized city, I wondered how fast-fashion and second-hand fashion circuits are connected on a global scale.

I further wondered what exactly the global circuit of fast fashion from production to consumption looked like and how the second circuit of second-hand textile connected place in Europe and North America to cities and market in Africa and beyond. I chose to study abroad in Rabat, Morocco first and later on decided to study in Dakar, Senegal and London, UK. Before traveling to these places, I knew that Morocco and Senegal are the recipients of second-hand fashion from all over the world and that England is one of the biggest distributors of fast-fashion. In Rabat I explored the working of fast-fashion both in upscale malls and popular second-hand street markets and small boutiques. I also did an internship with a Senegalese designer and tailor. In London I explored small designer

markets and more upscale/specialty second-hand boutiques. I did an internship with a sustainable textile non-profit in London.

Some of the central questions regarding my research were: What role does fast-fashion play in a city? What role does second-hand fashion play in a city? Do these institutions harm local initiatives, economies, or the local environment? Are these institutions socially and environmentally sustainable? Do these institutions have a positive or negative impact? What are the link between people and places in the global landscape of fast-fashion production, consumption and beyond that, the circuits of the global second-hand clothing trade?

CA: What is 'fast-fashion' and what are some important aspects of it that you think consumers should be aware of?

Tabishat: Fast-fashion emerged in the 1990s in the context of rapid globalization as production of textile was moved to low wage countries. To produce more profit, fashion cycles became ever faster. Previously there had been four seasons and fashion cycles a year, and suddenly seasons were being produced in six-week cycles. This means that every time a consumer steps into a store, there are always a new selection of clothes to shop for. For example, rather than shopping for one solid coat every five years, people could buy five trendy coats per season.

In this process, ever cheaper garments are produced to follow rapidly changing trends. In turn, consumers typically only wear these garments a few times before throwing them away and buying the next trendy items. As soon as large fashion houses release their seasonal designs on the catwalk, fast fashion companies copy the designs and remake them in bulk using cheap materials and simpler patterns. They then sell these pieces to the masses and here especially to younger individuals. As fast fashion became ever more popular and profitable, more companies joined the race. Zara, H&M, and Old Navy are a few examples of the most well-known fast-fashion companies.

CA: You write "[f]ast-fashion and the resulting second-hand market are complexly interwoven phenomena that are best examined in their concrete manifestations at different moments and places." Would you say more about the role of place in your project?

Tabishat: The consumption of fast-fashion around the world is linked to the second-hand market because fast-fashion is rapidly consumed and thrown away. Much goes to landfills where it constitutes a massive garbage problem. Huge quantities are donated to organizations like Salvation Army or Goodwill that are only able to sell a small fraction

of these donations. The rest is sold to commercial traders who resell these clothes in large bales to traders in Africa, Asia and Latin America. This flood of second-hand clothes has destroyed textile manufacturing in many African countries. In the last three decades, fast-fashion has become a hugely profitable global industry. Similarly, the global second-hand trade has become a multi-billion global industry.

CA: What is one of the most formative or memorable experiences you have had while conducting your research?

Tabishat: One of the formative and memorable experiences I had while conducting my research was going to a thrift market with my host mother in Kenitra, in a city near Rabat. We were visiting family for a holiday celebration that day and went to the market to get some pastries for tea time. On our way to get pastries, we stopped by a street where tarps were laid down along the entire side of the road and men were emptying bales of used clothing and selling it to people bargaining for good prices. My host mother was always on the lookout for a good deal, so naturally we stopped and looked through the things being sold. As we were looking through the clothes, I found a dress that I had purchased for five Euros from a fast-fashion company called Pull & Bear the summer before (2017). The vendor announced that the bale being emptied was from Europe, but he did not specify which country.

I was struck by the fact that this dress had made its way to Morocco through donations within a year of having been sold at a shop in Europe. This meant that the dress had traveled from the shop to the consumer and then to the donation center where it was sorted out and shipped to Morocco where it would be sold to a vendor and then sold to a new owner. In the time we were standing at this booth, the dress was not sold meaning it would most likely be thrown away eventually. I later checked the label in my dress and it had been produced in Bangladesh. Putting the pieces together and realizing that this dress had traveled between three continents in only a year, just to land in the garbage, was a big formative moment for me.

CA: What has surprised you the most throughout the research process?

Tabishat: Throughout my research project, I was surprised the most by how much clothing is still produced by tailors in Senegal who sew by hand and by machine. Having a tailored suit or a tailored dress in most Western countries is a luxury only a wealthy few can afford. I was amazed by the beautiful creations being made in workshops all over Dakar. Before arriving in Dakar, I knew that tailoring was very popular, but I was not aware of the scale at which this institution operates. When I saw the amount of second hand clothing and cheap Chinese knock-offs being sold in markets all around the city, I was

very disheartened because it was clear that tailors work in fierce competition with the fast-fashion and second-hand fashion industry.

CA: Your work intersects with a number of sustainability issues, how has this project shaped how you think about sustainability?

Tabishat: Social and environmental sustainability are the two types of sustainability that intersect with my project the most. This project shaped the way I think about sustainability because I was able to see the negative effects of fast-fashion in person rather than simply reading about them. Textiles produce environmental damage at every stage of their lives. For example, the production of cotton uses up water that could be used for the cultivation of food crops. Moreover, cotton requires vast quantities of fertilizers and pesticides that run off from fields into rivers and ground water. Mostly female workers labor in textile factory under horrible conditions and are paid miserable wages. Clothes are shipped, using fossil fuels, around the globe to consumers who then wear them a few times. From there, textiles go into landfills or enter the global circuits of second hand clothes where they destroy local economies and livelihoods, for example in African countries.

Fast-fashion and second-hand fashion are socially unsustainable because workers along the entire supply chain, such as cotton farmers and garment workers, are treated unfairly and are dramatically underpaid. In my project, I focus on the social unsustainability of the second-hand clothing trade in Morocco and Senegal. In Morocco, second-hand clothing bales are sold to vendors for far more than they are worth. In turn, consumers buy overpriced clothing that is not only worn down, but of bad quality due to the cheap patterns and materials used in most of the clothes that now circulate in second-hand clothing markets.

The second-hand clothing trade is much larger in Senegal than in Morocco and therefore, other forms of social unsustainability exist in Senegal than in Morocco. In Senegal, the second-hand clothing market not only accounts for the sale of overpriced cheaply-made clothing to people all over the country, but it also threatens local economies and initiatives. Tailors and local fashion designers face difficulties as they compete with the constant imports of second-hand clothing trailers. Furthermore, young men sell second hand clothing as independent vendors and in small shops which makes them dependent on making a living on unwanted clothing from wealthy countries rather than developing skills and contributing the local economy.

In England, I worked with a non-profit advocating for sustainability in textiles. There, I learned about initiatives that can be taken to improve the fashion industry by way of

improving practices along the entire supply chain so that issues such as environmental damage and social unsustainability can be avoided in the future. While this is a great start, there is still much work to be done so that environmental and social sustainability reach places like Morocco and Senegal.

CA: What is one of the biggest challenges in conducting your research?

Tabishat: One of the biggest challenges has been trying not to get frustrated when people seem uninterested in fashion-related studies. Many people think that fashion does not concern them because they do not consider themselves fashionable or materialistic. It has been my mission to encourage people to think about the clothes they wear by considering where they come from and where their clothing will go when they are done wearing them. I have tried rationalizing this suggestion to people by comparing clothing to food. Dressing sustainably and organically is just as important as eating sustainably and organically. Clothing is one of our basic needs after all along with food and shelter. We all wear clothes. Therefore, it is important to think of clothing as socially relevant, beyond being a necessity.

CA: What are some changes and initiatives you hope to see in the future of fashion? What alternatives to the current systems do you imagine?

Tabishat: In a perfect world I would want to see less fast-fashion meaning that clothing is made using organic materials, garment workers are treated ethically, and people regard their clothing as something that is meaningful instead of trendy and easily disposable. An alternative to constant consumption of cheap items is investing in a few good pieces of clothing that will last a long time. Alternatives to throwing clothes away or donating them as soon as they start to fall apart or no longer seem fashionable, are mending our clothes, them transforming them into new items, or finding a new purpose for them.

La Evolución de la Identidad Puertorriqueña en las Artes Visuales

Meralis N. Álvarez Morales

Abstracto: El Caribe ha soportado los procesos de colonización y la mayoría de los países han surgido en la era postcolonial en el siglo pasado. Sin embargo, a pesar de los exitosos movimientos de liberación en otros antiguos territorios coloniales, Puerto Rico aún no ha sido liberado. El estatus político de Puerto Rico como colonia perpetua ha influido sin duda en la identidad nacional y cultural de la nación puertorriqueña. A medida que la identidad nacional puertorriqueña continúa evolucionando, las representaciones visuales y auditivas de las identidades puertorriqueñas también continúan transformándose. Las artes visuales, la literatura, el teatro y la música son algunos de los métodos que los artistas y activistas han utilizado para expresarse y proporcionar un espacio para la curación de la nación puertorriqueña en general. Los conceptos de latinidad, y la identidad hegemónica estadounidense a menudo excluyen a sujetos coloniales como la nación puertorriqueña. Es importante considerar la deconstrucción y la regeneración de la identidad nacional de Puerto Rico a medida que la nación continúa avanzando hacia la soberanía política e ideológica y la descolonización.

Palabras clave: Identidad puertorriqueña, Nacionalismo puertorriqueño, Artes Visuales, Feminidad, Artistas puertorriqueños

Abstract: The Spanish-speaking Caribbean has endured the processes of colonization and most countries have emerged into the post-colonial era within the past century. However, in spite of successful liberation movements in other former colonial territories Puerto Rico has yet to be liberated. The political status of Puerto Rico as a perpetual colony has undoubtedly influenced the national and cultural identity of the Puerto Rican nation. As the Puerto Rican national identity continues to evolve, the visual and auditory representations of Puerto Rican identities also continue to transform. The visual arts, literature, theater, and music are some of the methods artists and activist have used to express themselves and provide a space for healing for the Puerto Rican nation at large. The concepts of *Latinidad*, and the hegemonic American identity often exclude colonial subjects like the Puerto Rican people. It is important to consider the deconstruction and the regeneration of the Puerto national identity as the nation continues to move toward political and ideological sovereignty and decolonization.

Key Words: Puerto Rican Identity, Puerto Rican Nationalism, Visual Arts, Femininity, Puerto Rican Artists

La isla de Puerto Rico se caracteriza a menudo por su idílico paisaje tropical, su sabrosa comida, salsa, reggaetón y su historia colonial. Más recientemente, la nación puertorriqueña se ha caracterizado por el erudito cubano, el Dr. Jorge Duany, como una nación en movimiento. Duany elabora las complejidades de la historia puertorriqueña, el nacionalismo puertorriqueño y la identidad puertorriqueña en sus libros *"The Puerto Rican Nation on the Move"* y *"Puerto Rico: What everyone needs to know"*. La identidad puertorriqueña ha sido desafiada, deconstruida y renovada a lo largo de su historia a través de las artes visuales, las obras literarias, la literatura académica y las artes escénicas. Las artes visuales a menudo han servido como una plataforma para que los artistas se expresen, se rebelen, ilustren experiencias colectivas y proporcionen un espacio para la curación. Cuando periodistas, críticos y académicos mencionan artistas puertorriqueños, es con la intención de centrarse únicamente en las obras que destacan el nacionalismo o el patriotismo. Esto es más evidente en el caso del museo El Barrio de Nueva York, en el que los artistas hispano-caribeños son legados con un doble papel como activistas que abogan en nombre de sus comunidades a través de su arte, y a través de manifestaciones públicas. Sin embargo, este no es el único tipo de artista hispano-caribeño que debe ser considerado al tratar de profundizar la experiencia de puertorriqueños, dominicanos o cubanos. La artista puertorriqueña ha sido excluida de prestigiosos espacios de galería y, debido a los orígenes y estructuras de la identidad puertorriqueña, carece del apoyo de sus compatriotas masculinos. Del mismo modo, al pensar en artistas latinoamericanos y caribeños, los creadores visuales puertorriqueños no están incluidos en este colectivo de "genios" artísticos.

En el tema del arte latinoamericano, los académicos y críticos se centran en los muralistas mexicanos continentales, como Diego Rivera, y para asegurar que las mujeres sean incluidas Frida Kahlo se menciona a menudo. Este trabajo se dedica a proporcionar un espacio en el que se examinan artistas visuales puertorriqueños clásicos, modernos y contemporáneos. Comenzaré con explicar una breve historia de Puerto Rico, luego explorar la evolución de la identidad nacional de Puerto Rico y la feminidad a través de las artes visuales examinando la obra de José Campeche, Francisco Oller, Marí Mater O'Neill y María Antonia Ordoñez.

Breve historia de Puerto Rico

La historia de Puerto Rico comienza con el asentamiento del archipiélago de Puerto Rico por el pueblo Orotoiroides (3000 AC.- 2000 AC.). Luego, entre el 430 AC. y el 1000 DC., llegaron otras tribus, las Saladoid y Taino (Arawak). Estas fueron las tribus indígenas que Cristóbal Colón encontró en 1493. En la segunda mitad del siglo XVI la mayoría de la población taína había muerto debido a enfermedades infecciosas transmitidas por los europeos y a la violencia sufrida por su explotación por los

colonizadores españoles. La isla, conocida como *San Juan* por los españoles y *Boriken* o *Borinquén* por los nativos, sirvió como puerto clave y fuerte militar para el Imperio español. Puerto Rico permitió un fácil acceso a Cuba, Centroamérica y el Caribe continental en América del Sur.

La Corona española, al darse cuenta de que corría un gran riesgo de perder uno de sus territorios más preciados, revivió el Real Decreto de Gracia de 1815, que se impreso en español, inglés y francés para atraer a los europeos con la intención de hacer que los movimientos independentistas sean "impopulares", y mantener estos territorios como colonias perpetuas. La intención era atraer imperios europeos y occidentales bien dotados para mantener estos territorios como colonias. Estos nuevos propietarios tuvieron la oportunidad de expandir sus tierras y riquezas, utilizando estos territorios con la condición de jurar su lealtad a la Real Corona española y a la Iglesia Católica Romana. Esto permitiría que la posibilidad de que estas colonias siguieran regidas indirectamente por la influencia de la Corona española. Lo que pretendía el Real Decreto de Gracia no ocurrió en 1898, cuando fue revivido. La conclusión de la guerra hispanoamericana (21 de abril de 1898- 13 de agosto de 1898) dejó a Puerto Rico y Cuba, ambas antiguas colonias españolas, como las últimas colonias del nuevo mundo.

En 1898 Puerto Rico fue invadido y posteriormente se convirtió en una posesión de los Estados Unidos. Una vez que los Estados Unidos había consolidado su presencia como nueva potencia colonial utilizando sus fuerzas armadas, los ciudadanos españoles en Puerto Rico se vieron inmediatamente obligados a exiliarse, en el que podían regresar a España, pero debían abandonar la isla. El siglo siguiente el pueblo puertorriqueño, la mayoría de los cuales eran esclavos libres y de las poblaciones racialmente mezcladas, luchó por alcanzar mayores derechos democráticos de los Estados Unidos. Esto motivó la creación de la Ley Foraker de 1900, que entre muchas otras cosas estableció un gobierno civil democrático. La Ley Foraker, también conocida como la Ley Orgánica de 1900, fue patrocinada por el Senador Joseph B. Foraker, en la que se estableció un gobierno civil en lugar del gobierno militar y aseguró que la isla comerciaba sólo con los Estados Unidos. La estructura del gobierno insular incluía un gobernador que iba a ser nominado por el presidente de los Estados Unidos, y un consejo ejecutivo (equivalente a un senado), y una legislatura de 35 miembros. El primer gobernador designado de Puerto Rico fue el empresario estadounidense Charles Herbert Allen, quien fue inaugurado el 1 de mayo de 1900. En 1917, la Ley Jones reemplazó a la Ley Foraker, y permitió la entrada de bienes puertorriqueños en el mercado estadounidense. Aunque la Ley Jones permitía un gobierno democrático más estructurado, el Congreso de los Estados Unidos todavía tenía el derecho de veto o enmendar proyectos de ley y leyes aprobados por la legislatura territorial. La legislatura insular fue totalmente elegida por el pueblo puertorriqueño, pero los representantes del Congreso de los Estados Unidos no fueron elegidos por el

pueblo puertorriqueño, además de que el congreso de los Estados Unidos mantuvo su poder de veto en donde podrían impedir que la legislatura territorial sería enforzada. El establecimiento de la Ley Jones impuso la ciudadanía estadounidense a los puertorriqueños. Es importante señalar que, aunque, "los puertorriqueños han sido ciudadanos estadounidenses desde 1917, la definición legal de su identidad no corresponde a su autopercepción como "puertorriqueños primero, americanos [segundo]" (Duany 13). La ciudadanía estadounidense no fue generalmente bienvenida, ya que reforzó la noción de que la ciudadanía no afirmaba la promesa de la estadidad y excluía todas y cada una de las consideraciones de anexión. Esta ley convirtió a Puerto Rico en un territorio organizado, pero no incorporado de los Estados Unidos, lo que reforzó su posición como colonia perpetua. A los puertorriqueños también se les dio una ciudadanía estadounidense restringida, en la que a quienes residían en la isla no se les permitía disfrutar de todos los beneficios de la ciudadanía estadounidense como votar por el presidente de los Estados Unidos. Durante este tiempo los Estados Unidos se encontraron en medio de la Primera Guerra Mundial, en la que envió 20.000 soldados puertorriqueños para luchar en el Ejército de los Estados Unidos. El estatus político actual de Puerto Rico sigue siendo una colonia controlada por el gobierno federal de los Estados Unidos.

Durante los años 60 y 70 hubo una serie de movimientos de liberación en el mundo del arte en la ciudad de Nueva York, en los que participaron artistas puertorriqueños exiliados y migrantes que vivían en la ciudad de Nueva York. Poco después de que Estados Unidos invadiera Camboya en 1970, los artistas estadounidenses Carl André y Robert Morris, entre otros, "lideraron una improvisada huelga de artistas contra el racismo, el sexismo, la represión y la guerra", en la que exigieron que los artistas estadounidenses se retiraran de "la-Bienal de Venecia masculina blanca" (Nesmer, 19). La respuesta de Michelle Wallace de Mujeres Estudiantes y Artistas para la Liberación de Artistas Negros señaló: "Cómo... ¿Podría la huelga de artistas contra el racismo y el sexismo verse revolucionaria mientras estaba dispuesta a montar una exposición racista y sexista en las artes visuales? No había mujeres, ni negros, ni puertorriqueños en la Selección de la Bienal de Venecia". (Nesmer, 19). Como resultado de la protesta Ringold-Wallace, la selección "Bienal" terminó abriéndose en Nueva York en la que se incluyeron las obras de muchas mujeres blancas, negras y puertorriqueñas. Sin embargo, la mayoría de las "superestrellas" masculinas blancas se retiraron de la exposición llevándose su supuesto liderazgo revolucionario (Nesmer, 19). Estos artistas mantuvieron sus posiciones de autoridad dentro del mundo del arte y lo utilizaron para acomodar sólo a las comunidades siempre que fuera socialmente beneficioso para ellos hacerlo.

Artistas puertorriqueñas, artistas femeninas y artistas negras recurrieron a la creación de sus propias cohortes en las que podían expresarse libremente como la Asociación de

Mujeres Artistas en Puerto Rico, formada en 1983. El trabajo producido por los artistas de esta organización inspira análisis y reflexión. Los diversos temas, estilos y técnicas que utilizaron proponen una serie de temas, actualmente analizados y aún por analizar, tanto para artistas como por observadores. Miembros como Best dicen que, "a medida que formo mis experiencias visuales, llevo a cabo una forma de exorcismo o proceso de transformación' no se mantienen constantes... [pero son] partes no comestibles de mi yo interior. Otra artista del grupo Clarissa Biaggi dice que "organizó sus experiencias pasadas y presentes en sus obras. Su arte invita a conocer los momentos íntimos de su ser". (Somoza, 3).

El nacionalismo emerge dentro del sujeto colonial

El estatus político de Puerto Rico sigue siendo una anomalía internacional ya que Puerto Rico se encuentra en una "condición colonial persistente" (Duany,13). Al examinar la identidad puertorriqueña, Duany argumenta que la nación puertorriqueña es una "nación en movimiento" con una identidad compleja. La diáspora puertorriqueña tiene a más de 3 millones de personas, la mayoría de los cuales residen en los Estados Unidos, lo que Duany se refiere como el "*mainland*". Con unos 3 millones de puertorriqueños viviendo en la isla, el territorio "nacional" (Duany, 4). El territorio nacional no pertenece al pueblo de Puerto Rico, sino que es tierra en la que se consideran inquilinos coloniales. Esto cambia la forma en que el pueblo puertorriqueño ha formado su identidad nacional, ya que es una identidad que existe en el plano transnacional fuera del ámbito del "territorio nacional". Duany adopta un enfoque crítico al analizar la identidad puertorriqueña, cómo se ha visto afectada culturalmente por las migraciones masivas, los discursos políticos tensos, las definiciones políticas del "estado-nación", la *hispanofilia* y los dilemas coloniales que todavía afectan a la nación puertorriqueña.

Según Duany, "los puertorriqueños no ven contradicción entre afirmar su nacionalidad puertorriqueña al mismo tiempo que defienden su ciudadanía estadounidense" (Duany, 13). A primera vista esto parece ser una contradicción ya que la ciudadanía estadounidense no siempre ha sido bienvenida por los puertorriqueños. Sin embargo, estos ideales que compiten de punto de identidad nacional reafirman la idea de que, "desde 1898, la identidad nacional en Puerto Rico se ha desarrollado bajo y a menudo en oposición absoluta a – la hegemonía de los Estados Unidos". (Duany, 16). Incluso si la ciudadanía estadounidense es "aceptada" por el sujeto puertorriqueño, es aceptada con condiciones, e incluso podría ser utilizada para seguir buscando "la independencia [que] ha sido principalmente el proyecto político de un sector radicalizado de pequeña burguesía, incluyendo pequeños comerciantes, fabricantes, artesanos independientes, profesionales liberales y empleados del gobierno" (Dunay, 16). La ciudadanía sólo se ofrece a aquellas personas que forman parte de la comunidad nacional exclusiva en la que intentan ser protegidas también por los ciudadanos. Aquellos que

alcanzan todos los beneficios de la ciudadanía no son comunidades de segunda clase o de la clase baja. La "pequeña burguesía" se convierte en el nuevo libertador, en el que pretenden lograr la liberación económica y política, formando una identidad que pretende usurpar la identidad hegemónica colonial. Este nuevo movimiento de liberación excluye a las comunidades pobres, que en cambio están interesadas en lograr el acceso a recursos en los que pueden construir su riqueza económica y preservar su identidad cultural. Donde el objetivo final es fomentar una "lucha por la independencia para preservar su identidad cultural, hay quienes creen que esta lucha invoca necesariamente una ficción homogeneizadora, esencialista y totalitaria llamada 'la nación'" (Duany, 13). Esto abre la puerta a las ideas competidoras del nacionalismo puertorriqueño.

Estos dos campos del nacionalismo puertorriqueño introducen al simpatizante nacionalista y al escéptico posmodernista. El simpatizante nacionalista se centra en "la defensa de la lengua española y otros iconos de la herencia hispana [que] tiene la ventaja práctica de unir al pueblo puertorriqueño contra un enemigo común: el imperialismo estadounidense". Mientras que, para los escépticos posmodernistas, "la *Hispanofilia* de la élite nativa es una práctica discursiva que glosa sobre la diversidad interna del imaginario colectivo" (Duany, 14). Las principales diferencias entre ambos es que, para el simpatizante nacionalista, "el auge del nacionalismo cultural es una parte integral de la lucha anticolonial en Puerto Rico" y para el posmodernista escéptico, "una forma meramente 'ligera' de nacionalismo o neo nacionalismo, desprovista de sus connotaciones subversivas y progresistas" es lo que se necesita para que la cultura puertorriqueña sobreviva (Dunay,14). También es importante señalar que ninguno de los campos ha considerado la diáspora en sus reflexiones de lo que constituye la nación puertorriqueña, más bien la identidad nacional que se incluye es una que se basa en nociones y expresiones eurocéntricas de identidad.

El nacionalismo puertorriqueño es excluyente, y se ha caracterizado por "Hispanofilia, antiamericanismo, racismo, androcentrismo, homofobia y más recientemente xenofobia". (Duany, 24). Esta formación de identidad excluye aquellos que no se adhieren o representan estándares eurocéntricos, haciendo que las mujeres y la cultura afro-indígena de Puerto Rico no se consideren un punto de interés. Al ser excluyente, este tipo de nacionalismo puertorriqueño se establece en silenciar comunidades que son consideradas de "clase baja" y aparte de la élite. Los artistas que serán estudiados a continuación son ejemplos de artistas de un estatus inferior -las que desafiaron la identidad colonial de su tiempo a través de su trabajo y son dignos de consideración al pensar en Puerto Rico como una nación dentro de una nación en un movimiento constante.

El nacimiento de la identidad puertorriqueña

La identidad puertorriqueña que existe hoy en día es una mezcla de percepciones coloniales españolas y americanas de raza, etnia, género y cultura. Dentro de los confines coloniales, pintores como Campeche y Oller exploraron la emergente identidad nacional puertorriqueña utilizando la iconografía ecológica, la arquitectura colonial y la semejanza de la gente del campo en la isla. Estas percepciones de la identidad nacional puertorriqueña tienen sus propias limitaciones. Estas dicotomías colonialistas y nacionalistas han "formado largas discusiones sobre las estatuas políticas y la identidad cultural de la isla". (Stevens, 240). Esto dificulta la reevaluación de la composición de la identidad puertorriqueña y cómo debe realizarse, ya que se ha unido a las ideologías coloniales. Sin embargo, en los dramaturgos de teatro puertorriqueño Luis Rafael Sánchez y Myrna Casas crean un universo en el que el "motivo de [una] familia itinerante [de] compañías de actuación proporciona formas de imaginar [la] identidad puertorriqueña más allá de la dicotomía colonialista/nacionalista". (Stevens, 240) Los dramaturgos no utilizan el entorno familiar tradicional para explorar las formas en que se realiza la identidad puertorriqueña. Mas bien se centran en la representación de la identidad puertorriqueña en el escenario teatral, en la que se da a entender que, "el uso autoconsciente del desarrollo como método para explorar la subjetividad expone la inestabilidad del paradigma familiar nacional como base para la identidad colectiva", y que también, "la representación performativa de la familia en el reciente drama teatral puertorriqueño desafía el discurso nacionalista hegemónico y proporciona modelos más diversos de la familia y la nación". (Stevens, 240). En las artes visuales, ha habido y actualmente hay un ímpetu para crear una identidad nacional puertorriqueña no-hegemónica, así como explorar sus relaciones con las identidades individuales a través de la representación de temas y temas de feminidad excluidos. Los siguientes artistas, José Campeche, Francisco Oller, Marí Mater O'Neill y María Antonia Ordoñez, pueden inscribirse en tal creación, como veremos a continuación.

Las artes visuales y la construcción de la identidad puertorriqueña

Según Soto Crespo, José Campeche (n. 1751- d. 1809) reformó la identidad nacional de Puerto Rico, fuera de la identidad nacional colonial de su tiempo (457). A pesar de que Campeche se le ofreció un puesto como pintor real en las cortes reales españolas, declinó decidiendo quedarse en su tierra natal; Puerto Rico (Soto Crespo, 457). Negarse a obligar a las demandas de la realeza española fue el primer acto explícito de patriotismo (Soto Crespo 457). En el sitio web del Museo Smithsonian de Arte Americano, la nacionalidad de Campeche se declara como "estadounidense". Esto es un anacronismo ya que en el momento en que Campeche estaba vivió, no habría sido considerado "estadounidense" porque la ciudadanía estadounidense no había sido dada a los puertorriqueños. Puerto Rico aún no era una colonia de los Estados Unidos, todavía estaba bajo el dominio colonial español, y habría sido considerado un *mulato*, o

puertorriqueño. Como *mulato* libre continuó mostrando el surgimiento del patriotismo naciente y la creciente nación puertorriqueña en sus obras centrándose en los habitantes nativos de la isla, los *criollos*, *mestizos* y *mulatos* que contribuyeron activamente a la salvaguardia y desarrollo de Puerto Rico como un futuro estado y nación. Campeche se inspiró en el exiliado pintor de la corte español Luis Paret y Alcázar, que residió en Puerto Rico entre 1775 y 1778. Gran parte de las pinturas de Campeche están inundadas de iconografía religiosa y temas. Esto es más evidente en *La Natividad* (ca. 1799) que retrata un belén de estilo rococó. Esta escena etérea presenta a la Virgen María, José, Jesucristo y tres ángeles, pintados con luz dorada, con piel clara y cabello rubio oscuro. Los nuevos padres están adornados con un resplandor celestial, ropas de color joya y una débil areola mientras admiran a su hijo que se sienta en sábanas blancas prístinas, bañadas por la gloriosa luz celestial.

El artista impresionista de renombre internacional, Francisco Oller (n. 1833- d. 1917) visualiza los espacios entre las interacciones entre los puertorriqueños y el nacionalismo emergente en su pintura *El Velorio*. Oller, educado en la Real Academia de San Fernando, fue el único pintor de las regiones de América Latina y el Caribe que ha contribuido al desarrollo del impresionismo. Un niño está situado en el centro de la pintura, en una mesa decorada en una habitación llena de *criollos*, *mestizos*, y esclavos africanos que están bailando, bebiendo, conversando y celebrando. El niño tiene un rostro monstruoso y casi demoníaco en el que su cuerpo es un retrato violento de la violencia colonial sufrida en la isla, y una crítica de los efectos del colonialismo que imponen su influencia en la naciente identidad nacional. La inocencia de un niño varón es destruida por actos brutales de colonizadores españoles, y sus descendientes soportados por los isleños. En este momento *El Velorio*, "simboliza un momento definitorio de conciencia estética nacional" (Soto Crespo, 451). A lo largo de las pinturas de Oller es evidente que interioriza su condición de sujeto colonial mientras también ilustra la violencia que sufren los súbditos coloniales. Soto Crespo explica que artistas puertorriqueños, como Oller y Campeche, "parten de la temática europea y abrazan un nuevo sentido de la capucha puertorriqueña" (451), en el que sus lienzos son un espacio nacional de luto. Mientras Campeche crea una identidad nacional separada de la identidad colonial de su tiempo, Oller expone el sufrimiento sufrido en un paraíso aparentemente pacífico durante su tiempo en los primeros años del gobierno militar estadounidense.

La deconstrucción de la identidad puertorriqueña

Pare que las mujeres sean aceptadas, "en la sociedad patriarcal de hoy", dice Somoza, "debemos seguir a quien tenga poder, aceptar dogmas y apegarnos al comportamiento convencional" (907). No sólo se espera que las mujeres se adhieran a los estándares sociales de belleza y feminidad, sino que como artistas se espera que se adhieran a temas femeninos, o "feminicen" sus temas. La mujer artista ya es "recta", la artista que también

es un sujeto colonial también debe atenerse a las normas sociales impuestas por su opresor cultural colonial. Esto la deja expresarse a través de una visión estrecha de la identidad femenina del Caribe. Las artistas femeninas que han sido "aceptadas" siguen siendo voces solitarias como la de "[Frida] Kahlo, Georgia O'Keefe, y Kate Kollwitz, entre otras. La artista femenina, independientemente de su tiempo y lugar, sigue exigiendo su espacio en sociedades que la objetivaron. Ella lucha por cambiarse a sí misma entuna protagonista en su entorno histórico" (Somoza, 906). Los museos que permitían las exposiciones de obras de arte de mujeres pintoras que no eran tradicionales tenían a administradoras femeninas, "Dr. Caren Ruíz de Fisher, Director del Museo de Arte de Ponce, Annie Santiago de Curet, Directora del Museo de la Universidad de Puerto Rico, y yo [María Somoza], directora del Museo de Arte Contemporáneo. Margarita Fernández también colaboró en la organización de la Escuela Nacional de Arte" (Somoza, 907) . Es evidente que las artistas puertorriqueñas han encontrado su propia ruta para expresar cualquier tema de su elección. Julia Burgos, una famosa poeta puertorriqueña, nos expresa que la mujer haya encontrado su camino hacia adelante, más evidentemente en su poema "Yo era mi propia ruta". Las mujeres artistas comprendieron la necesidad de la organización considerándola, "esencial si un número significativo de su sexo es hacer cualquier tipo de entrada significativa en el mundo del arte controlado por los hombres hasta ahora" (Nemser, 18). Aunque ha habido pocas mujeres que superen obstáculos insuperables, a las artistas se les dice una y otra vez, "que no pueden ser esposas y madres y ser [tomadas] en serio como artistas" y que las, "mujeres que niegan sus instintos sexuales y "femeninos" esenciales... son, por tanto, incapaces de producir arte con las implicaciones más universales" (Nemser, 18). Las artistas deben enfrentarse a "suposiciones estereotipadas basadas biológicamente de cómo debería parecer su [arte]: delicada, sensata, exquisita, terrosa, pálida y, más recientemente, centrada en el útero" (Nemser, 18). Esta es una consecuencia directa de la noción patriarcal u eurocéntrica de identidad y feminidad que está limitando y asfixiando a las artistas puertorriqueñas.

El renacimiento de la identidad puertorriqueña entra en un ciclo de creación y evolución donde se desarrolla, deconstruye y se renueva, en las artes visuales, escénicas y literarias en el ámbito político. La artista contemporánea, Mari Mater O'Neill (n. 1960) es conocida por separarse de la identidad heterogénea puertorriqueña, por desmitificar la identidad puertorriqueña y su propia feminidad. Educada en la *Cooper Union School of Art and Science* (BFA) y en la *Northumbria University School of Design* (PhD), O'Neill muestra su identidad mediante el uso de colores vibrantes y no se limita a utilizar únicamente la iconografía nacional para ilustrar las complejidades del *Puerto Ricanhood*. Romero-Casareo explica que la mayoría de las formas de arte hoy en día muestran una preocupación con el cuerpo (913). La autobiografía del cuerpo indica una "perspectiva humanista de este proceso de autodefinición; es el cuerpo que actúa dentro de los diferentes contextos sociales el que proporciona el lenguaje para esta búsqueda de

identidad sexual, racial y/o nacional" (Romero-Casareo, 913). El cuerpo se utilizaba a menudo como un recurso laboral para asegurar que las naciones coloniales prosperaran económicamente, razón por la cual se permitía y alentaba a la empresa de la esclavitud a apoyar la economía en crecimiento en las colonias.

El neocolonialismo, el racismo, imperialismo y el capitalismo sobreviven y dependen de la objetivación y explotación del cuerpo. Mari Mater O'Neill comprende este fenómeno y permite la posibilidad de que el cuerpo sea utilizado para explorar anatómica y arqueológicamente la identidad puertorriqueña. Romero-Casareo explica que "O'Neill a menudo se ha centrado en la mutilación o disolución del cuerpo en movimiento y paisaje para la autoexploración" (913). La marca registrada de O'Neill son sus lienzos a gran escala pintados con colores llamativos que representan el movimiento errático y la energía nerviosa (914). Su última serie *Paisaje en Fuego #5* se inspiró en la coreógrafa y bailarina Viveca Vázquez, que es "conocida por su subversión de las formas de danza moderna ortodoxa", en los retratos de O'Neill el "cuerpo se disuelve para dejar sólo rastros de gestos, movimientos estallando fuera del marco" (914). En *Paisaje #3,y #5* se explora a sí misma mientras desata la tensión y el nerviosismo, donde en *Paisaje #6* pinta un paisaje dentro de un paisaje en el que presenta fuertes militares que fueron construidos durante el período colonial español como símbolo de intervención militar en el que examina la difícil situación de "la persona desplazada, ya sea por emigración y/o las complejidades [de] colonización [que] es más evidente en sus videos experimentales altamente autobiográficos *Metrópolis* y *Flamenco*" (Romero-Casareo, 914). En yuxtaposición al estilo de otras artistas femeninas que evoca el silencio y la quietud, los autorretratos de O'Neill son una "ruidosa aluvión de dinamismo cargado de violencia" en la que también utiliza iconografía y signos enigmáticos cargados eróticamente (Romero-Casareo, 914). O'Neill no sólo deconstruye a la ideal mujer caribeña femenina y sensual, sino que también destaca las luchas de una nación reprimida por dos imperios coloniales. Es importante destacar cómo el neocolonialismo distorsiona la percepción de un individuo sobre el cuerpo, la identidad, la soberanía y el nacionalismo. O'Neill ilustra la identidad puertorriqueña como un enigma que vive entre la soberanía y la ocupación despótica. A medida que la nación puertorriqueña arroja las aplacadas del neocolonialismo también se define por ella y por lo tanto para desprenderse por completo del colonialismo debe recrear su identidad a través del arte para sanar y expresar su nuevo nivel de conciencia.

Mari Antonia Ordoñez es una artista puertorriqueña cubana viva que fue educada en la Universidad de Puerto Rico y la Liga Estudiantil de las Artes. Su arte ha sido mostrando a nivel nacional e internacional desde 1980. A diferencia de O'Neill, Ordoñez crea "dibujos pequeños, a lápiz o en tinta". (Romero-Casareo, 914). Romero-Casareo relata la caracterización de Olga Nolla de la obra de Ordoñez como "francamente obscena",

acompañada de una "frescura ingenua o primitiva" que permite al espectador digerir un contenido de otra manera impactante" (914). Romero-Casareo explica que "la artista explica su deseo de reconciliar imágenes y [una] relación de arquetipos con la feminidad y la sexualidad" (914). Ordoñez atenta a lograr esto con cuestionar e "integrar categorías opuestas atribuidas a las mujeres, particularmente los modelos Virgen/Prostituta [y] Madre/Putas (evidente en obras como *Colgando hábitos II* y *Eva entre el cielo y la tierra*), y propone "rescatar" y volver a montar las múltiples facetas de las mujeres que ella siente que han sido segregadas artificialmente para facilitar el control". (914). La descripción de Nolla de la obra de Ordoñez reafirma la noción de que todavía se espera que las obras de arte femeninas sean digeribles y visualmente atractivas. El uso de las figuras femeninas por Ordoñez en su obra, a menudo representada y es venerada con cuerpos secuestrados (Romero-Castareo, 914), desafiando las normas patriarcales de la feminidad. Por lo tanto, permitiéndole recuperar el cuerpo femenino y liberarlo, posiblemente liberando a todas las figuras feminizadas en este proceso también. El enfoque de Ordoñez en conceptos puritanos como la virginidad y la deconstrucción de la feminidad permite que el sujeto colonial más oprimido, la mujer, salga de los espacios cerrados a los que estaba previamente atada.

Una nación avanzando

La narrativa que se retrata de la identidad latina a menudo excluye a naciones caribeñas como Puerto Rico, debido a su estatus político y compleja identidad étnica y racial. Esta singular noción de la *Latinidad* ha llevado a la necesidad de términos como, Latinx y afrolatinos para asegurar que todos los latinoamericanos sean incluidos. Visitantes y espectadores podrían emocionarse al ver exposiciones de artistas puertorriqueños, también podrían ser referidos a otros museos y pequeñas galerías que se especializan en mostrar a estos artistas, como el Museo Nacional de Arte y Cultura Puertorriqueña en Chicago. A medida que América Latina y el Caribe siguen distinguiéndose del Occidente, es importante mantenerse alejados de reforzar las identidades heteronormativas a las que se suscriben muy pocos caribeños y latinoamericanos. Es importante desmitificar la noción de una identidad singular latinoamericana o Puertorriqueña, ya que tal identidad no existe en las realidades personales de aquellos a quienes pretende representar. Hay un peligro horrendo en la construcción y comercialización de una *sola historia*. La libertad de expresión que tiene el artista puertorriqueño está supeditada a su capacidad de adherirse a las nociones eurocéntricas e *hispanofílicas* de raza, etnia, nacionalismo y género. Esta notación singular de la narrativa nacional y cultural de la nación puertorriqueña no representa todas las complejidades de la identidad puertorriqueña. A medida que la nación puertorriqueña continúa desafiando sus historias *individuales* y avanzando hacia la descolonización, es digno de examinar y validar las conceptualizaciones emergentes de su identidad nacional y cultural.

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Mari Mater O'Neill, Paisaje en fuego núm. 3, (Landscape on fire num. 3), ca. 1992, Oil and Crayón on linen, 79 ½" x 69 ¼", Private collection

Mari Mater O'Neill, Paisaje en fuego núm 5, (Landscape on fire num. 5), ca. 1992, Acrylic, Oil, and Oil Crayons on linen, 87" X 79", Artist Collection

Vengeance in Excess

Tia Colbert

Abstract: In this paper, I focus on the theme of vengeance in Ancient Greece and how it is wired for excess. Using Euripides' tragic Medea and Homer's heroic Achilles as models of vengeance seekers, I analyze their approaches to vengeance and how they expose flaws in the system. I do this by looking at their separate contexts, the effects of gender and gender/societal roles, the extent to which their community steps in, and the degree to which there is, or is not, divine interreference. In doing this, I found that, though both characters violate the system of vengeance in excessive degrees, it is the state of the world at the end of their vengeance that reflects this excessiveness. As such, at the end of the *Medea*, the world is in disarray as Medea, in her own act of divinity, flies away on her chariot. In the *Iliad*, however, the world finds a sort of restoration, but only after the gods themselves interfered on behalf of Priam so that Achilles would return Hector's body. In both cases, the community of the characters fail to impose limits on their vengeance. In Medea's case, the Chorus does not realize the mistake of their hesitance until it is too late, and Achilles fellow soldiers are wholly unable to rouse him from his grief. Medea and Achilles serve as examples of the dangers of the act of vengeance seeking, and how it is easily given to excess.

The desire for recompense when one has been wronged is a widespread part of the human condition. In ancient Greece, this fit into an ethical schema of “helping friends and harming enemies” that everyone was expected to embrace. The seeking of recompense for the death of a loved one, or dishonor against the family, was considered *poine*, vengeance by the Greeks.¹ The ancient rules for vengeance were simple, if one has received a slight against them, they are entitled to receive dues, and eye-for-an-eye. This system of recompense, however, often persisted through generations of families, creating a cycle of violence between them that only end when someone decides enough is enough. In Greek literature, these cycles continued to be portrayed even when the practice became obsolete. In the absence of a god to impose reconciliation, Clytemenestra was able to kill Agamemnon, who killed their daughter Iphigenia. In turn, their son Orestes killed Clytemenetra, and the cycle was only stopped when Athena stepped in. It seems as if Greek vengeance is dependent on the community to impose limits upon the vengeance seeker, but if these limits are not, or cannot be, imposed, how can the vengeance end? As this aspect of vengeance was normal in the ancient world, it became welcomed on the ancient stage. In fact, the earliest Ancient Greek stories recited by Homer were vengeance based and influential to the tragedies that followed. The goal of this paper is to investigate this long history of vengeance in Ancient Greek texts. Not only is context reliant upon the genre of the story, but it is also reliant upon the personal characterization of the vengeance seeker.

The structure of a genre is meant to limit the actionable choices of the characters within, so a tragic character should be as bound to the rules of tragedy as an epic hero. Yet somehow, Euripides’ Medea and Homer’s Achilles seem to challenge, stretch, and exceed every boundary that they meet. Medea, a wife and a mother, takes vengeance against her husband Jason when he decides to marry another woman. In the tragic mode, the hero – someone like Medea – adheres to the trajectory of the vengeance drama. In such a tragedy, once the avenger got their dues, the natural order was restored by a god or goddess’ intervention. Most importantly, the tragic hero is meant to pursue vengeance-seeking that does not exceed the social limits of that community, nor offend the gods. Achilles is a warrior on the epic Greek battlefield, - bound by the Homeric code of ethics - who loses a comrade and kinsman, Patroclus, and seeks vengeance against the Trojan responsible, Hector. Through each character’s quest for vengeance, though they work within their models, they also undermine them in ways that expose how the model is too easily given to extremities. In both cases, it is the community who is meant to remind the hero that their recompense is finite and must also obey humane principles to keep separate the revenge from simple criminality, and it is the gods who have the power to make sure these limits are enforced. Achilles is checked only by the gods, and after his

¹ Margaret Visser, *Vengeance and Pollution in Classical Athens*, p. 194

vengeance has already gone too far, and it is Medea herself who decides when her vengeance has hit its limit. By analyzing the excessiveness within the tragic vengeance arc of Medea and the heroic vengeance arc of Achilles, there seems to lie an inherent flaw within the system of recompense as a whole.

Although an initial look at Medea and Achilles seems to portray completely different characters in background and motivation, I develop an intersectional understanding of their identities helps to inform the nature of their vengeance, and the extremes they reach with their vengeance.

Euripides' *Medea*, as a character and a play, not only presents the tragic story of a failed marriage, but it pushes the bounds of what female characters are allowed to do. Throughout the entirety of the play, Medea is presented as, and perceived as, an autonomous figure with valid concerns and feelings of outrage against Jason's betrayal of their oaths. It is Jason himself who refuses to view her as more than a simple woman whose only goals in life are to be a wife and mother, as he prepares to leave her for a younger, richer princess. King Aegeus of Athens notably expresses sympathy and concern for her situation when she explains it to him. His three assertions during their exchange, "to hell with him, then, if he is as rotten as you say" (699), "I see: then, woman, I can understand just why you feel so hurt" (703), and "...Jason goes along with this? / I disapprove of that as well" (708-9), not only validate Medea's outrage, but reveal just how seriously others take oaths as well. She helped Jason during his heroic quest and has constantly proved that she is able to defend herself. McDermott says, "the extremity of Medea's plight when she is forsaken by Jason results from the fact that a woman's normal recourse upon divorce (return to her father's protection) is precluded in her case" (101). Medea's vengeance is meant to be nonexistent not only because she is a woman, but because of the sacrifices she has made for Jason. The patriarchal society in which she is forced to navigate has bound her to Jason, while her actions for him have severed her familial ties. She is truly alone as a foreign woman who is barely tolerated by the people of Corinth. In this way, Medea has little to lose when delivering her vengeance against Jason.

As a mother, however, Medea stands to lose a lot. The last fatal blow of her vengeance against Jason is the death of their sons. Marianne Hopman reminds us that "the children have to die because the audience expects it a long mythical tradition says so" as Medea is "bound by the tradition that shapes the expectations of her" (Hopman 175).² It is the

² Hopman also notes that "... [Medea] is willing to choose a mode of revenge that implies her own death, if not a physical death like Achilles... at least an emotional one. Until the infanticide, Medea's revenge has much in common with the development of Achilles' wrath, thus justifying the chorus' hope that she may become the subject of an epic tradition" (Hopman 170).

choice Euripides makes to have Medea herself be the slayer of her children, in order to exact the utmost revenge against Jason (792-4, 817, 1360, 1369-70), that firmly removes her from the tragic vengeance drama model. She is no longer a sympathetic character to receive wrongs and get her due, but an unforgiveable one, who exacts vengeance to its highest degree. An excellent point made by Charles Segal is that Medea has “gulf between [her] rational justification for a course of action.... and the emotional impact of that action” (Segal 15). This choice is largely driven by Medea’s ability to extort her understanding of the importance of family to Jason. Additionally, the failure of the chorus of women to prevent the death of the children, even though it is an action they disagreed with, as an act of solidarity with Medea shows the problem of identifying too sympathetically with the vengeance seeker.³ As her vengeance begins to solidify its shape, Medea takes on a dual identity. She is “both mother and murderess, both defender and destroyer of marriage, both creator and destroyer of life, both the champion of the justice that protects the rights of the household and the perpetrator of the most flagrant crimes against the household” (Segal 27). Thus, she has begun to exceed the traditional role held by women at this time and utilizes this excess in exacting her revenge.

On the other hand, as a man, Achilles is already equipped to present himself as everything a Homeric hero should be. Homeric reciprocity falls into three major categories: altruistic, balanced, and negative.⁴ In this situation, a hero may look to exact revenge, or gain compensation, when their honor has been threatened or a loved one has been killed. Thus, life can be held to a value like material goods, and loved ones have the right to be compensated fairly when someone is killed, or otherwise, rightly, seek revenge against the killer. Achilles experiences a small vengeance arc at the beginning of the *Iliad*, when he gets in a dispute with Agamemnon over the return of Chryseis to her father. This results in Agamemnon claiming Achilles’ rightfully earned prize, and Achilles’ subsequent self-exile from the war, and his request to Zeus to make every Greek suffer, not just Agamemnon. His lack of respect for Agamemnon’s power, and his inability to feel a true kinship with the men he is fighting with, is what sets Achilles’ vengeance apart from other heroes. It is during this self-exile that he experiences the loss of Patroclus, and rejoins the war effort. It should be noted that his motivation is still not to help his fellow kinsmen, but to seek vengeance.

Achilles’ second vengeance, seeking recompense against Hector for his killing of Patroclus, further sets him apart from other epic heroes. There is some scholarship that asserts “Homeric males behave in distinctly ‘feminine’ ways, weeping in pain and in despair, lamenting the deaths of their comrades,” blurring the usual distinct boundaries

³ Kovacs: Lines 265-9, 811-3, 1275,

⁴ Erwin Cook, *Homeric Reciprocities*

between men and women. Throughout the *Iliad*, Achilles maintains his status of an adept and respected warrior, except for when his vengeance reaches its excessive proportions. Upon learning of Patroclus' death in Book 18, Achilles gives way to "the back cloud of sorrow" (22). He is described as dirtying his appearance with ash and dust, laying upon the ground, and tearing at his hair (23-7). This expression of lamentation seems to defy the expectations of a warrior in the midst of battle. In fact, he closely mirrors the nurses' description of Medea at the beginning her play (24-25). The death of Patroclus was an unexpected blow to Achilles emotionally and as a warrior. Rather than his duty as a warrior, however, it is his emotions that drive his vengeance against Hector. Just as Medea stepped beyond the confines of the gendered roles society imposes on her to take vengeance in a more masculine way, Achilles steps outside of the masculine stereotype society expects him to embrace and instead embraces a feminine, emotional brand of vengeance that pushes him to take vengeance further than a Homeric hero normally should. Although Achilles is in the right in seeking recompense for the death of Patroclus as his kinsman, his vendetta against Hector is personal. He does not simply want a ransom for Patroclus, or Hector dead, he wants Hector's body, and he wants his mother to suffer (22. 345-54). This is the point where Achilles' warrior mindset and inability to empathize truly shines through. Whereas Medea's vengeance was so complete because she knew exactly how to hurt Jason, Achilles' is so excessive because he can see the effects of his actions, but he lacks the ability to feel sorry for them.

A distinguishing aspect that Medea and Achilles share is that of godly heritage, with Medea being a descendant of Helios, and Achilles the son of Thetis. Even so, they are still separate from the gods in their mortality, a fact that only further excesses the vengeance they undertake. The *Medea* is characterized by the lack of divine interference while the *Iliad* is rife with gods and goddesses. In contrast with many tragedies, Medea is largely the sole determiner of how events unfold in the *Medea*. She plans, persuades, and manipulates her way into carrying out the most complete vengeance that she sees fit for Jason. Homeric heroes, on the other hand, are far more dependent on the influence of the gods. Although Achilles is seen to have a slight advantage through his ability to have direct contact with his mother and her willingness to fulfill his wishes, he is still expected to follow the gods unwaveringly.

Unlike Achilles, Medea is not subject to the limitations of the gods. Though they are constantly evoked for encouragement and in times of distress, none ever appear within the play. Medea is the one who holds supreme control over situation, and those around her. She herself takes on the role of divine authority. It is she who decides when her vengeance has reached its proper end, and it is she who restores "natural order" at the end of the play. Jason, the chorus, and the audience itself, can only watch powerless as she constructs and achieves the most perfect vengeance that she sees fit for the disrespect

of her honor. As Segal notes, “this is a world where the gods, though invoked as bringers of justice, seem to take no part in human affairs” (42). Medea’s final appearance in the play usurps the role traditionally held by a *deus ex machina*

Instead of an ending in which the appearance of a god sets correct the events that have unfolded, as is tradition in the mythological versions, the audience receives Medea in a blazing chariot, holding the corpses of her slain children. Jason, in his anger and lament, revokes Medea’s mortality, calling her a “lioness” and “more cruel in nature than the Etruscan Scylla” (1342-3). Hopman observes that “Medea's final position in a dragon-driven chariot, overlooking Jason from the top of the skene, and holding two corpses in her arms, provides a visual counterpart for the comparison” and solidifies Medea as the Scylla itself (167). This final act of divine proportions is the most complete vengeance that Medea could achieve and seems to be the only fitting end to the play. This point is best said by McDermott, who asserts that there cannot be mediation, nor hope for mediation between Jason, Medea, and the events of the play:

Nor is the audience guided to a sense of what would or could have been a proper mediation between the two antagonists... to side with either Medea or Jason at the end of Euripides’ play is merely to side with one unsavory character locked in bitter and irremediable dissension with another (70).

Lastly, Segal makes the observation that “at the end we are left with a nightmare world... the violence of an enraged woman’s hatred not only achieves total success in a vengeance that encompasses the killing of her male children but also does so with impunity” (42). Medea has both set the rules and the limits for her vengeance. In fact, she has succeeded so greatly in assuming the role of the gods that she far exceeds most epic heroes.

Contrastingly, the *Iliad* is rife with the appearance of gods. As such, the actions of the heroes are subject to the manipulation of the gods, even the powerful and exceptional Achilles. When Achilles faces the first blow to his honor, Athena is sent by Hera and says to Achilles:

‘Come then, do not take your sword in your hand, keep clear of fighting,
though indeed with words you may abuse him, and it will be that way
And this also will I tell you and it will be a thing accomplished.
Some day three times over such shining gifts shall be given you
by reason of this outrage. Hold your hand then, and obey us’ (210-14).

Athena's appeal is an order, not a request, and she has no doubt that Achilles will obey. In the *Medea*, there is no such power dynamic. Homeric heroes should thus be faced with limited autonomy in their vengeance due to direct divine interference. Achilles' distinction as a demigod causes him to be more carefully watched by the gods and goddesses and his warrior status requires his actions to stay in line with heroic ethics. This is further shown after Achilles has killed Hector and refuses to return his body to the Trojans. The mere possession of Hector's body is not the problem at hand, but the continued disrespect of it is. When it is clear that the community around Achilles is not successful in ending his thirst for vengeance, Zeus is driven by Apollo to give explicit attention to Achilles' continued disrespect of Hector's body.⁵ From here, Thetis is sent to tell Achilles, not request, that he give Hector's body back to Priam and accept the gifts that Priam brings as recompense. In the absence of being held accountable by his human kinsmen, Achilles faces judgement and receives direct orders from the gods themselves.

It is through the death of Patroclus, and Achilles' exacting of vengeance against Hector that he able to gain the ability to see how much his actions can cause others to suffer, a problem that he seems to not have encountered before. When Priam arrives to supplicate Achilles for the return of Hector's body, Achilles does not only relent because the gods made him to, but because "[Priam] spoke, and stirred in [Achilles] a passion of grieving/for his own father..." (24. 507-8). This is important to note because it indicates that Achilles earlier refusal to empathize with his kinsmen is due to an inability to relate to their humanity. It is only after Priam resembles Achilles' human father that he can realize the hurt he is doing by keeping Hector's body. In constantly existing between the world of mortal men, and the world of gods, Achilles is unable to impose limits on himself, and his community of kinsmen fail to impose limits upon him. Although Achilles' vengeance is sanctioned, it moves beyond even what is allowed in a war context. Had there been no divine interference to ensure the removal of Hector's body from Achilles' possession, it is possible that his vengeance would have seen no end. Thus, it seems, neither Medea nor Achilles can be held accountable by their communities alone.

Although these are two specific examples that seem to only point toward an inherent excess in Medea and Achilles themselves, their excess exposes flaws in the nature of vengeance seeking. If one cannot rely on their community to impose limits, and lack the privilege of direct divine interference, when is their vengeance complete? Medea appears to impose limits upon herself, but her vengeance is so excessive that it leaves the world of the play suspended in disorder after it is done. The ongoing war excuses Achilles for part of his vengeance, but he clearly lacked the ability to see an end to his vengeance himself. This failure of accountability, and the excess Medea and Achilles achieved before

⁵ *Iliad* Book 24, lines 39-54

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their recompense came to an end, brings into question the Ancient Greek system of vengeance as a whole. But so long as there are crimes against one's family or honor, it seems that this desire for recompense persists. It appears that it is only in a world, like that depicted on the shield of Achilles, where one can recompense be properly regulated and limited.

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False Courage and the Unhappy Hero

Maggie Davis

Abstract: This paper examines the *Iliad* through the lens of Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*, expanding on Aristotle's brief mention of the Trojan hero Hector in Chapter 3.8 to argue that Hector fails to meet Aristotle's criteria for courage in his final battle with Achilles. According to Aristotle, courage, one of the many virtues that contribute to a person's happiness, is an intermediate between deficiency and excess of fear and between deficiency and excess of boldness. Courageous people may be afraid of only certain things in the proper circumstances for the right reasons; they are firmly disposed to act boldly when the situation calls for it and to face death when the need arises because doing so is inherently fine. In light of this definition, I conclude that, despite his choice to face death in the end, Hector's sporadic actions in Book 22 indicate a fickle and fearful disposition, despite his heroic appearance. After he has resolved to fight, he runs away; when he stops and stands his ground, he does so out of false confidence; and when he finally charges Achilles and goes down in a blaze of glory, he is motivated by rage and focused more on the honor he will receive after death than on the fineness of the death itself. I suggest that Aristotle's virtuous person would have stood his ground from the beginning, taking pleasure in the nobility of his courageous action more than in honor or safety.

I then turn to the possibility that Hector is not accountable for his lack of virtue—that his actions do not reveal anything about his deeper character. Aristotle presents two reasons why a person may not be acting of their own accord: they may have been forced to act by an outside agent, or they may be ignorant of the details surrounding the action. However, I conclude that Hector's choices have no external cause; though his circumstances are constraining, all of his actions originate within him. Moreover, though he is at one point deceived by Athena, he enters the battle with full knowledge of the circumstances and cannot be said to have acted uncourageously out of ignorance. Finally, I argue that Hector can also be held responsible for his character—i.e., that it was through his own voluntary actions that he was habituated to act so inconsistently and unvirtuously and to develop the vices of rashness and cowardice. Thus, by evaluating Hector's actions by Aristotle's standards of courage, I bring to the surface some flaws of this oft-admired hero and complicate his frequent depiction as a model of virtue.

Given that the *Iliad* ends with his glorious funeral, one might imagine that Hector would rank among the most obviously courageous heroes in the poem. Yet Aristotle is quick to distinguish the Trojan leader's apparent courage from true courage, as defined in Chapters 3.7 to 3.9 of his *Nicomachean Ethics* (*NE*). Indeed, Aristotle's first example of false courage is drawn from *Iliad* 21.119 (Robert Fagles's translation), in which Hector debates whether he should hide within the walls of Troy or face Achilles one-on-one. The events that follow this internal monologue demonstrate that Hector is guilty not only of the "civic courage" that Aristotle criticizes him for but also of a series of other false courages. Without a virtuous disposition to anchor him, Hector seeks to perform courageous-looking actions while harboring excessive fear beneath the surface, changing directions with every change of circumstances. These actions, habituated and performed of his own free will, demonstrate that even when he ultimately stands and fights Achilles, his decisions are tainted by misarranged priorities and a fickle disposition, pulling him back and forth between rashness and cowardice and preventing him from holding his ground and taking pleasure in his fine death as Aristotle would have him do.

Aristotle defines courage as "an intermediate state relating to things that make for boldness and things that make for fear," exercised in the proper circumstances, that "makes its choice and stands firm because doing so is fine, or because not doing so is shameful" (*NE* 1116a10–13). As a result, the courageous person "fears the things one should and for the end one should, and in the way and when one should, and is bold in a similar way" (*NE* 1115b18–20). More specifically, this person "is fearless about a fine death, or about sudden situations that threaten death," as so often arise in the *Iliad* (*NE* 1115a33–34). In many ways, Hector's initial motivations to fight seem to fit this definition: he hesitates to return to Troy largely because he "would die of shame to face the men of Troy / and the Trojan women" and resolves "to stand up to Achilles, kill him, come home alive / or die at his hands in glory out before the walls" (22.125–126, 130–131). He shows reasonable concern about the danger he is facing but chooses to fight out of both a desire for the honor of a fine, noble (*kalon*) death and a desire to avoid shame. Yet Aristotle argues against this assessment, claiming that Hector's motivations are those of a superficial "civic" courage, based on external reproaches or honors from his fellow Trojans (and perhaps on the pain of facing the consequences of his actions) rather than on the nobility or shame of the action itself (*NE* 1116a16–30). Thus even before Hector acts, he is failing to display courage.

This is as far as Aristotle's explicit analysis of Hector goes, but beyond these initial deliberations, Hector's actions continue to present an even more complex picture of what Aristotelian courage does and does not look like. First, while he shows sporadic signs of courage, it soon becomes apparent that Hector is not consistently, committedly disposed toward courageous action. Immediately after deciding to fight, he catches sight of

“Achilles...closing in on him now / like the god of war” and promptly runs away, changing his mind and abandoning his courageous resolution in an instant (22.157–164). While justified fear need not be incompatible with courage, it is Hector’s fickleness that suggests a lack of virtue in this scene: Aristotle makes clear repeatedly that a person’s actions are in accordance with virtue only if “he does them from a firm and unchanging disposition” (*NE* 1105a33–34). Hector’s changeability suggests that he is not habituated to courage at his core; while a desire to appear bold leads him to resolve upon a courageous-looking course of action, his excessive fear prompts him to flee at the first sign of danger. Such action is consistent with Aristotle’s description of the rash person, who “wishes to appear to be as the courageous person actually is in relation to the fearsome” but does “not withstand what is actually fearsome” (*NE* 1115b31–34).

Hector’s inconsistencies go in the other direction as well: though he does run from Achilles for a while, he ultimately stands and fights. But while his action once again resembles that of the courageous person, his core motivations and rationales remain muddled and changeable, not firmly committed to virtue; thus he acts courageously for the wrong reason. Athena has deceived him into believing that she is his brother Deiphobus, joining him outside the walls to help in his battle; Hector claims that his “spirit stirs [him] / to meet” Achilles face-to-face, but it is Athena’s words of encouragement, the reassuring presence of his brother saying, “Come, let us stand our ground together,” that first turns Hector away from his flight (22.275, 299–300). Aristotle asserts that soldiers who rely on their preparation and strength to avoid death “turn cowardly when the danger is extreme and they are at a disadvantage in terms of numbers and equipment”; theirs is a false boldness grounded in hopes of victory (*NE* 1116b16–17). Similarly, Aristotle later adds that “if those who are deceived about the situation recognize that it is not what they guessed it to be, they run away” (*NE* 1117a26–27). So it comes as no surprise that Hector, upon realizing that he does not have the real Deiphobus’s support, immediately loses hope, and while he does not run away, he resigns himself to his fate, exclaiming, “so now I meet my doom” (359); this hopelessness, according to Aristotle, is a symptom of insufficient boldness and thus cowardice (*NE* 1116a2–4).

However, Hector’s speech does not end on this note of hopelessness. In fact, in the last moments before his death, he seems to change directions, presenting a much more complex situation than Aristotle predicts. Once Hector sees death approaching, though he despairs, he does not immediately become passive or run away, nor does he use death as a means of escaping his humiliating situation. As we have seen, Aristotle’s courageous person stands firm in “sudden situations that threaten death” (*NE* 1115a34), and though Hector has lost hope of survival, he does not die “without struggle, not without glory” (22.360). Indeed, in a burst of boldness, he draws his sword and “swoop[s] like a soaring

eagle / launching down...to snatch some helpless lamb or trembling hare" (365–367). His defeat comes quickly, but this does not diminish the remarkability of Hector's action; for all his inconsistency before, Hector shows little fear once his fate is clear, entering the sudden prospect of death with resolve and confidence.

This end leaves us to wonder whether Hector has gained some courage in these final moments—whether he is correcting himself, "pulling far away from the error" to "arrive at the intermediate point" as Aristotle says one must do to learn virtue (*NE* 1109b6–7). In order to diagnose the virtuousness or viciousness of his actions, we must assess the motivations and emotions accompanying Hector's last stand. Homer tells us that Hector is charging "in fury" (22.385), a Greek word translated later in line 413 as "mad" (or perhaps "frantic"). This word choice, along with the eagle simile, recalls the contrast that Aristotle observes between animals who "act because they are distressed" (*NE* 1116b32–33) and humans who make rational decisions (1111b7–9). Aristotle distinguishes the panicked temper of a creature of appetite from true human courage since people fighting out of temper "do not fight because of the fine" (*NE* 1117a7–9). This picture of beast-like pseudo-courage is further reinforced by the series of additional animal analogies that illustrate Hector's actions in Book 22. In this book's first in-depth discussion of Hector, he is described as "a snake in the hills, guarding his hole" as he nurses "his quenchless fury" (112–115). Then, over the course of the scene, he is compared in turn to a dove (167–168), a stallion (194), and a fawn (225), and Achilles himself claims that "wolves and lambs can enjoy no meeting of minds" (311), reducing both himself and Hector to creatures of instinct (whether predatory savagery or prey-like panic) rather than reason. These associations of Hector's action with the temper of wild animals confirm that even in his boldest moment, Hector is not truly courageous.

Moreover, once Achilles has delivered his killing blow, Hector refuses to rest in the satisfaction of a fine death but instead worries about the fate of his body. He begs Achilles to return the corpse to his parents "so Trojan men and Trojan women can do [him] honor / with fitting rites of fire" (22.404–405). Then, after Achilles refuses, Hector curses Achilles, and his soul goes "winging down to the House of Death, / wailing his fate" (22.427–428). Whether it is his death or the defilement of his body that Hector's soul bewails, it seems clear that Hector is far from content with his circumstances. If he is bewailing his death, then he is not taking pleasure in courageous action and the fine sacrifice of battle as Aristotle says he should (see, for example, *NE* 1104b7–11). Admittedly, Aristotle does allow for involuntary pain at the prospect of losing one's fine life and even suggests that the greater the life sacrificed, the nobler the death (*NE* 1117b10–15). But this does not negate the fact that Hector demonstrates no pleasure in the death itself; the closest is his hope for glory in 22.359–362. And if he is bewailing his body's and his family's suffering, or even his inability to be properly honored with

funeral rites, this too seems inconsistent with Aristotle's picture of virtuous action. After all, the point of virtue is to enable a person to achieve the function of humans and live a happy or blessed life (i.e., achieve *eudaimonia*), as Aristotle outlines in Book 1 of *Nicomachean Ethics* (especially 1.7). Hector ought to act in accordance with this goal, and Aristotle makes clear that events that occur after death, even if they cause suffering for one's family, do not substantially affect the *eudaimonia* of the dead person (*NE* 1101b2–4). Therefore, he does not need to worry about the events that will follow his death; he need only focus on the pleasure of acting virtuously and dying nobly. His failure to take pleasure in fine action and his constant focus on the consequences of his actions rather than on the actions themselves suggest that even in the end, in his final moment of glory, Hector is not acting truly courageously.

We have established, then, that Hector's actions in Book 22 cannot be considered virtuous by Aristotle's standards. But to what extent is it only Hector's internal motivations that Aristotle would find fault with? Would Aristotle prescribe a radically different course of action in these circumstances? Let us return to the beginning of Book 22: Hector stands outside the Trojan walls, "furious to fight Achilles to the death," disregarding his parents' insistence that Achilles is "so much stronger than" he is (42, 47). One might make the case, as Priam does, that Hector is not displaying the amount of fear that he should feel in this situation, given Achilles's divine parentage and impressive record in battle, and that the virtuous thing to do would be to retreat within the walls. And indeed Aristotle emphasizes that the courageous person would fear the right things in the right circumstances; for example, a person is not cowardly "if he fears assault on his children and wife" (*NE* 1115a22–23), which indeed Hector may fear given the circumstances (see, for example, his fear for Andromache in 6.533–562). But recall that Aristotle also believes that a courageous person must be "fearless about a fine death," the finest of deaths being death in war (*NE* 1115a30–34). So even if Hector knows well that he will die, it is virtuous to put up a fight (*NE* 1115b5) and if necessary, to gladly accept death "because it is a fine thing to do" (1116a15–16)—and all the finer if he is sacrificing a happy life (1117b10–16).

In fact, Hector's actions after he stops running away seem consistent with Aristotle's picture of courage: he faces Achilles, fights as hard as he can to the end, and does not shirk his fine death. But we have said that Hector's attitude toward death as Homer describes it is not truly virtuous. If Hector were virtuous in the Aristotelian sense, he would take pleasure in acting on the virtues that are necessary for a blessed life. It is not inherently problematic for Hector to value honor, but the honor he receives must be a reflection of his virtue, and his actions must stem from this virtue (*NE* 1095b27–1096a3)—and his primary pleasure must be in the virtuousness of his action. As Aristotle says, "someone who withstands frightening things cheerfully, or anyway without distress, is

a courageous person” because despite the pain of being wounded or of grief for his city, he takes pleasure in what he should, namely, virtuous action (*NE* 1104b7–8). Therefore, Aristotle would have had Hector stand and face Achilles from the beginning without succumbing to fear and running away, driven by a desire to be virtuous and complete his human function well, by pleasure in the fineness of his impending death.

One may wonder, though, whether it is fair to blame Hector for his lack of courage given the situation. As much as we may critique him after the fact, perhaps he could not help but fear Achilles and had no choice but to run away; perhaps he was acting without a complete understanding of the situation, and if he had only known better, he would have acted more virtuously. Aristotle devotes five chapters of Book 3 to clarifying the extent to which people’s actions reveal deeper truths about their character—that is, the extent to which people can be held accountable for their virtuous and vicious actions and, indeed, for the dispositions that underlie these actions. In general, he concludes, “Excellence...depends on us, and similarly badness as well,” as a result of our premeditated, intentional choices to act and thereby habituate ourselves to virtuous or vicious tendencies (*NE* 1113b1–7). However, he offers a caveat for this generalization: humans are accountable for their “excellent” and “bad” dispositions and actions only insofar as they were initiated and carried out voluntarily, where “the voluntary” is defined as “that of which the origin is in oneself, when one knows the particular factors that constitute the location of action” (*NE* 1111a23–25). This definition offers two ways in which a person can be considered to have acted “counter-voluntarily,” which would excuse their vicious behavior: first, if the “origin” of the action is external to the actor and second, if the actor does not know the “particular factors” surrounding their action. This means that if Hector has been forced to act viciously, or if he is acting because of ignorance, then Aristotle would say that the actions he takes in Book 22 cannot inform our understanding of his true character.

Let us first evaluate whether Hector has been forced to act in the way he does. According to Aristotle, “things are unqualifiedly forced if their cause lies in the externals, and the agent contributes nothing” (*NE* 1110b2–4). The Homeric epics contain several instances of forced action, especially when the gods are involved; for example, the suitors to Odysseus’s wife Penelope are forced to miss Odysseus and his companions when they throw their spears because “Athena sent the whole salvo wide of the mark” (*Odyssey* 22.269). But can we say that Hector is forced in the same way? One might argue that, right after his initial deliberation, it is the circumstances that prevent him from acting on his resolve and constrain him to cowardly action. How can he not run away when the only other option is death? Aristotle addresses this type of limiting situation, acknowledging that “it is sometimes hard to make out what sort of thing to choose in exchange for what, and what to put up with in exchange for what—and harder still to abide by what one has

determined, for mostly what we are expecting in such cases is something painful” — like death at the hands of Achilles — “and what we are being constrained to do is shameful” — like running away from honorable combat (*NE* 1110a29–33). Yet Aristotle insists that even when a person like Hector is between a rock and a hard place, though he may be in the situation against his will, he “acts voluntarily...for in fact in actions of this sort the origin of his moving the instrumental parts” — his legs, for example — “is in himself, and if the origin of something is in himself, it depends on himself whether he does that thing or not” (*NE* 1110a15–20). While Hector’s options are without a doubt limited, it is still revealing that on this occasion, given the agonizing choice to fight or flee, Hector, despite all his intentions, fails to “abide by what [he] has determined” and runs away. One could apply the same reasoning to his later actions, too: he may have Athena persuading him, but ultimately, Hector himself initiates the action of fighting Achilles without the right reasons. And, likewise, even if he is acting out of temper in his last attack on Achilles rather than through rational decision, we cannot say that anger has “forced” him to act; Aristotle finds no difference, “in respect of counter-voluntariness, between things we get wrong through acting in accordance with rational calculation, and those we get wrong through temper” (*NE* 1111a34–b3). Thus we cannot conclude that Hector was forced to act as he did.

However, there remains another possibility: even if Hector was not forced to act unvirtuously, his actions would not indicate an underlying vice if he did not know the particular details surrounding his action, “which are where action is located and what action is about” (*NE* 1111a1). To be sure, he is acting out of ignorance when Athena poses as his brother Deiphobus and persuades him to stop running and fight Achilles (22.293), so it is reasonable to say that he does not voluntarily choose to fight in this moment — but the fact that he stops running away only when his chances of victory seem better (and his chances of death seem worse) still indicates an excessive fear of death. Moreover, apart from this one moment, there is little evidence that Hector is acting out of ignorance in Book 22. He appears to understand his situation clearly when he first enters the battle: an experienced fighter, he intentionally chooses violence over a more rational approach because he knows full well that Achilles will “show no mercy” either way (22.147) — and his suspicion is confirmed later on when Achilles declares, “No love between us. No truce / till one or the other falls” (22.313–314). In his careful deliberation beforehand, Hector acknowledges that he is not guaranteed victory if he chooses to fight (22.130–131) but concludes that his odds are worse if he does not (138–156). His decision to stand his ground is founded on “reasoning and thought” informed by a clear understanding of the challenge he is up against — and therefore, it is voluntary (*NE* 1112a14–18).

His choice to run away, then, must be founded on the same knowledge. Given that his initial deliberation is grounded in truth, it seems unlikely that this new action is not,

and so we cannot say that he changes his mind because he doesn't recognize the danger of the situation. Rather, since we receive little insight into the mental process that leads to Hector's flight, this choice seems to fit best among what Aristotle calls "things done on the spur of the moment," which, though not the result of deliberation, he still considers voluntary in general (*NE* 1111b10–11). The same applies to Hector's later choice to charge Achilles after he realizes he has been tricked; he knows what resources he has (22.348, 363), he knows that he is at a disadvantage (354–355), and he is aware that Achilles will not honor his body (307–315) (though this does not stop him from begging for a change of heart in 398–405). Fully aware of his prospects, he attacks in a burst of rage, grasping at glory. Therefore, it is not ignorance but rather Hector's own fickle disposition that drives his choices.

Now one may ask whether Hector has voluntarily developed this alternately rash and cowardly disposition—and this is a point worth considering—but an in-depth discussion of this point is beyond the scope of this paper. That said, a preliminary consideration of the question suggests that Hector is at fault even here: his deliberation in Book 22 begins with the acknowledgement that his "army's ruined, thanks to [his] own reckless pride" (124), and indeed, in several earlier scenes, he has wavered between eager charges into battle and hesitation behind the lines (see, e.g., 12.266–290; 13.836–870, 948–965; 16.830–847; 18.330–362, though Athena may force his recklessness in this last passage). Thus his pattern of inconsistent behavior seems to stem from a habituated disposition toward rash decisions and fearful retreats, one that his own (mostly) voluntary actions have instilled in him—for as Aristotle says, "it is the sort of activity we display in each kind of thing that gives us the corresponding character" (*NE* 1114a8–9).

In this way, Aristotle presents a very different picture of Hector from the traditional one. Elsewhere in the poem, we see him as a faithful soldier and leader (6.430–431), a devoted husband and father (6.435–437, 462ff.), a pious servant to the gods (22.203, 24.881–882), and a loving friend (24.895–912). From a contemporary view, he is in many ways a steady, unwavering model of virtue. But Aristotle's account of courage brings to the surface a more unpredictable and unstable side of the great Trojan hero: simultaneously bold and fearful to a fault, Hector's desire to look like a brave soldier pushes him to start daring ventures that his fickle disposition is too weak to follow through with. By exploring Hector through the lens of the *Nicomachean Ethics*, we can see the anxious, uncertain heart hiding beneath his façade of boldness and rashness, confirming Andromache's assessment of her husband in Book 6: "Reckless one, / my Hector—your own fiery courage"—Aristotle might say "pseudo-courage"—"will destroy you!" (482–483).

In the end, Hector stands and fights, but he does not die virtuously. His final moments are tainted by indecision and inconsistency—by commitment to courage soon followed by panicked flight, by fleeting boldness fueled by ignorance and false hope, by animal rashness and preoccupation with superficial honors. This character, so often celebrated for his bravery and virtue, fails to prioritize the true courage and excellence that Aristotle associates with happiness. Aristotle's person of virtue would have fought without fleeing and died with pleasure in what is fine—but, with no outside compulsion or ignorance to excuse him, Hector acts instead in the unstable way that he is has accustomed himself to, wavering between fight and flight and unable to delight in his fine death. And so the wretched future that awaits the Trojans is ushered in by the unhappy death of Hector, the hero whose love of duty and honor has kept him from true courage.

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Ramen and Peanut Butter: Food Insecurity at Lawrence University

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Abstract: The prevalence of food insecurity (FI) among United States college students varies from 21% to 59% according to different studies, making the percentage of FI college students outstandingly larger than at the household level (11%) (Davison and Morrel 2018, Henry 2017). Chaparro et al. (2009) conducted the first study looking at collegiate FI, increasing awareness around this issue. Since then, researchers have found that hunger in college students is a serious problem as FI, both by itself and through increased likelihood of mental and physical problems, both of which can negatively affect academic performance (Patton-Lopez et al. 2014, Maroto, Snelling and Link 2015, Bruening 2017). Most research regarding college student hunger is based on large state schools and community colleges. This study differs because it is based on a small, private, residential liberal arts college: Lawrence University (LU). The purpose of this research is to examine the prevalence of FI among LU students, find how students are coping with hunger, and determine strategies so that the university can better support students facing hunger. I have explored these questions through distributing surveys and conducting interviews among students. Results show that while there is a limited number of students facing severe FI at LU, many students are living with low and marginal levels of security.

Introduction

Food Insecurity (FI) is a rapidly growing public health concern. It refers to “limited or uncertain availability of nutritionally adequate and safe food or limited or uncertain availability to acquire acceptable foods in socially acceptable ways” (Payne-Sturges et al. 2017). The global prevalence of FI is expanding; in July of 2019 an estimate of 820 million people in the world did not have enough to eat (FAO 2019). According to the United States Department of Agriculture (USDA), an estimate of 11.1% of American households remain food insecure (Coleman-Jensen, Gregory and Rabbitt 2019). Due to the large percent of FI Americans, the government has taken preventative measures regarding food security (FS) that have shown themselves to be successful in providing lower income people with more access to food (Mabli and Ohls 2014). However, most government-based programs neglect some parts of the population, such as college students (Davison and Morrel 2018).

The prevalence of FI among United States college students varies from 21% to 59% according to different studies, making the percentage of FI college students outstandingly larger than at the household level (Davison and Morrel 2018, Henry 2017). Although there has been a strong association between access to food and academic performance (Weaver et al. 2019), college student hunger is not currently a priority at the national or institutional level. FI has been associated with increased likelihood of physical problems (wasting, stunting, obesity, cardiovascular disease), and mental problems (increased risk for depression, anxiety and stress) (Gundersen and Ziliak 2015). This topic has been thoroughly studied when it comes to children and teenagers, but it was not until 2009 that Chaparro et al. (2009) conducted the first study looking at college student FI.

The idea of the starving college student has been normalized to the point that it is almost a joke (Henry 2017). It is common to think of college students as poor, hungry creatures who subsist by eating ramen and peanut butter. Hunger in college students is a serious problem as FI, both by itself and through increased likelihood of mental and physical problems which can negatively affect academic performance (Patton-Lopez et al. 2014, Maroto, Snelling and Link 2015, Bruening 2017). In this section, I will review existing literature on college student hunger that shaped the design of a study on college student hunger at Lawrence University (LU). Most research has looked at public state schools and community colleges. My research differs from other studies in the area as it was conducted at a small private liberal arts college.

Risk Factors

Minority Status: Historically, universities in the United States have been a place primarily designed for white affluent men, and it was not until the 1970s that higher education became more widely accessible to women and minority groups, due to the installment of Pell Grants. Some university policies created prior to the 1970s are still

present now and disproportionately increase the risk of FI for people who are not white and affluent (Forcone and Cohen, 2018). Students of color, international students, and first-generation students are more likely to struggle with FI while being at college.

Lee et al. (2018) found that 14 studies indicated a relation between ethnicity and increased likelihood of FI. Students who identify as Hispanic/Latino, Indigenous and African American are more likely to be FI than non-Hispanic white students (Lee et al. 2018). Most researchers have found a positive relation between FI and non-white ethnicity (Bruening 2016, Lee et al. 2018).

International students report the highest rates of FI (37.6%), compared to domestic students from inside the state (30.7%) and outside the state (29.3%) (Zein 2018). This may be due to lack of support from parents, inability to go home regularly, or that international students face more financial hardships and stress than domestic students. Furthermore, international students are not eligible to participate in the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP), unless they have permanent residency in the United States, or unless a U.S. citizen is willing to co-sign on behalf of the student (Zein et al. 2018).

First-generation college students are more likely than non-first-generation students to report FI (Miles et al. 2017, Davidson and Morrell 2018). Furthermore, first-generation college students reported buying the cheapest meal plan (Woerden et al. 2019), increasing their likelihood of running out of food.

Financial Stress: Students from low income families are more likely to be FI (Zein et al. 2018). Pell Grants are a federal program that allows low income students to pursue higher education by awarding them with a need-based grant. Pell Grant eligibility is correlated with FI (Zein et al. 2018). Students who are not Pell Grant recipients but who receive some financial aid are more likely to be FI than students who do not receive financial aid (Davidson and Morell 201). This means that family income is an indicator of college student FI.

Low-income families are eligible for participation in SNAP and free or reduced-price meals in K-12 public schools. Many students from low income families grow up using SNAP and give this up when they go to college because the eligibility criteria for SNAP is different once a student has left their home. Other times, students choose to not participate in SNAP due to lack of knowledge on how to navigate the eligibility process, especially for students that come from out of state. In other cases, students give up their SNAP benefits because of stigma; they do not want their peers to know they use this program. In addition, some students cannot access SNAP benefits because of limited transportation (Gaines et al. 2014)

While some background characteristics, like finances, ethnic background, and living situation, place some groups of students at a higher risk of being FI; for most students, FI is a result of an exogenous shock that affects their economic status or mental and physical health (Gaines et al. 2014).

Effects of FI on College Students

Academic Achievement: Students suffering from FI show lower academic achievement (Maroto, Snelling and Link 2015). FI increased the likelihood of being among the lower 10% of GPA and decreased the likelihood of being among the higher 10% of GPA (Weaver et al. 2019). Additionally, students experiencing FI reported difficulty concentrating, working at jobs instead of class because of their need to make money, and feeling sleepy and lack of energy in the classroom (Henry 2017).

Social Mobility: Educational attainment is one of the most important indicators of future social mobility (Patton-Lopez et al. 2014). FI can affect academic performance, by increasing the rates of dropping out and decreasing GPAs, henceforth limiting students' educational attainment, which can limit upward social mobility and earning potential in the future.

Additionally, eating is a social activity at college. Limited access to college-provided food such as that obtained through meal plans can mean limited attendance at bonding events, limited social mobility, and limited support from student groups. Limited participation in events can decrease students' confidence and sense of belonging (Payne-Sturges et al. 2017). This contributes to the high rates of FI college students with unfinished degrees. Furthermore, students that suffer from FI are more likely to struggle connecting with groups and become isolated (Forcone and Cohen 2018, Henry 2017).

Harmful Behavior and Mental Illness: FI in college students is associated with more alcohol use, unhealthy eating and mental health issues (Bruening, 2017). The odds of depression and anxiety are almost three times higher for FI first-year students, compared to their food secure counterparts (Bruening, 2016). Lack of certainty of where the next meal is going to come from is a source of stress (Morris et al 2016).

The Food System at LU

LU offers a residential experience where most students are required to live on-campus. There is no available data on FI students on the LU campus, therefore it is difficult to determine the prevalence of FI among Lawrence students. However, the number of students eligible for Pell Grants is increasing every year: from 21% of students enrolled at LU in 2014 (Peterson 2014), to almost 25% of students expected to graduate in 2023 (Interview with LU Associate Dean of Academic Success, Kathryn Zoromski, October 2019). This indicates that about 25% of the LU Class of 2023 have a family income of less than \$50,000 (although most grants are awarded to students whose family income is less than \$20,000 a year) and that the number of low-income students is rising. With this number increasing, LU has developed initiatives to make the transition to college more bearable. Some examples are: a support group for first-generation students, resources for financially independent students, and an on-campus food pantry available

for all students (Interview with LU Associate Dean of Academic Success, Kathryn Zoromski, October 2019).

Students at LU are required to have a meal plan, and only in extenuating circumstances can they opt out of it. At LU, most options of the mandatory meal plan only provide enough food for two meals a day.

Here are the meal plan options for 2019-2020:

19 meal plan with \$100.00 culinary cash – for the student who generally eats three meals per day, this allows them to eat every meal offered in Andrew Commons plus have culinary cash. Cost: \$1,826.00/term

14 meal plan with \$225.00 culinary cash – considered the standard meal plan and suitable for the student who only occasionally eats breakfast or chooses to eat a few meals outside of the Commons. Cost: \$1,757.00/term

*9 meal plan with \$400.00 culinary cash** – for the student whose busy schedule results in them splitting their meal between Andrew Commons and the Café. Cost: \$1,735.00/term

*\$1175 All culinary cash plan** – for the student who wants complete flexibility in managing their dining plan and is not concerned about running out of money for food before the end of the term. Cost: \$1,740.00/term

Figure 1: Meal Plans Options at LU, 2019. From the LU Website:
<http://www.lawrence.edu/students/food/node/1469>

Methods

The objectives of this study are to determine the prevalence of FI among LU students, understand barriers to food access, and determine the best strategies to support students. To investigate these questions, I designed an online survey (Appendix 1) and invited a random sample of LU students to participate. I created a flier (Appendix 2) with the description of the project, and a link to the online survey, and I distributed this flier to a sample of 400 students by placing the fliers in students' mailboxes.

I used surveys distributed through random sampling as my primary method of research and interviews as my secondary method of research. Surveys allow for all participants in the study to be asked the same questions, they eliminate interviewer bias or response effect, and they provide participants with a sense of security given the anonymity of the responses (Bernard 2011). Anonymity is fundamental in this study because of the potential for stigma associated with being FI. Furthermore, random sampling is essential to accurately estimate the prevalence of FI students. My secondary research method was interviews, because interviews allow for open-ended questions and extended conversations between the interviewer and the participant. This gives students more time to develop their answers, yielding a more accurate description of their food access (Bernard 2011).

The survey that was distributed to students is an adaptation of Loran Mary Morris's work (Morris et al. 2016), who adapted her survey from the U.S. Household FS Survey Module (USDA). It asks participants ten multiple choice questions that measure food security (FS). To interpret this survey, I followed the interpretation guidelines of the USDA survey. I coded the affirmative answers (yes, sometimes, often) to be equal to 1 point and added all the responses for each participant. A total score of 0 means high FS,

1-2 means marginal FS, 3-5 means low FS, and more than 6 means very low FS. Greater or equal to 3 indicates FI.

The final question in the survey asked students to provide their email if they would like to participate in a follow up interview. Four students were willing to participate in an interview. The interview prompts can be found in Appendix 3 and the consent form is located in Appendix 4. All research aspects were reviewed and approved by the LU IRB.

Results

The results of my survey conducted during the winter of 2020 show that the prevalence of FI at LU is 43%. Of the 47 people that responded to the survey, 20 of them face FI. All but three FI students live in dorms, and all but one FI student have full meal plans. Of the 20 FI students, 13 are women, 6 are men, and 1 is unknown.

Range	Levels of FS	N	% of respondents
0	High FS	12	25.6%
1-2	Marginal FS	15	31.9%
3-5	Low FS	11	23.4%
6 (+)	Very Low FS	9	19.1%

Table 1: Levels of FS at LU

The sampled students are representative of the population, as they share many features with the LU student body as a whole (Table 2). Results show that the percentage of women who are FI is higher than the percentage of women in the sample and at Lawrence. The ethnic distribution is similar across Lawrence students, sampled students and FI students, meaning that in this case, ethnicity might not be factor affecting students' FS. The percentage of first-generation students at Lawrence is 17%, which reflects the percentage of first-generation students in the sample (17.0%). Unsurprisingly, the percentage of first-generation students among FI students is substantially higher, with 75% of them identifying as first-generation. The percentage of Pell Grant eligible students at Lawrence is 24%, which is reflected in the sample (25.3%). However, the percentage of Pell Grant eligible students is substantially higher in FI students (45%). Of the FI students, 15% are neither employed nor receive financial support from their parents. In the FS group, 3.7% are neither employed nor receive financial support. Only 10% of FI students receive financial support from families. In contrast, 22% of sampled students receive financial support from families.

Characteristics	LU Students (%)	Sampled Students (%)	FI Students (%)
Gender			
Men	46	38.3	30
Women	54	55.3	65
Other		2.1	-
Prefer not to say		4.3	5
Year			
Freshman		21.3	15
Sophomore		42.6	55
Junior		10.6	10
Senior		25.5	20
Fifth Year		-	-
Ethnicity			
White	70	74.5	75
Hispanic/Latino	7	6.4	10
Black/African American	3	-	-
Asian	4	12.8	5
Other	16	6.4	10
First Generation			
Yes	17	17.0	75
No	83	83.0	25
Permanent Residence			
Wisconsin The United States	22	34.0	30
(excluding WI)	65	66.0	70
International	14	-	
GPA			
Less than 2.0		2.1	5
Between 2.0 and 3.0		10.6	20
Between 3.0 and 3.5		21.3	30
Between 3.5 and 4.0		66.0	45
Financial Aid Status			
Pell Grant Eligible	24	25.5	45
No Pell Grant, but financial aid		59.6	45
No financial aid		14.9	10
Employment			
Employed		10.6	15

Financial support from family	21.3	10
Both	59.6	60
Neither	8.5	15

Table 2: Demographic characteristics distribution of population, sample and FI students

I could not find any data for GPA distribution at Lawrence, but the percentage of FI students that have a GPA of more than 3.5 is significantly lower (45%) than the percentage of sample students who have a GPA of more than 3.5 (66%) (Figure 2). More than 81% of students in the FS group report a GPA between 3.5 and 4.0. 21% of sample students report a GPA between 3.0 and 3.5; conversely 30% of FI students report GPA in the same range. FI students also have a lower mean GPA (3.55) than FS students (3.85) (t-test, $p < .01$).

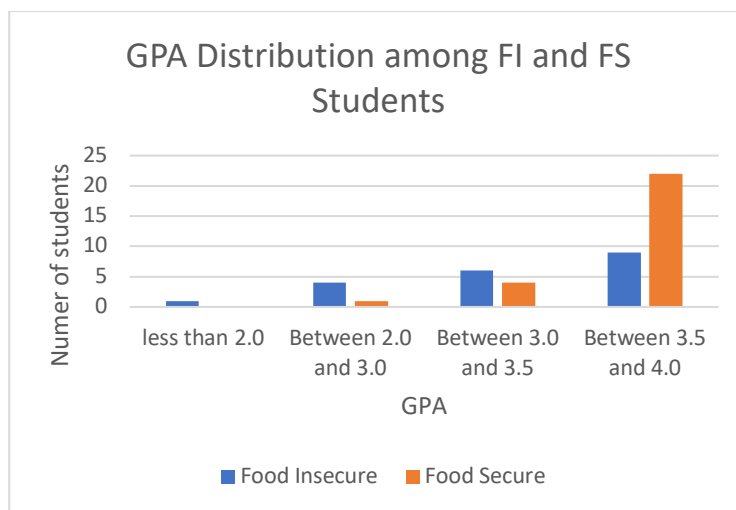


Figure 2: FI and FS student GPAs

On the Food Pantry

Of 20 students that are FI, only 12 are aware that there is an on-campus food pantry. Of those 12 FI students, only 3 have used the food pantry. Most students reported that they do not use the food pantry because they did not know that it exists or how it works. Other reasons include not wanting to take resources from others, the belief that they do not need to use it, not having enough time, being on the meal plan, and not being desperate enough to justify the use of the food pantry. Of the overall sample, 63.4% of sample students report knowing about the food pantry. However, only 12.7% of students reported having used the pantry.

Interview Findings

The sample of students that participated in interviews are FS, except for one person that has very low FS. All of the interviewees live on campus and have a full meal plan.

Of the four interviewees, three are men and one is a woman. Three are pursuing a Bachelor of Arts and one is pursuing a Bachelor of Music. Some patterns that emerged from interview responses were: 1) Hunger is more likely to become serious towards the end of the term; students tend to run out of culinary cash, and they have less flexibility in their food options. 2) Conservatory students are more likely to face hunger; they have less flexibility in their schedules, and classes often conflict with mealtimes; food options at the conservatory are limited and unhealthy. 3) Students in co-ops tend to worry less about food. 4) Some students receive support from their parents, either in the shape of care packages, money, buying them food, or driving them to the grocery store. 5) Three of the four students report that their food access is better at school than at home. The student who reports having more access to food while at home is FS. The rest of the students, regardless of their FS status, say that the all-you-can-eat option at the cafeteria provides them with more food than what they eat at home. 5) Students believe that Andrew Commons provides numerous vegan and vegetarian options, in contrast to the Café, where these options are very limited.

Coping strategies: One student reported their hunger as “their own fault,” meaning that they did not see it as a systemic problem. One student reported coping with hunger by making peanut butter and jelly sandwiches. Some students cope with hunger by relying on the generosity of fellow students who share culinary cash with others who need it. However, students also reported “feeling bad” after asking. Students report over-eating during meals, in order to be full for a longer period of time; they also supplement their diet with water, tea and gum to feel full. Students reported eating out off campus using their personal funds, or money from student employment. Students report using the food pantry to cope with hunger. Finally, some students cope with hunger by not eating and taking a nap instead.

Barriers that limit access to food: Students reported numerous barriers that limit their access to food. One barrier is the “try hard” culture of the school. This is something that most students deal with; however, it seems to be concentrated the conservatory, highlighting that the expectations for students in the conservatory are not manageable. Another concern for students in the conservatory is that the food options available in the conservatory vending machines are not nutritious and are very limited. Finally, another barrier that affects conservatory students is the timing of conservatory class schedules, which can make it difficult to get food in Andrew Commons.

Both students in the conservatory and in the college reported the hours of the cafeteria as a limiting factor. The number of swipes and amount of culinary cash are also reported as a barrier to food access; one student even argues that some meal plan options promote skipping meals. Additionally, some students are concerned about the new meal plan policies: particularly the fact that swipes do not carry over from week to week or that students are unable to donate swipes to other students. For some students, lack of reliable transportation to the grocery store is an issue; the prices at the Café and Corner

Store are too high, making it difficult to buy groceries. Furthermore, some students reported eating a smaller non-nutritious meal or half a meal to save culinary cash.

Discussion

The prevalence of FI at Lawrence is 43%, falling within the range of what other studies have found at other universities in the United States. This does not take away from the importance of finding ways to increase Lawrence students' access to food, especially for those facing hunger. The results presented above show that there is a clear correlation between being a first-generation student and being FI, and being a Pell Grant recipient and being FI. This is in accord with existing research about college student FI. However, this research does not answer the question of causality. Nevertheless, this information remains relevant as it can help the university better support students who are at higher risk of suffering from FI. There is no evidence that at Lawrence being part of a racial minority or an international student is a risk factor for FI. This might be due to an over-representation of students with Asian ethnicity and an under-representation of other racial minorities within my sample.

Students that are FS have a better GPA than students that are FI; this is also consistent with other literature. Previous studies have found that FI limits students' academic mobility; further research should address whether this is happening at Lawrence. Unfortunately, I did not ask survey participants to report the type of degree they are pursuing. This is something that merits future research, as interview answers suggest that students in the conservatory are more likely to face FI. Survey results show that for some students the food pantry is a well-known resource. However, there is a group of students at LU who struggle with hunger, but because of stigma, or not wanting to take resources from others, fail to search for or use support. This research shows that there is a lack of awareness of the resources available for students who lack access to food, including the LU food pantry and SNAP benefits.

Policy Suggestions

After thoroughly researching FI at other universities and at Lawrence, I have developed some policy suggestions that could help reduce hunger among Lawrence students. Some of these policies are adaptations based on interventions at other universities, and some are suggestions that come from students. 1) Start a swipe/culinary cash share program that allows students who have extra culinary cash and swipes to share them with their peers, without them having to ask, so that stigma is not a barrier to obtaining food. 2) Implement a meal option that has more than nine swipes per week, and more culinary cash, so that students do not feel the need to skip meals. 3) Develop an online or physical place to help students navigate available resources for FI students. 4) Return to a system where meals are allocated by term and carry over. 5) Reinstate bagged lunches available in the corner store, as they were a healthy and filling option for

students with classes during lunch time. 6) Increase support for co-ops, as they are a sustainable and healthy way to provide students with nutritious food. 7) Periodically, host an on-campus farmer's market, so that students without cars are able to purchase healthy and inexpensive groceries, while supporting local producers. 8) Reinstate the food truck at the conservatory. The current options do not provide conservatory students with the alternative of a hot meal or healthy options.

Conclusion

This study documents that the prevalence of hunger at LU falls within the range of most colleges in the United States. In light of the negative effects of FI during college years, this research provides a basis for further study and the development of policies to address the issue.

Appendixes

Appendix 1

Survey on Hunger at LU

Hi, thank you for helping us learn more about hunger in our community.

By participating in this survey, you are agreeing to your responses being used in a study about hunger at LU. Responses are anonymous. By participating in this survey, you are confirming that you are 18 years old or older. This is an optional survey and you can stop filling it at any point, for any reason. There are no risks associated with participating in this study.

If you have any questions or concerns please email me at espinosb@lawrence.edu or my faculty advisor at jenikem@lawrence.edu or contact irb@lawrence.edu

1. Demographic characteristics:
 1. What best describes your living situation? Group housing, dorm, off-campus
 2. Do you have a full meal plan at LU? Yes, No
 3. Did you study abroad during Fall 2019?
 4. What gender best describes you? Women, Men, Other, I prefer not to answer
 5. What is your year in school? First year, Sophomore, Junior, Senior, Fifth year.
 6. What is your ethnicity? White, Hispanic/Latino, Black/African-American, Asian, Unknown, Other, I prefer not to say
 7. Are you a first-generation college student? Yes, No
 8. Where is your permanent residence? I am from: Wisconsin, the Midwest, the United States, International
 9. What best describes your GPA? Less than 2.0, between 2.1 and 3.0, between 3.1 and 3.6, and between 3.7 and 4.0
 10. What best describes your financial aid status? I: am Pell Grant eligible, I receive need based financial aid, pay full tuition at LU.
 11. What best describes you? I am employed, I receive financial support from my parents, both.
 12. Are aware that there is an on-campus food pantry? Yes, No
 13. Why or why not?
2. FS questions from the USDA Household FS Survey Module (adapted to fit LU college students)
 1. In the past term, I worried whether my swipes or culinary cash would run out before reached the end of the week.
 - a) Never b) Rarely c) Sometimes d) Often
 2. In the past term, the food that I bought to supplement my meals just didn't last, and I didn't have enough culinary cash to buy more.
 - a) Never b) Rarely c) Sometimes d) Often
 3. In the past term, I ate three healthy meals.
 - a) Never b) Rarely c) Sometimes d) Often
 4. In the past term, did you skip a meal because you didn't have enough swipes or culinary cash.
 - a) Yes b) No
 5. If yes, how often?
 - a) Never b) Rarely c) Sometimes d) Often
 6. In the past term, I cut the size of my meals because there wasn't enough culinary cash for adequate food in the café or to buy a swipe?
 - a) Yes b) No

7. In the past term, did you choose to eat unhealthy because there wasn't enough culinary cash (or swipes) to access a healthier option?
a) Yes b) No
 8. In the past term, did you lose weight because there wasn't enough food?
a) Yes b) No
 9. In the past term, did you not eat for a whole day because there wasn't enough money for food?
a) Yes b) No
 10. If yes, how often?
a) Never b) Rarely c) Sometimes d) Often
 14. Optional: Would you be interested in participating in an interview on your experience with food access at LU? If so, please write your email.
3. Suggestions and Thoughts
15. Please share any suggestions on how to increase access to food for LU students
 16. If you have consistently felt hungry during your time at Lawrence, how have you coped with it?
 17. What are some barriers that are hindering LU students' access to food?
 18. Optional: Would you be willing in participating in an interview on your experience with food access at LU? If so, please provide your email.

Thank you for participating in this survey. You are helping us ensure that every student at LU has enough food to satisfy their needs. If you are interested in the results please email me at espinosb@lawrence.edu or contact my faculty advisor at jenikem@lawrence.edu

[Best,](#)
[Barbara](#)

Appendix 2

Flier

Hi,

My name is Barbara Espinosa. I am a senior, Anthropology and Economics double major, with a minor in Biomedical Ethics. For my Anthropology capstone, I am conducting a research project at LU to determine students' access to food.

Previous studies have shown that students that lack healthy food during their college years are likely to struggle socially and academically, compared to their peers that have enough food. My hope is to conduct a study that would determine to what extent this is a problem at Lawrence. You have been randomly selected to help us address this issue. This study consists in a 5-minute survey, and an optional interview.

By answering these questions and participating in an interview, you are helping the university learn more about students' experiences with food. Please answer these questions to the best of your ability, even if you have never lacked access to food; we want responses from everyone. Please answer by Wednesday, February 12 of 2020.

The following QR code will take you to the survey. To answer these questions, simply open the camera on your phone and follow the link that will pop-up. If you rather do this on your computer follow this link: <https://forms.gle/i1X8SJ5nQnqNVMZK6>



If you are willing to participate in an interview please email me at espinosb@lawrence.edu.

Thank you,
Barbara

Appendix 3

1. Tell me about your food access.
2. During your time at LU, have you consistently felt hungry? Be as descriptive as you want.
3. If yes, how do you cope with hunger?
4. What are some barriers that limit your access to food?
5. What are some changes that you think would increase your access to food?
6. How do think your current level of food compares to your level food when you lived at home?
7. How is your access to food during breaks?
8. How does your level of food access compare to the level of food access of your closest friends or roommates?

Appendix 4

Informed Consent Form

For my senior experience in Anthropology, I have decided to conduct a research project. This research is being supervised by Prof. Mark Jenike. The purpose of this research is to investigate prevalence of FI at LU, determine the ways in which students are coping with FI, and find some strategies that the university could adopt to better support students facing FI.

The participants in this research will be 170 Lawrence students who live on campus. The study will involve an interview that will take about half an hour. This research has been approved by Lawrence's Institutional Review Board, which protects human subjects. Participation is *completely voluntary* – I may withdraw or decline to participate at any time without penalty. The researcher also has the right to withdraw my participation at any time. To withdraw, I can simply inform the researcher.

If I agree to participate, the following will occur: I will be asked questions about my experiences with FS or FI at LU.

To the best of the researcher's knowledge, there will be no more risk of harm than normally experienced in my daily life; anticipated risks are minimal. Possible benefits of participating in this project are to inform growing literature about FI at college campuses. However, there is no guarantee I will receive any benefit.

Every effort will be taken to prevent anyone who is not on the research team from knowing that I participated in the study and to ensure that all of my responses are confidential. No information that personally identifies me will be released or reported in any way unless required by law. I will choose a pseudonym before starting the interview. All notes taken during this interview will be kept the password protected computer of the researcher, and will only be shared with the advisor. When reporting responses from this interview, the researcher will not include any identifying information. Informed consents forms will be destroyed in three years.

I can ask the researcher any questions that would help me to decide whether to participate. If I have any questions, suggestions, concerns, or complaints that arise, I can contact Barbara Espinosa at espinosab@lawrence.edu. If I have any questions about my rights as a participant, I can contact the LU IRB Chair: irb@lawrence.edu.

Signatures

Participant:

By my signature, I am affirming that I am at least 18 years old and that I agree to participate in this study. I understand I will receive a signed copy of this consent form.

Signature of participant

Date

Printed name of participant

Person Obtaining Consent:

I have explained to the participant above the nature, purpose, risks and benefits of participating in this research project. I have answered any questions that may have been raised, and I will provide the participant with a copy of this consent form.

Name of [authorized] person obtaining informed consent

Date

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My Man Ernst: Exploring the Radical Queer Potentials of the Ernst Lubitsch Picture

Sam Goldbeck

Abstract: My aim with this paper is to argue that the filmmaker Ernst Lubitsch, whose career spanned from the 1910s-late 1940s, should be considered to have contributed to an early queer aesthetic, as such he helped create a queer landscape for filmmakers to experiment with. I look at his German silent comedies from the late 1910s/early 1920s as sites for Lubitsch to develop his own trademark style as well as presentations of gender performance and how those were radical for the day and influenced the sophisticated comedies that he made over a decade later.

From there I move on to talk about some of his first “talkies,” specifically *Trouble in Paradise* (1932) and *Design for Living* (1933), as they further develop a queer aesthetic and engage in the discourse of difference and representation in a way that was completely radical for the era, and I discuss how the radical potentials of these films, both the silents and the talkies, often go unexplored in favor of a dissection of the more surface pleasures of a Lubitsch film.

I seek to define queerness in the context of these films and in the context of the historical and social world in which they were made and distributed. I also discuss how issues of class inform the queer potentials of Lubitsch’s work, as class warfare the blurring of class and social boundaries are often key themes in his filmography.

Ernst Lubitsch sought to discover and bring to the world the joy in erotic desire, and this is probably his most important discovery as a filmmaker, and it is unfortunate that this often goes overlooked in favor of a more surface-level analysis of his films (his expertise at moving a camera, the witty dialogue etc.). This joy in erotic desire that I have mentioned is queer and radical, even for today, and it was especially radical when these films were first released. It is for this reason that I argue that Ernst Lubitsch should be included in conversations about queerness in the history of early cinema.

In the late 1910s, a German Jew by the name of Ernst Lubitsch was busy creating silent screwball comedies that would've shocked his more sensible American counterparts. This paper seeks to investigate queerness and transgression in the films of Ernst Lubitsch from his early days in Berlin to his first years in Hollywood making pre-Code sex comedies that were boundary-pushing in their own right. It is my belief that Lubitsch contributed to the canon of early queer cinema in a fashion that has not until this point been discussed in much depth. I seek to define what exactly queer cinema is in both a German context and an American context whilst situating queer cinema within its particular historical context. I will examine how Lubitsch's work evolved and changed as he made the transition from Germany to Hollywood, from Weimar to the Great Depression. My mission here to make a claim that Lubitsch can be considered as having contributed to a development of early queer cinema, and the particularity of his position as a German-Jew, and later an immigrant making sophisticated "European" comedies for American audiences, all within the context of the tumultuous late 1910s-early 1930s, make this claim undeniable and prescient for a historical queer film studies.

For the purposes of this paper, queer, or more specifically homosexuality, will most often refer to gender performance as opposed to sexuality, although queerness will be discussed in terms of sexuality as well.⁶ Lubitsch pictures deal explicitly with the idea of transgression, wherein we find characters indulging in behaviors that would be considered taboo or criminal, for it is what they do best, and what provides them with the pleasure they so seek. This idea will be considered as queer for the purposes of my argument. As we will continually explore, queerness in silent and early sound era films was often characterized as non-normative gender expression, like in the aforementioned *Baby*. Harry Benshoff gives us a useful definition in his piece on the "monster queer in the classical Hollywood horror film,"⁷ wherein queerness is defined as a potentially dangerous deviation from societal norms, articulated by monsters like Frankenstein and Nosferatu. Gender deviance played a big role in those early horror films and this helps us to define the kind of gender role-playing that we see in early Lubitsch pictures. The sophisticated/grotesque comedies of Lubitsch and horror films all deal with similar issues of transgression, and while transgression is the monster in horror films, for Lubitsch transgression is something to be celebrated.

⁶ This conception of queerness, specifically as it relates to early silent film, is brought to our attention by Alice A. Kuzniar, whose ideas I'll be putting into the conversation in greater depth later on in this paper.

⁷ Benshoff, Harry. *Monsters in the Closet*, "Defining the monster queer in the classical Hollywood horror film," Manchester University Press (November 15, 1997).

These early Lubitsch comedies, both his silent “grotesques”⁸ and his later sex comedies, present eroticism as a joyful mode of identification with the characters. Instead of recoiling at the characters’ sexuality, the spectator is invited to lose the shame they may feel at the thought of their most base desires, for the men and women of a Lubitsch picture reveal that there is no shame in transgression. A queer utopia, if not fully realized in these films, is at least imagined as a materially beautiful alternative to an empty, consumer-capitalist heteropatriarchal world order.

I want to view Lubitsch’s “queer sensibility” alongside the oft-discussed “Lubitsch touch,” which theorists and historians have used to describe the filmmaker’s trademark style as it relates to his ability to subtly convey themes of desire and difference through a lense of sophistication and screwball comedy. That is a simple definition for a label that already oversimplifies the complexity of Lubitsch’s work, but there is something unmistakably queer to me about examining desire and difference, particularly when those themes are presented as explicitly feminine issues, or when they call into question traditional masculinities, as they so often do in a Lubitsch picture. I’ll be using the terms ‘sensibility’ and ‘aesthetic’ interchangeably to describe Lubitsch’s overall style and modes of filmmaking he incorporates to achieve differences in filmic representation.

Alternative Masculinities as Sites for a Queer Aesthetic

The Doll (Lubitsch, 1919) follows an effeminate man who is continually pressured to get married by members of his small village despite his protests. This film is one of the earliest examples of homosexuality and alternative masculinities being present in a Lubitsch picture. The local baron (his uncle) promises that if he gets married, then he’ll donate a large sum of money to the local monastery, which excites the monks, who are portrayed as greedy gluttons. The man, named Lancelot, says he will only marry a woman if she is a doll, so he enlists the help of the local doll-maker, Hilarius, who unknowingly sells Lancelot his own daughter who is posing as the doll that his young apprentice accidentally destroys. The daughter, Ossi, is played by Ossi Oswalda, who is in the other two films. Lancelot makes a point of saying that he will never marry a *woman*, signaling the potential for same-sex desire. The film also features him being chased down by groups of women who are meant to be threatening. He strikes one as a “sissy,” a trope later associated with classical Hollywood variations on traditional masculinity in which a male character presents as effeminate, but lacking in sexuality. Lancelot is resisting, or failing to adhere, to the social structures that dominate the society in which he lives. This

⁸ Grotesques was a genre label used in German silent cinema to establish that the audience is watching a “lower” form of comedy.

is in itself a queer act, considering he is refusing the heteropatriarchal bounds of the European aristocracy embodied by his uncle, the baron.

Ervin Malakaj posits that Lancelot represents the idea of the “queer child,” here meaning that childhood and childishness can be a site of queer behavior.⁹ This should be thought of separately from the ‘sissy’ trope, as I see sissies as having moved past ‘failure’ and more towards a certain stasis of development, unlike the ‘child’ who has to ‘fail’ in order to develop. Lancelot’s femininity could also be easily read as pure childishness, and this is probably how it seemed to audiences in 1919. Lancelot’s childish antics throughout the film position him as queer, and his failure to conform to the status quo, up until the very end, register as a kind of “queer failure,”¹⁰ that is, queerness as a mode of failure within a certain society or habitus. To quote Malakaj, “...It’s depiction of failure is a central means by which a hesitant heterosexuality registers in the film”. Even before Lancelot realizes that his new bride is sentient, she is able to belittle him and reject his advances. The fact that he is visually aroused by this indicates that he enjoys being emasculated, which is another trait associated with queerness as gender performance in early Hollywood films. We’ll see in the likes of Edward Everett Horton, who appears in both *Design for Living* and *Trouble in Paradise*, and even later in *The Shop Around The Corner* (Lubitsch, 1940)¹¹ with the suicidal accessory shop owner, Mr. Matuschek (played by Frank Morgan), the cuckold return as a site of queer difference. Queerness is realized, in a homosexual sense, if one is to read the intertitles of *The Doll* as a plea for liberation, “I will not marry a *woman*,” (italics added). This dialogue is spoken out loud by Lancelot, who does not seem to ever back away from the contract of marriage as a whole, he specifies that he will not marry someone of the opposite sex. While Lancelot never seems to show any explicit interest in any male character, this could also be interpreted as his “failure” to come to terms with his sexuality amidst all of the pressures of his repressive community. We shall see this queerness realized once more in *Trouble in Paradise*, to be discussed later.

Queerness as Destructive Femininity and the Female Gaze

The Oyster Princess and *The Doll* were both released at the height of German Expressionism, a time when (German) cinema was seen as making the transition from a “low” form of art to a more “respectable” bourgeois diversion. Both of these films, *The Doll* in particular, take the template of the Expressionist film, *The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari* (Dir. Robert Wiene, 1920) in particular, and use them as a way of satirizing their self-importance and focus on the German male-identity crisis following their defeat in the

⁹ Malakaj, Ervin. “Lubitsch’s Queer Slapstick Aesthetics,” To Be Published.

¹⁰ Malakaj, 3.

¹¹ Lubitsch. *The Shop Around The Corner*, MGM (1940).

First World War. Sabine Hake references the same “joyful eroticism” when describing these films, and it is this eroticism along with the placement of strong female characters in the title roles, that offer a rebuke to the solemn male anxiety of a film like *Caligari* or *The Blue Angel* (Dir. Josef Von Sternberg, 1930).¹² The self-importance of the Expressionist genre made it an ample subject for spectacular dissection, and considering it was soon to be labeled as the loftiest of film art at the time, Lubitsch made two films that expose the artifice of Expressionism while at the same time celebrating its radical potential. I use the term spectacular to describe Lubitsch’s work here because that’s exactly what these films are. There are sequences in each film (both are scenes from a wedding) that allow spectacle to win out over narrative, and these scenes of pure spectacle are what allow female desire to manifest itself.¹³

The Oyster Princess finds Ossi the bride of an extravagant wedding ceremony to a false prince (the prince’s valet, in fact). This scenario already brings to mind issues of artifice and the object. Ossi has been up until this point both the object of the camera’s gaze and the active agent in shaping the narrative considering her desire is not ignored, it is what forwards the plot. The wedding reception, which ends in an intricately and extravagantly choreographed dance sequence, collapses any notion of a singular camera-object. Everything becomes an object in the eye of the camera; the dancers (which include the guests, the waiters, and even the orchestra conductor), the elaborate sets, the food and drink that all are shamelessly imbibing; to quote Hake, “The traditional notions of morality and propriety dissolve before an endless stream of bodies and objects, overwhelming in their multitude and diversity.”¹⁴ All of this is in the service of Ossi’s desires being met; these desires being sex, money, and power. Not only is the spectator supposed to revel in the excess of the sequence, but we are meant to celebrate Ossi’s emancipation from a world of repression. It is not just Lubitsch that turns all things in front of the camera into objects of the fetishistic gaze, it is Ossi as well, and therein lies the queer power of this film. The wedding is turned into a physical and metaphoric site of queer liberation through means of material objects and obscene wealth, along with gluttony and consumption.

I Don’t Want to Be a Man (Lubitsch, 1918) finds Ossi under the strict watch of her father and governess in their well-appointed Berlin townhouse. The opening shot finds her smoking and playing cards with her male friends, for which her governess scolds her

¹² Hake, Sabine. “Wayward Women: *The Oyster Princess*, *The Doll*, and *The Mountain Cat*,” *Passions and Deceptions: The Early Films of Ernst Lubitsch*, Princeton University Press (1992), 81.

¹³ Hake, 83.

¹⁴ 84

as being unladylike. She proceeds to get drunk off of her dad's hooch, for which she is again scolded. She complains that being a woman comes with too many rules, and when her father leaves to go on a business trip he leaves her in the charge of her tutor, who is not particularly kind to her. She decides to put on a suit and try out being a man for the day. While she doesn't find "being a man" any easier than being a woman, she continues throughout her day as a man and finds herself at a large ball. She notices that her tutor is there and proceeds to try to steal his date away from him. His date ends up being disgusted with both of them, so Ossi and her tutor get drunk together, her tutor unaware that he is talking to his pupil. Whilst lounging around, the tutor shoves a cigar in Ossi's mouth tells her to "keep blowing" when she seems to have difficulty with it. They eventually kiss and leave the ball together, the tutor still under the impression that he is interacting with a man. They go back to Ossi's house where her tutor tells her not to tell anyone about their "little adventure," at which point Ossi reveals her true identity and the two of them live happily ever after. This film has the most queer content of the three, with cross-dressing and even a "same-sex kiss." The tutor appears as though he is used to having rendezvous with men and has done it more than once, and Ossi seems not at all shocked by this. Everyone in the film has a very cavalier attitude toward sex and sexuality, and this might reflect the Weimar culture of the era in which the film was made. Alice A. Kuzniar argues that the film exposes the intersection of social class mores and the ability to easily don "disguises," "The destabilization of the correspondence between interiority and exteriority, the maintenance of what bourgeois epistemology polices, is in fact what defines camp."¹⁵ The assertion that *I Don't Want to Be a Man* (or *I Don't Want to Be a Hetero*, as Kuzniar renames it) performs core tenets of camp, a prominent queer movement of the 1980s and 90s, only adds to my claim that Lubitsch created works that contribute to queer cinema as a movement and area of study.

Gender and Class Warfare as Sites for Queer Resistance

For Lubitsch, the style was the substance. This brings us now to *Trouble in Paradise* (Lubitsch, 1932), what many (even Lubitsch himself) consider to be Lubitsch's masterpiece of style. Dr. McCormick argues, in his forthcoming book *Sex, Politics, and Comedy: The Transnational Cinema of Ernst Lubitsch*, that the film's Depression context is essential to its plot about thievery and romance amidst aggressive capitalism. The face of capitalism in the film is Madame Colet (Kay Francis), perfume magnate and a character almost evocative of a femme fatale. Her life is disrupted with the arrival of gentleman thief and "solid" secretary Gaston Monescu (Herbert Marshall), along with Lily, his "little

¹⁵ Kuzniar, Alice A. "Gender Inverts and Cross-Dressers: Reading for a Queer Weimar Cinema," *The Queer German Cinema*, Stanford University Press, Stanford, California, pp. 34 (2000).

pickpocket" lover (Hopkins). They insert themselves into Colet's life as a secretary and his assistant after Gaston steals her handbag at an opera. McCormick points out that the spectator never actually *sees* Gaston or Lily steal, such is the way of Lubitsch's gifted use of misdirection. Now is probably a good time to bring up the "Lubitsch touch," a term that is often invoked when trying to describe the unique qualities exclusive to the films of Ernst Lubitsch. They are often subtle, hence the designation of "touch" is appropriate. *Trouble in Paradise* is filled with the most extravagant examples of the "Lubitsch touch," although extravagant seems too strong a word for such a subtle technique. The audience is meant to infer what happens when Gaston and Lily dissolve from the couch in which they are lying on in their first night together; the montage of ornate clocks ticking as Gaston seduces Colet over one long night.

Ossi's tutor in *IDWtBaM* is implicated in the enjoyment of his own emasculation at the hands of his student; the menage a trois at the center of *Design for Living* is implied to be polyamorous but no such evidence is provided to the viewer on the screen other than final taxi cab ride when Gilda kisses both of her lovers. *Trouble in Paradise* gives us thieves that get erotic pleasure out of stealing as well as dressing up, or "playing," as the aristocracy so as to bankrupt them. The erotic charge that is felt throughout the film never manifests itself in any physical display of visual sexual gratification, but the obvious pleasure the characters take in their amoral profession makes itself clear in the dialogue. "I want you as a crook, I need you as a crook, I love you as a crook!" Lily exclaims to her fellow thief and lover, the dapper Gaston. The erotic and sensual pleasure he provides for her hinges on him fulfilling his assignation as "crook," and being as successful and smooth about it as it customary for a "gentleman." Indeed, we never see Gaston or Lily steal anything at all, but only see their satisfied faces at the "climax," when they reveal what they have stolen. For this is the Lubitsch "touch," not showing as a mode of telling. The couple's thievery is not only given the aforementioned erotic edge, but is also meant to be almost noble in the face of one of the worst economic crises in modern times. Kim Morgan's essay on *Trouble in Paradise* highlights this paradox, "Stealing is magical *Trouble in Paradise*," (Morgan), connecting larceny with all things deemed magical in a Lubitsch picture: adultery, sex outside of marriage, and glorious outfits.¹⁶

McCormick includes Hake's argument about the film in his book, that *Trouble in Paradise* flirts with the aesthetic trappings of camp. Camp is defined as an "obsession with surfaces" and evidenced in Gaston's "deceptive theatricality," taking us back to the argument of Gaston (or Marshall's performance of him) as a rather "queer" debonair-in-disguise. The opening shot of the film encapsulates the "campy" aspects of the film pretty

¹⁶ Morgan, Kim. "Ernst Lubitsch's charming pre-Code transgressions," *The Dissolve*, Features/Movie of the Week (October 23, 2013).

succinctly. Camp, as it was constructed in the 1980s and 90s, was concerned with surfaces as a means of exposing both the beauty and the emptiness, or ugliness, of society, both mainstream society and alternative communities. *Trouble in Paradise* opens with a shot of a garbage man unloading trash onto what at first looks to be a small barge, but then it is revealed to be a gondola, for we are in Venice. The garbage man then starts singing in the operatic style of gondoliers (the voice we hear is actually a recording of the famous Italian tenor Enrico Caruso) as he sails down the canal.¹⁷ The juxtaposition of the beauty of the man's voice and the Venetian canal he's drifting down with the pile of garbage he's transporting positions the audience to question the surface beauty of the rest of the film while also reveling in the "ugliness" of the characters (thieves, capitalists, and adulterers). The true identity of the singing garbage man's voice as that of a well-known opera star also calls attention to this idea of appearance versus reality, of the fiction created by the camera and its objects winning out over any perceived truth. This obsession with surfaces marks the film as queer in and of itself, considering so much of queer cinema thematizes facades and illusions, much like the ornate surfaces of *Trouble in Paradise*. Lubitsch's quittance "touch" is indeed a queer one, if we think about how he reveals as much narrative and character detail through what he *doesn't* show as what he does reveal to us. This idea of hiding in plain sight, like the erotic intimations and homosexual longing we see in these two early sex comedies, is essential to reading and understanding a queer aesthetic.

Conclusion

My intention with this paper was to convey that Lubitsch has been missing from conversations about queerness in the history of early cinema, and even helped to develop a queer sensibility that influenced the queer cinema that came after, at least in an American context. He drew from his experiences and multiple positionality as both a lower middle class German Jew and a European emigre come to America to make sophisticated sex comedies to create a certain sensibility all his own that cannot be replicated. The well-known idea of the Lubitsch touch is directly tied to the sexuality and complex display of difference in his films, particularly his early silent comedies produced in Germany and his early talkies produced in America. Issues of class and gender present themselves through all manner of spectacle, and this very spectacle creates a site for a liberatory queer aesthetic that finds itself both expressing a rigorous critique of capitalist excess while also benefitting, and deepening the meaning, of that very excess. This is seen most prominently in films such as *The Oyster Princess* and *Trouble in Paradise*.

¹⁷ Hake, 176

Euthanasia and Assisted Suicide in the Netherlands: An Analysis of the Risks Concerning People with Autism Spectrum Disorder, and How to Address Them

Tom Goldberg

Abstract: Although the legal and moral status of the practice of euthanasia and assisted suicide (EAS) has long been debated, some countries have already legalized the practice, albeit with necessarily specific guidelines. This paper discusses EAS as it occurs in the Netherlands and the guidelines that are applied there, specifically as it pertains to people with Autism Spectrum Disorder and potential risks involved. These risks manifest both in possibly limiting their legal rights without sufficient justification and, on the other hand, granting EAS to those who cannot be adequately confirmed to want it, ultimately presenting the question of whether EAS should be legally available to people with autism at all. In searching for an answer, I examine the work of David DeVidi, a philosopher and advocate, where he argues that people with autism have the potential to make decisions with the same level of autonomy that neurotypical people can, with the caveat that they are usually unable to realize this potential due to environmental factors. Therefore, the responsibility of ensuring they realize this potential is on those who control these factors, which in some form or another is everyone else. I look at his thesis in the context of EAS and conclude that while it certainly holds, it does not entirely solve the problems that the Netherlands is currently experiencing. Ultimately, I conclude that EAS should be available to people with autism if it is available to everyone else, while arguing that my examination into this question has revealed how current methods of examining autonomy may be insufficient even for neurotypical adults.

The debate around a human being having the right to die is nothing new, and both sides of the debate are rather well established. Proponents of it argue that all competent people ought to be allowed to die on their own terms, otherwise known as “dying with dignity,” because the alternative of continuing to live can be undeniably painful for people with chronic illnesses or progressive and incurable afflictions. Meanwhile, opponents of it often worry that medical professionals may advocate this route for a given patient whose continuing care is becoming more costly than they feel it is worth, perhaps even pressuring them into asking for euthanasia. In the Netherlands, citizens have had the right to die on their own terms since 2001, with certain criteria being required to address the legitimate concerns of opponents to such euthanasia. Specifically, these criteria prioritize autonomy, sometimes referred to as sufficient competence.

This requirement has led to an interesting dilemma, specifically of whether people with autism ought to be allowed access to the process of requesting euthanasia or assisted suicide (EAS).¹⁸ Some may argue that people with autism are simply unable to make the considerations that an EAS request might require. On this view, a blanket prohibition on requests from people with ASD, hardly a small number, might be justified versus simply having every such request denied individually.¹⁹ However, David DeVidi points out that while their situation often uniquely restricts their ability to use it, people with autism *do* have the capacity for autonomy. I will argue that EAS can and should be ethically provided to people with Autism Spectrum Disorder, provided that sufficient supported decision-making resources are readily available and accessed. However, there is also the priority that physicians have to protect nonconsenting individuals from death that must be met, which may indicate a deeper problem in the administration of EAS to all individuals.

In 2001, the Netherlands made physician-assisted suicide and euthanasia legal under the *Termination of Life on Request and Assisted Suicide Act* (sometimes referred to as the “2001 act”). EAS is now legal there provided that the situation meets the Due Care Criteria, which are the following: “(a) voluntary and well-considered request; (b) unbearable suffering without prospect of improvement; (c) informing the patient; (d) lack

¹⁸ I will be referring to autism both as autism and as autism spectrum disorder (ASD). People with autism often have their autonomy questioned, due to how they appear to struggle with intellectual tasks that come quite naturally to neurotypical people, hence the choice of the word “autism” to describe it.

¹⁹ This number has increased over the past few decades, with theories ranging from there being an actually higher prevalence of it to people being more likely to seek a diagnosis as awareness rises. recent estimates indicated that one in every 58 children could have autism in some form, which, if we extend this frequency to the adult Dutch population, means that there are as many as 300,000 people with autism living in the Netherlands (Young et. al., 2010).

of a reasonable alternative; (e) an independent second physician's opinion.”²⁰ A person who files a request then meets with a physician who determines whether the first four of the Due Care criteria are met, with the fifth being met by having another independent physician perform the same assessment.²¹ Criteria (b) and (d) ultimately come down to the nature of the affliction, particularly its chronic nature and the treatment options available. Criterion (e) requires that two physicians review the case independently, coming to assess *on their own* that these criteria are met.²²

Criteria (a) and (c) are considerably more complicated because the physician needs to assess just how well-considered the request is and just how informed the patient making it is. For these, the individual is measured against the MacArthur Model for medical autonomy: “(i) to *understand* the illness and treatment-related information; (ii) to *appreciate* the significance of that information; (iii) to weigh up options using *reasoning* and logic; (iv) and to *communicate* a choice.”²³ While physicians are allowed to decline to perform EAS on a patient even if they meet the model, it is illegal for a physician to agree to satisfy a request for EAS if the patient fails. Failure to meet the model is determined by an inability to demonstrably perform one of the tasks. This model is used primarily for the administration of medical treatment and assessing the patient's right to dictate their own medical care, and while Dr. Applebaum himself has said that these criteria can be applied more loosely for less serious situations (such as to apply a cast to a broken bone or to take cold medicine), I feel that this *absolutely* should not happen here, as the case of EAS is definitely serious if anything.

In their paper titled “Euthanasia and Assisted Suicide for People with an Intellectual Disability and/or Autism Spectrum Disorder: An Examination of Nine Relevant Euthanasia Cases in the Netherlands (2012–2016),” Tuffrey-Winje, et. al., examine a series of such situations where the person making a request for EAS has autism, discussing where the complications arise with the specific procedures outlined prior. Overall, they point to how the decisions made regarding their EAS requests are either decided on with less consideration than they need or need more consideration than a physician can give.

²⁰ (e) is simply meant to prevent the burden of deciding on the life or death of a patient being squarely on the shoulders of one person (Tuffrey-Winje et. al., 2019).

²¹ The primary physician conducting the assessment is most often the one who would ultimately be assisting the patient during their death.

²² For (e), some physicians seem to interpret this to mean that as long as it has been looked at by two physicians, then this is sufficient, with one case citing that the initial physician came to grant the request after an independent physician or psychiatrist assessed the case and concluded that the Due Care criteria were all met. Tuffrey-Winje and her colleagues are explicit in describing this as an interpretive error (Tuffrey-Winje et. al., 2019).

²³ This list of criteria was not made for specifically EAS, but instead is intended to be used as a benchmark for any situation involving potential reason to deny an otherwise necessary treatment. It is also known as the Applebaum Criteria (Applebaum, 2007).

One consideration that physicians make with assessing EAS cases involving ASD is how internally consistent (consistent across requests) the requests are, with one saying that “she clearly realized what she was asking for” about a patient who had filed over five separate requests.²⁴ However, this consistency could indicate two separate things. It could be a reason for believing that the person clearly understands what they are asking for, because they refer to the same reasons repeatedly, but in the face of new information, this could also be an indication that the patient has difficulty with factoring this information, or potentially other factors, into their reasoning. Another common conclusion is that people with autism likely lack the decisional capacity needed to make decisions of this magnitude, and this thinking is extended to a wide variety of situations. For example, people with ASD often have their living situations dictated by either a parent or family member well into adulthood.²⁵

In the last chapter of *The Philosophy of Autism*, titled “Advocacy, Autism and Autonomy,” David DeVidi claims that people with ASD, even those with more extreme or ‘classical’ ASD, have the same capacity to make an autonomous decision as anyone else. DeVidi and I both appeal to John Christman’s definition of autonomy :

*Put most simply, to be autonomous is to be one’s own person, to be directed by considerations, desires, conditions, and characteristics that are not simply imposed upon one, but are part of what can somehow be considered one’s authentic self.*²⁶

To decide something autonomously, then, is to do so consciously, based on considerations and desires that are authentically one’s own, without intentional outside influence. His argument is best understood in light of a distinction between what he refers to as *autonomous capacity* and what I will refer to as *present autonomous ability*.²⁷ Autonomous capacity should be understood as the potential to make a decision autonomous, perhaps given the right (potentially hypothetical) circumstances are met. In other words, the situation in which that individual can make a choice in this way *exists*. Meanwhile, present autonomous ability is defined by how capable one is in making an autonomous decision in the situation that they are currently in. Having autonomous capacity is implied by having present ability, since possession of the latter demonstrates

²⁴ Further, one must be deeply familiar with how autism manifests itself to see this, meaning that this second side often gets overlooked (Tuffrey-Winje et. al., 2019).

²⁵ This allows for the guardian to make medical decisions on behalf of the individual with autism, perhaps committing them to accepting treatment when they otherwise would not. This demonstrates a significant concern regarding the autonomy of these individuals, even by their own family members (DeVidi 188).

²⁶ This definition aligns most smoothly with what is being checked for by the MacArthur Model (Christman, 2003).

²⁷ DeVidi never actually makes this distinction explicit. I am doing it based on the suggestion of Professor Ingrid Albrecht.

that the necessary circumstances exist in which one can make an autonomous decision. However, as I will explain, having the former does not imply having the latter.

In his work, DeVidi focuses on three common traits associated with people with ASD that are often given as reasons for why they may not have the same capacity for autonomy.²⁸ Firstly, people with ASD are characteristically inflexible, less able to break routine with the situation calls for it. As a result, they might be resistant to alternatives that, while available and probably effective at ending that suffering, have simply not been considered thoroughly, leading to them feeling that criterion (d) is met even though the physician can plainly see otherwise. Secondly, people with autism typically appear to struggle with impulse control. Consequently, a physician would not be remiss in considering the potential that the request was impulsive and not well considered, therefore failing to meet (a). The third reason that DeVidi considers is that people with autism often struggle significantly with communicating their needs, desires, and ideas, as well as understanding the ideas that are being communicated to them and, even if they do understand, communicating that this is the case. Naturally, one would doubt somebody's ability to decide autonomously if they were unable to truly have all of their options communicated to them, thus not meeting criterion (c).

According to DeVidi, these are all cases of lacking present autonomous ability, but are not necessarily cases of lacking capacity altogether. In the first case, I suggest that they may be resistant to something simply because they do not understand it as adequately as a physician might believe and are instead averse to the uncertainty involved with trying something new (unknown allergies, possible side effects, etc.). Alternatively, they may be factoring in other considerations that the physician is unaware of, whether they be religious or otherwise resulting from personal moral convictions that the physician does not also hold. Clearing this up would likely alleviate most concern regarding one's autonomous capacity. Regarding impulsive behavior, 'autonomous' people suffer from impulse control regularly, and DeVidi poses the following example. His wife will not be able to prevent herself from eating chocolate if it appears in the house, but since he does the grocery shopping and ultimately controls whether he brings it home, it may seem that she cannot autonomously decide to not eat it. However, she can acknowledge her lack of self-control and autonomously do her best to avoid it, by means of asking her husband to not bring any home with him.²⁹ Therefore, a given situation and its effects on one's

²⁸ These traits are also what often prompts pediatricians to suggest that parents consider consulting with a specialist to potentially have their child diagnosed with autism. It should be noted that these are not what specialists base their diagnoses on, but rather are simply indicators that the possibility should be looked into (DeVidi, 190).

²⁹ This is what DeVidi calls 'avoidance behavior.' Rather than choosing to take a particular action when a situation arises, one instead actively avoids the situation knowing (or at least justifiably believing) that should the situation come up, the choice on how to act will not truly be theirs (DeVidi, 192).

impulse control may restrict their ability to fully utilize their autonomous capacity, but the capacity is still there.³⁰ Therefore, it is possible for the patient and the physicians to create an environment that is least restricting of their autonomy.

Note that while neither of these are directly related to communication, the solutions that I have posed to these potential problems are both rooted in producing a mutual understanding and clarification through open dialogue. If communication is then the issue, DeVidi has a solution for that too. Specifically, *supported decision-making* is a class of resources and practices that are designed to allow people with ASD to have their voices heard. One form that it can take is assistive technology, which helps people with ASD communicate through communication software on either tablets or other devices.³¹ Common iterations of this allow people to express how they are feeling or to make requests for things such as food, a destination for the day, or an activity. It can be as simple as using a GPS program like Google Maps® by selecting a destination and showing the parents, indicating a desire to go there.³² For this to work, it may require an example of another version of supported decision-making: an aid or caregiver who has experience communicating with that individual. Often, people with ASD have a personal aid that has sufficient experience working with them and who knows how best to interpret their questions and answers and how best to phrase their own so that they are understood.³³

These resources are certainly not perfect, and there are few issues that have not been fully addressed. Firstly, most technology has been thus far designed for children and is simply not optimal yet for conversations about anything remotely esoteric, which may prove problematic for physicians assessing the autonomy with which an individual is requesting EAS, which is undoubtedly a complicated conversation. As awareness of ASD among adults increases, however, this will most likely change. Also, physicians should be concerned with the impartiality of an aid working with an individual with autism

³⁰ Also, this dependence on other people does not disqualify her from autonomy either, even though a lack of independence is often cited as a reason for somebody with ASD to not have autonomy (DeVidi 192). On this, I will say that a large percentage of people are often already medically dependent on others for their own survival, and this often contributes to the fulfillment of (b), unbearable suffering (Tuffrey-Winje et. al., 2019).

³¹ Many are not yet financially accessible to everyone, but various organizations are currently working to change that (autismspeaks.org).

³² My brother is an example of someone that does this. It took a while for our family to understand that it was actually a request and for him to be certain that we would understand it that way.

³³ While this person is usually a close friend or family member, they can also be someone who is paid and professionally trained (DeVidi, 192). Sometimes, there is a whole committee dedicated to helping this person make the best decisions for themselves, allowing for more diverse input. This would alleviate some of the concerns I bring up shortly after, but since this method is likely impossible for lower-income families due to time or financial constraints, we have to accept that having only one person if any is likely the norm (Chavis, 2020).

through this discussion because their integral role in the conversation gives them a unique ability to shape it. On the one hand, an aid may attempt to make their client seem more autonomous in that situation than they might actually be, but on the other, the aid may not want them to die, causing them to subtly influence the physicians into denying their request. Either way, there is a very fine line between supporting someone through the decision-making process and simply making the decision for them.³⁴ The most simple solution to this is to have hospital-appointed aids that are not personally connected to the patient, or for technology to progress such that the aid is no longer necessary. Still, these are mere practical concerns, and if people are committed to solving them, there will almost always be a practical solution.

However, another problem is that even if all available and necessary resources have been used to communicate all relevant information, it likely is not yet clear whether the person in question has actually understood all of it.³⁵ This worry is more salient because in cases where a person is granted EAS after being incorrectly assessed to satisfy the Due Care criteria (namely (c), and to some extent (a)), where the physician likely assumed a patient sufficiently understood relevant information when they actually did not. A general example of how this can happen is as follows. A patient has requested EAS and is sitting with the physician that will most likely be involved with the procedure should it be approved. The physician explains to the patient what their condition is, how it has contributed to their suffering, and what their options are for the procedure to end their life, among other details. For each item or question, the patient either responds with an “okay,” a “yes” or similarly indicates understanding. Having received that indication, hence determining that the patient is adequately informed, the physician approves the EAS request to move forward. For a neurotypical adult involved in the example above, this decision would likely be perceived as correct. However, they likely should *not* be. It might so happen that their answers coincide with the answers that one might expect from someone with a sufficient understanding of the information, even though they actually lack this.³⁶ Given this possibility, one must be concerned that even if the information is communicated using means that have consistently worked for that individual, there is no guarantee that (c) has been met.

Solving this problem will likely add time to the process of an EAS request, as well as a potentially significant hurdle to which many will object to on the grounds that it

³⁴ We can normally hope that any compassion felt for the client is out of respect for their autonomy and the belief that they can rationalize what their best interest is in response to their own priorities (DeVidi, 193).

³⁵ I would like to thank my professor, Ingrid Albrecht, for raising this objection and assisting me in thinking about how it might be addressed adequately.

³⁶ People with autism are unfortunately susceptible to being manipulated with ‘yes or no’ questioning, sometimes answering the way they are accustomed to answering that type or structure of inquiry. This is another attribute of inflexibility: since they may not have thought about the question before or are uncomfortable doing so, they may simply answer in this way because it comes most naturally (DeVidi 191).

reduces the accessibility of EAS for specific populations.³⁷ To this, I can only say that while I agree that this service should be accessible to everyone who meets the Due Care criteria, it is preferable that we avoid that those that do not autonomously ask for it have their lives unjustly ended. In other words, this measure is equally for the sake of protecting the physicians involved in *ending people's lives* from feeling undue pressure to grant a request. Further, this solution must be applied to every case, and not just those of people with ASD, because as DeVidi points out, the factors that limit one's present autonomous ability can apply to neurotypical people as well. Therefore, we should not assume that these answers indicate competency in a neurotypical person any more than they would in someone with ASD. Further, there might be more neurotypical people being allowed the process of EAS that fail to meet the Due Care criteria than we know, which makes this change even more necessary.

Due to these issues, I feel it necessary to hold physician responsible for granting EAS after assessing erroneously that the patient met the Due Care criteria when they actually did *not*.³⁸ However, this necessitates that if the physician erroneously assesses that the patient does *not* meet the criteria, then they should *not* face repercussions for it. Firstly, physicians may feel additional pressure to grant the request out of fear of legal action or direct professional consequences, which is the last thing we want. More importantly, this would make it morally impermissible for a physician to be wrong either way, rather than simply to be wrong in a way that results in someone dying. As shown earlier, there are more than a few situations where this is unavoidable, and assuming the request cannot just be tabled for later, physicians should be allowed to deny it free of guilt.³⁹ However, as the technology behind supported decision-making evolves and becomes more accessible with time, the frequency of such cases will reduce. Acknowledging this means that while we can still maintain that physicians should deny EAS when they lack certainty, they remain responsible for avoiding this lack of certainty if able.⁴⁰ Otherwise, physicians could simply deny every case without consideration, which would make EAS as inaccessible as it already was. The 2001 act being passed at all shows that, from the Dutch perspective, this would be immoral enough that this law was worth passing to change it.

³⁷ Any real proposal ought to be given its own discussion, and while I will not address it directly, I offer here some examples. First, questions concerning the future under a given decision could be asked, assessing whether the patient can apply the information over a span of time. Additionally, hypothetical scenarios could be posed that vary regarding the information that applies to the actual case, with the patient being asked to analyze how their decision may change in the face of specific variations.

³⁸ This is how situations like this are typically handled anyway (Tuffrey-Winje et. al., 2019).

³⁹ I would go as far as to *encourage* this, because at least there is an opportunity to grant it later. However, if a person is dead, this cannot be undone even after further examination.

⁴⁰ More specifically, physicians are at the very least obligated to ensure that if there is a resource available that could help clear any uncertainty, then that resource is used to the fullest. Any failure to do so would indicate that the physician is simply not taking the case seriously, and any case of someone requesting EAS is undoubtedly serious.

Ultimately, as I have sought to show, ASD is not a sufficient reason to deny EAS, but can only be ethically cited as a reason to why doing an assessment against the Due Care Criteria was not presently possible. This is because people with ASD have the same overall autonomous capacity as those who are currently able to exercise their right to EAS, and the only thing limiting their present ability to demonstrate this is that the patient may lack the necessary resources. Since an individual should not be denied a right because the institution involved in upholding it has been unable to do so, physicians are obligated to ensure that the resources required for this used. However, if a physician still cannot make a confident determination regarding the Due Care criteria, then that physician should deny the request. Further, more care needs to be given to every case, involving autism or not, when assessing the extent to which relevant information is understood, as this work has hopefully revealed.

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Opening up a Dark Corner of the Russian Canon: Kazakhstani Poetry and the Expanding Russophone World

Clancy Loebl

Abstract: This project is first and foremost a translation project. I focus on translating two Kazakhstani poems, originally published in Russian, into English and analyzing their themes of cultural and national identity. I then use these translations to look closer into the question of what it means to speak Russian in Kazakhstan, and, more broadly, what it means to be a Russophone author or poet. One of the main issues this paper explores is the fact that Russian remains a monocentric language, meaning that it is held to a singular standard and controlled by one nation, despite the millions of non-ethnic native Russian speakers worldwide. This raises the question of who the Russian language truly belong to in the modern day and age. Furthermore, the question remains whether the expanding Russophone literary world represents a shift towards Russian as a more pluricentric language, existing in many forms as English, Spanish, and French do. To answer this question, I examine the historical usage of Russian in Kazakhstan, the Kazakh literary tradition of writing in Russian that emerged during Soviet times, and the present question of the Kazakh versus Kazakhstani state. From analyzing the poetry of Tazhi and Vilkoviskaya, it is clear that the Russian language does belong to the diverse people of Kazakhstan on a personal and creative level. However, the issue of monocentrism remains one of ideological and governmental control. The Kazakhstani government still needs to reconcile the loss of the Kazakh language and rebuild a sense of Kazakhstani identity without alienating their Russian speaking population. There is uncertainty in how to proceed without possibly suppressing one of the country's two main languages. Moreover, the Russian government shows no signs of relinquishing their control of the Russian language. This leaves many questions yet to be answered, but this discussion evidences a shift towards pluricentrism on a personal and creative level among Russophone authors.

Ask the average American to name a Russian author and you could receive a variety of responses from Dostoevsky to Tolstoy. Ask the average American to name a Kazakh author or even what language that author writes in and there will most likely be silence. The absence of non-Russian texts in the Western understanding of the Russian canon has created a marginalizing idea of who the Russian language belongs to and who is able to create Russian literature. Indeed, western scholars often cite the continued usage of the Russian language in literary texts and everyday life as evidence of continued Russian oppression. They consider the Russian language that is spoken in the former republics to be an unfortunate byproduct of their inclusion in the Soviet Union, and thus, usage of the Russian language still carries connotations of, at one point, being “lesser”. This is only bolstered by the fact the Russian language literature by non-Russian authors remain virtually invisible to Western readership.

However, in Kazakhstan, a country with long and complicated ties to Russia and the Russian language, Russophone literature continues to flourish despite all odds, building off a deep literary tradition that is rooted in the Soviet era. Aigerim Tazhi and Mariya Vilkoviskaya are two modern Kazakhstani poets that carry on this Russophone tradition while also challenging what it means to be a Russophone author in the modern day. They face the steep challenge of combatting the fact that Russian remains a monocentric language in official terms, meaning that it belongs to and is controlled by one country. Their work inherently raises the question: Who does the Russian language belong to? More specifically, does the dynamic and increasingly visible Russophone world represent a shift in Russian to a pluricentric language? To answer this question, I have translated and analyzed the works of Tazhi and Vilkoviskaya through a lens of personal and national identity as it pertains to native language.

In order to contextualize this paper, and fully understand the linguistic and political environment that gave rise to the poetry I will be analyzing, it is necessary to understand some key historical information about Kazakhstan. Of all the former Soviet Republics, Kazakhstan is unique in that it experienced the greatest reduction of its native population. The country had been treated as a “dumping ground”, or in nicer terms, “settler colony” for many Slavic and other Eastern European people (Dave 3). According to the last Soviet census in 1989, only 40% of Kazakhstan’s population was ethnically Kazakh (Brubaker 9). The Kazakh people had become the minority in their own homeland. Kazakhstan had become not only the most international former republic, but also the most russified in cultural and linguistic terms (Dave 4). Fortunately, since the collapse of the Soviet Union, the Kazakh population has significantly recovered. The Kazakh share of the population has now reached 63%, reclaiming majority status (Brubaker 10). However, this still means that a significant portion of the population is not ethnically Kazakh, and Kazakhstan remains a multinational and multicultural country.

Similarly, it remains quite linguistically diverse. According to the 1999 census, 99.4% of Kazakh people claimed that they were proficient in the state language (Dave 5). However, it is observed that 40% of these people, including a high population of urban Kazakhs, speak the Kazakh language poorly or not at all.

A powerful tradition of writing Kazakh literature in Russian emerged during Soviet times, before Kazakhstan established itself as an independent state. Linguistic and cultural oppression forced Kazakh authors to adapt to the world changing around them, and find ways to express their unique identity with the language that was supposed to homogenize the Soviet people. When Brezhnev came into power, Kazakh literature flourished. Throughout the 1960's and 1970's, Kazakh writers were able to create an "imagined community" through literature that empowered Kazakh identity and connected the current generation to their Kazakh heritage (Kudaibergenova 839). This literature was written in both Kazakh and Russian and represented the act of carving out a space for oneself and one's culture within a country and literary tradition that had sought to exclude and ignore them. Kazakh culture was largely considered backwards by the Russian people, but literature gave them an opportunity to showcase the ancient glory of their nation and culture. The goal of this movement was one of empowerment, and it was undoubtedly impactful. The Kazakh intelligentsia were able to restore the image of Kazakhstan to that of its pre-colonial glory in the peoples' imagination (Kudaibergenova 841).

In general, the Russian literary world is a reflection of the classless, supraethnic Russian World, an imagined territory encompassing all of Russia's former republics and occupied territories. However, not all Russian literature is created or treated equally. Non-Russian people cannot claim Russian as their "native language", and thus, historically, their literature was often swept aside into a separate category, or dark corner of the Russian canon. During the Soviet period, Slavic literary scholars struggled to come up with a term for this literature that could simultaneously include it in the Russian World while also making it clear that these authors and their work were not Russian. In other words, they sought to categorize this literature in a way that could be inclusive as well as exclusive depending on the context. The terms that emerged, such as "multinational", "minority", and "bilingual" continue to marginalize non-Russian writers by creating a hierarchy where, no matter what, Russian language and culture, remains on top (Caffee 17).

Despite the success and power the Russian language has had in the Kazakhstani literary world, it cannot be forgotten that before Russian became the colonial lingua franca, the people of Kazakhstan spoke Kazakh, a language that has its own rich history and deep cultural significance. Kazakh was pushed to the margins of its own country

through colonial Soviet oppression of Kazakh language and culture. As a post-colonial state, Kazakhstan has experienced an inevitable blending of culture, and now in the modern day, the state is tasked with uniting the country around an identity that accounts for this blending. In other words, they must account for people who are impassioned to regain Kazakh as well as people who continue to prefer Russian. For better or for worse, there are Kazakh people who feel at home in the Russian language and the majority continues to identify with a combination of Russian and Kazakh culture. This duality of culture presents a unique challenge in constructing a new independent identity.

Nevertheless, Kazakhstan still aims to increase usage of the Kazakh language. In their wording, Kazakh will be “developed” while Russian will simply be “maintained” (Rees and Williams 823). If Kazakh is developed to the point where there begin to be Kazakh literary journals and real opportunities for poets like Tazhi and Vilkoviskaya to publish in Kazakh, then we may observe a shift away from Russophone literature, or at least a resurgence of Kazakh language literature. However, it seems that regardless of the availability of Kazakh publications, some poets, such as Tazhi, will still simply prefer to write in Russian. These two languages are not mutually exclusive to each other, and will continue to exist side by side within Kazakhstan. The loss of Kazakh during Soviet times should never be diminished, and Russian is not a substitute or replacement. However, it has become a means of expression for many Kazakh people and a part of Kazakhstan’s collective identity overall.

Though largely unknown in the West, Aigerim Tazhi and Mariya Vilkoviskaya are both talented and formidable authors both within Kazakhstan and abroad. Aigerim Tazhi, in particular, has had poetry translated into English, French, German, and Russian. Despite the perceived “otherness” that comes with writing in Russian while being Kazakhstani, they have pushed their poetry beyond the categories of marginal or minority, and the understanding of these texts is impactful in the understanding of what it means to be a Russophone poet.

One unnamed poem from Tazhi’s collection, “The shore leads to the sun” (*Bereg uvodit k sol’ntsu*), is a beautiful example of the way in which Tazhi is able to draw the reader in to new and unfamiliar worlds. The poem begins, “God probably looks like a dying person/In his eyes there is something unseen to everyone/Overhead there are the remains of a glowing aura” (lms 1-3). For a writer whose poetry is akin to prayer, Tazhi is able to subvert the image of God into something that is both human and unrecognizable. The irony of God resembling a dying person goes against everything readers have been taught to believe, and represents an ending to everything that was once known and understood to last forever. It is an unsettling image that evokes a sense of childlike loss. In this way, one can see the unmistakable blending of Tazhi’s internal and external

worlds. This poem evokes the push and pull between innate identity and the changing world around the poet. Doubt and faith meet among the murky landscape of a country where everything is held in question. Indeed, this is indicative of the immense issues Kazakhstan faces today as a nation. As the most diverse of the former republics, Kazakhstan is tasked with creating a national identity that unites all of its people. The central question is whether this identity will be tied more to Russian language and culture or Kazakh language and culture. This question is akin to one Tazhi raises: how does one reconcile inner identity with an externally changing world?

*God probably looks like a dying person
In his eyes there is something unseen to everyone
Overhead there are the remains of a glowing aura
On his lips there is salt, falling from a perspiring forehead
I look at him and I feel ashamed by something*

*Give me water he thinks without saying a word
To the right his mother and foremother sit, to the left his father and his ancestor
At the foot dwarves, at the head giants
They have come to say nothing*

(They remember how he left the womb)

*A naked baby in front of them all
For whom everything is possible but everything is proper*

*Others cry loudly they beg his forgiveness
And in his ears he hears his own voice
There is not and will not be a future
There is not and will not be a future
And the past is far too illusive*

Indeed, the repetition in the last stanza of “There is not and will not be a future/ There is not and will not be a future” (lns 15-16) further adds to the unknowing atmosphere of the poem. There is no mention of the present in this poem, only the future which does not and will not exist, and the past which is “...far too illusive” (ln17). There is a sense of having been pulled out of time, as if the present truly does not exist and the speaker of the poem is floating somewhere in between a distant past and an unfamiliar future. Notably, this portrayal seems to coincide with the way Tazhi experienced the collapse of the Soviet Union and the emergence of independent Kazakhstan. Even now, for Tazhi,

Kazakhstan, and the Russian language, the future remains open and unknowable. It should be noted that while her poetry is an exploration of the ways in which our external and internal worlds intertwine, this does not make this poem inherently political. Indeed, quite the opposite, Tazhi's poetry transcends the politics and policies of the Russian language and the cultural conflict between the two countries. It is too personal of an expression to be representative of an entire literary tradition or linguistic ideology. Rather, this poem is simply confirmation that the Russian language has been used to create beautiful work outside of ethnically Russian hands and the complexity of national versus linguistic identity.

Vilkoviskaya also explores the intertwinement of culture and language through her work. The poem, "Day of the Cosmonaut 1" (*Den' Kosmonavtiki 1*) reflects an imaginary Soviet past, made otherworldly through the inclusion of space references and imagery. Indeed, on the surface this poem most broadly paints a picture of two worlds colliding. Lines 11-14 read, "and at metro station Baikonyr a rocket takes off on the monitor while Talgat Musabaev/ floats in zero gravity/ on the day/ I was accepted as a pioneer next to the eternal flame with a guard of schoolchildren" (lms 11-14). There is contrast between the cosmically huge events happening in the world above and the smaller life events, such as being accepted into the pioneers, that are occurring on earth. Notably, however, both worlds are perceived as existing in a frozen or eternal state. It is as if they are stuck in limbo, floating in zero gravity and positioned next to the eternal flame. This poem was written after the Soviet Union fell, but in many ways its influence on Kazakhstan and its people has been everlasting. This can be seen in the blended cultural world Vilkoviskaya creates in this poem. She paints a picture of a "...city of renamed streets", mixing in famous Russian references such as Gagarin and Gogol with Kazakh references such as Talgat Musabaev, a famous pilot. Just as there has been the collision of two worlds, earth and outer space, there has also been a collision of two cultures. Furthermore, it's impossible to separate the two at this point. Vilkoviskaya describes her city of renamed streets as a place "Where Dzerzhinsky and Kalinin have underground nickname titles of Nauryzbai and Kabanbay/ But Gogol and Shevchenko still hold on to passport data" (lms 3-4). Dzerzhinsky and Kalinin are both Bolshevik revolutionaries and Soviet figures, while Nauryzbai and Kabanbay are legendary Kazakh heroes. However, the fact that the Kazakh cultural figureheads are underground nicknames suggests a blending that is hierarchal. This is further highlighted by the fact that Gogol and Shevchenko are also positioned in a place of national power relative to Nauryzbai and Kabanbay as the ones who hold passport data. Though the country is a cultural mix, Russian still occupies a dominant position in society that complicates how one constructs Kazakhstani identity.

Day of the Cosmonaut 1

I live on Gagarin Avenue

In the city of renamed streets

Where Dzerzhinsky and Kalinin have underground nicknames titles of Nauryzbai and Kabanbay

But Gogol and Shevchenko still hold on to passport data

And Furmanov waits for the death of those whose honor and dignity

Is guarded by the government

On the territory of which there is a spaceport

And the spent steps fall

(sometimes after oil runs out future countries seem to me like a dump

of radioactive waste from China and other empires)

and at metro station Baikonyr a rocket takes off on the monitor while Talgat Musabaev

floats in zero gravity

on the day

I was accepted as a pioneer next to the eternal flame with a guard of schoolchildren

It was spring, trees and tulips were blooming everywhere and the water was more and more

Wet

and mama's story of how she hugged passerby in Moscow

out of happiness that Gagarin had flew

as the first man in space!

It was unbelievable

Where are you aliens?

When will you erase

this dreary planet from the face of the universe?

This poem is proof itself that the longest lasting Soviet influence is the introduction of the Russian language into Kazakh culture. However, the other effects Vilkoviskaya explores are subtler: the entanglement of cultural heroes, national victories, and a lingering sense that one culture is superior to another. Indeed, there is an interesting dichotomy between the fact that the Russian language was originally introduced in Kazakhstan as a way for the Soviet Union to assert power and homogeneity, and the fact that Russian is now the language many Kazakh people feel most at home in. This is evidence of an evolving cultural identity in which an external push for Russian led to the language being internalized by many Kazakh people as an aspect of native identity. For better or for worse, many Kazakh citizens feel a deep emotional connection to the Russian language and aspects of Russian culture. This is evident in "Day of the Cosmonaut 1" as the speaker's mother hugs passerby out of excitement at Gagarin and Russia's success. As counterintuitive as it may seem, the Russian language has allowed Kazakh writers to preserve their multifaceted Kazakh identity. For Aigerim Tazhi and Mariya Vilkoviskaya,

writing in Russian is a continuation of this tradition and serves as further preservation of modern Kazakhstani identity.

From the skillful poetry of Tazhi and Vilkoviskaya, it is evident that they are not merely piggybacking onto the Russian literary tradition. They are not a subsection of the Russian canon, and their work is certainly not peripheral. Though they are largely read in Russia, the works they have created are unique to Kazakhstan and Kazakhstani identity. Specifically, the poems I have translated explore the experience of being caught between two worlds and two cultures. It is the eloquence they use to express constantly living on a margin which proves their command of the Russian language. However, Kazakhstan still does not have official ownership of Russian language literature in the same way that Russia does. In Kazakhstan, there is talent, but there are neither resources nor the infrastructure to grow the literary tradition whether authors are writing in Russian or Kazakh. There are no literary institutions in Kazakhstan, and thus, Kazakhstani authors must rely on Russian institutions. Moreover, in official terms, the question of whether Russian is shifting to a pluricentric language can be answered quite simply. In short, no, it is not. Russia continues to maintain isolated control of the Russian language and shows no sign of relinquishing this control any time soon. However, the talent of Kazakhstani authors that has been highlighted in this paper as well as the ongoing shift in visibility for Russophone literature demonstrates that this may change in the future. As more and more non-Russian authors works are brought to light, it will become more evident to readers around the world that the Russian language is used uniquely and dynamically in many countries despite official ideology.

Russian remains monocentric in official terms, but it is impossible to say that it does not belong to either Aigerim Tazhi or Mariya Vilkoviskaya on an individual, cultural, ideological, or creative level. Poetry transcends politics and language practices to something that is much more personal, and that is individual expression. As the government moves forward in developing the Kazakhstani state and identity, it is highly possible that literary institutions for literature written in both Russian and Kazakh will arise as well. Russian language authors in Kazakhstan are constantly grappling with identity, asking themselves questions such as who am I? where do I fit in? How do I define myself as an author? (Банников, "Литература ad marginem"). Hopefully, strengthening Kazakhstani identity in acceptance of both Russian and Kazakh languages can quiet these constant doubts of where Kazakh Russophone literature fits into the world. In time, ownership of the Russian language will no longer be a question. Russophone texts will be both an expression of identity and a connecting force for the Russian-speaking world rather than a dark marginalized corner of the conventional Russian canon.

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Of Monsters and Men; Or, Ambiguity and Inevitability in Horror

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Abstract: Building off of Noël Carroll's *The Philosophy of Horror*, this paper uses Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein*, and Oscar Wilde's *The Picture of Dorian Gray* as case studies to identify how the themes of ambiguity and inevitability play a crucial role in the genre of Horror. The paper focuses on how the authors use narrative structures and techniques to introduce ambiguity and inevitability into their stories. With regards to narrative structures, Shelley's use of framing devices introduces both ambiguity and inevitability into the story, giving readers a sense of what to come, but underscoring their own ignorance of how it will come to be. Framing devices also introduce ambiguity by incorporating multiple unreliable narrators. In *Dorian Gray*, Wilde's use of circumnarration adds to the mystery and ambiguity surrounding Dorian Gray. By talking around taboo subjects such as homoeroticism instead of directly including them in the novel, Wilde makes important plot points and information about characters ambiguous and unknown. The theme of inevitability within *Dorian Gray* is also often preceded by tragedy. In light of these observations, the final section of the paper proposes a revised way of seeing what causes the feeling of horror within the genre of Horror, arguing that ambiguity and inevitability are crucial ingredients in Horror as they create an atmosphere in which a monster is more horrific. This is done through both the tension created and the release of tension between ambiguity and inevitability.

In Western literature, literary historians generally trace modern day Horror's lineage to the Gothic novel, specifically Horace Walpole's 1765 *Castle of Otranto* (Carroll 4). Since the inception of this first Horror novel, much has been written on the genre. The majority of recent academic scholarship on the Horror genre has focused on two paradoxes. Philosopher Noël Carroll summarizes these paradoxes in his seminal work on the Horror genre, *The Philosophy of Horror*: "1) how can anyone be frightened by what they know does not exist, and 2) why would anyone ever be interested in horror, since being horrified is so unpleasant?" (Carroll 8). These are undoubtedly both interesting and important questions that have ramifications much larger than specifically the Horror genre. However, they also take something for granted. In the plethora of literature on this genre that has come out since Carroll's work, the question of why people are actually scared of works of Horror has been seemingly glazed over and mostly ignored. It has appeared to me that the fact that monsters are physically threatening and thus scary has been taken for granted. I am not satisfied with the cause of people's horror being simply that monsters are scary. *The Philosophy of Horror* does not mention any other cause for fear in Horror other than the monsters themselves, and this is the same in similar philosophical discussions of the genre. A monster by itself is scary, but, a monster by itself is not Horror. Though I do not doubt that monsters being scary is a major cause of people's fear of them, I also believe that these monsters do not exist in a vacuum, and are part of a larger context within the narrative. I will explore the ways authors make their scary monsters into Horror monsters. In this paper, I use Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein* and Oscar Wilde's *The Picture of Dorian Gray* as case studies to make the claim that ambiguity and inevitability work together to horrify audiences in works of Horror.

It will be helpful to define some of the words as I will be using them throughout this essay before continuing. I begin with the word "horror." In *The Philosophy of Horror*, Carroll defines the genre of Horror: "members of the horror genre will be identified...predicated on raising the affect of horror in audiences" (15). Thus, works that are meant to instill a feeling of horror in their audiences are categorized as members of this genre. With regards to the feeling of horror, Carroll writes, "character's affective reaction to the monstrous in horror stories is not merely a matter of fear, i.e., of being frightened by something that threatens danger. Rather threat is compounded with revulsion, nausea, and disgust... The monster in horror fiction, that is, is not only lethal but—and this is of utmost significance—also disgusting" (22). This passage serves multiple purposes. First, it provides a characterization of fear, "being frightened by something that threatens danger." It also provides a definition of horror as it is used in this essay. Horror is a mixture of both fear and disgust; when one not only is afraid that something will hurt you, but that there is also something about that thing that makes you want to avoid its touch. Throughout this essay, I will refer to Horror the genre with a capital "H" to differentiate it from horror the emotion. With regards to "ambiguity," I

refer to things and situations in which there are multiple possible interpretations events, interpretations that can be made either ahead of time or after events have transpired. This is closely related to uncertainty and the unknown. Finally, with regards to “inevitability,” I refer to things and situations in which a single unwanted/unfortunate outcome must occur. Though I concede that inevitability does not always refer to negative outcomes, in the context of the Horror novel, it more often than not does refer to these negative circumstances. Given that this paper explores the Horror novel, I believe that it is fair in this context to restrict the definition of “inevitability” to this definition.

I chose to use *Frankenstein* and *Dorian Gray* as case studies in this analysis of Horror because of the different ways in which they fit into the genre. *Frankenstein* (1818) is an archetype of Horror, with everything from its plot structure to its characters being common tropes within the genre today. On the other hand, many aspects of *Dorian Gray* (1926) seem to be exceptions to established tropes. Beyond Dorian’s physical beauty, the setting within a major city and the general lack of violence also distinguish *Dorian Gray* from most works of Horror. But, despite the dissimilarities in “Horror-ness” of these two novels, they are both considered classic works of Horror. Though this argument is not an exact science, I hold that if these two novels on such opposite ends of the Horror spectrum use the same methods to create horror, these methods are most likely used in other works of this genre as well. To do this though, I must first identify examples of ambiguity and inevitability within *Frankenstein* and *Dorian Gray*.

II. Identifying ambiguity and inevitability

Narrative devices are used in *Frankenstein* to introduce both ambiguity and inevitability within the plot. Specifically, the use of a framing device creates a sense of inevitability within the plot. *Frankenstein* begins with the story of Robert Walton glimpsing Victor chasing his creation (from here on referred to as the Creature) in the arctic tundra near the North pole. By giving the reader a glimpse of the end of Victor’s story, as Victor slowly begins to give Robert an account of his life, to an extent, the reader already knows that the end of Victor’s story will involve him chasing a mysterious figure in the arctic circle. Furthermore, the description of Victor, along with Victor’s own words, shows that his is a tragic story. Victor is described as “generally melancholy and despairing; and sometimes he gnashes his teeth, as if impatient of the weight of woes that oppresses him” (Shelley 14). Thus, when Victor is first introduced to the reader, the reader is already aware that Victor’s life is a tragic life. As one begins to read Victor’s story, this inevitability of tragedy flavors the rest of his story. A narrative that one knows ends in tragedy is not read in the same way that one reads a narrative with an unknown ending. By making the ending of Victor’s story known, it becomes inevitable in a way, but also highlights the ambiguity and uncertainty of how Victor will get to that point. One knows that Victor suffers, but how much does he suffer? What is the cause of his

suffering? In this way, in the use of a framing device before the beginning of the main story, Shelley imbues both ambiguity and inevitability into her story. Similar uses of framing devices are found throughout the book. Robert's decision to return home and not take on Victor's mission is suggested in advance by the fact that Robert's letters to his sister can be read by the reader. Similarly, when the Creature tells his story to Victor, the reader already knows that the Creature will be successful in finding Victor.

The framing devices used in *Frankenstein* also create ambiguity about the actual events of the story. Because of the framing devices, and due to the first-person point of view of the novel, there are three (arguably four if you include Safie) separate narrators within *Frankenstein*: Robert Walton, Victor Frankenstein, and the Creature. Each of these characters tell stories of events that have very little overlap and thus are difficult to corroborate with each other. With no certainty that the things each narrator writes and says are accurate, there are essentially three potentially unreliable narrators within *Frankenstein*. This problem of knowledge is touched upon in an article discussing the problem of knowledge in *Frankenstein*: "All that the reader... ever know[s] of the monster comes from two sources: first, evidence of the senses... and second, the monster's words. And the crucial critical point is that the portraits of the monster derived from these two sources conflict" (Swingle 52). Swingle describes how the Creature is known to kill and be violent, but the Creature also claims that "I was benevolent and good; misery made me a fiend. Make me happy, and I shall again be virtuous" (Shelley 78). Extending this ambiguity of the natures of people to the other two narrators, the reader cannot know whether each narrator is reliable and has done as they have said have, or will do as they say they will. When one tells a story about themselves to someone else, it is only natural to put yourself in a good light. The use of multiple framing devices thus is a factor in creating ambiguity and uncertainty within *Frankenstein*.

Dorian Gray uses narrative techniques in a different way in order to create ambiguity. Helen Davis argues that Wilde uses a technique that Davis coins as "circumnarration" in order to include homoerotic themes within *Dorian Gray*. Circumnarration is when an author "evades the report of what actually happened/is happening... or only obliquely or indirectly reports it. In effect circumnarration talks around a subject or event rather than directly narrating it... [circumnarration] is particularly important in narratives where evasion is necessary because of non-normative behaviors or outcomes" (199). Davis argues that Wilde uses this narrative technique in order to discuss the "non-normative behavior" of homosexuality within *Dorian Gray*, which was still illegal when *Dorian Gray* was written. Davis notes how many of the interactions between Dorian, Basil, and Lord Henry have undertones of homoeroticism such as in the original typescript of *Dorian Gray* where Wilde wrote "I had never loved a woman... I quite admit that I adored you madly, extravagantly, absurdly" (Davis 214).

Though I agree with Davis' claim, I also believe that another effect of the circumnarration is its creation of ambiguity. By not directly narrating events, Wilde's narrative style makes certain events and information ambiguous. For example, the causes of Dorian's negative social reputation are never disclosed and remain a mystery to the reader. This is especially apparent when Basil confronts Dorian about his actions. "He [Lord Stavely] told me right out before everybody [what Dorian had done]. It was horrible! Why is your friendship so fatal to young men?" (Wilde 167). What Dorian actually did to those young men is never disclosed. Though Davis would most likely argue that the emphasis on young men should be interpreted as another example of Wilde using circumnarration to talk around the subject of homosexuality, I also believe that it functions to add to the mystery and ambiguity surrounding Dorian.

The concept of inevitability is addressed more directly in *Dorian Gray*. One of the earliest examples is when Basil describes his first interaction with Dorian. "When our eyes met, I felt that I was growing pale. A curious sensation of terror came over me.... Something seemed to tell me that I was on the verge of a terrible crisis in my life. I had a strange feeling that Fate had in store for me exquisite joys and exquisite sorrows" (Wilde 7). With both his discussion of fate as well as his feeling of prescience, Basil gives the sense that Dorian's influence over his life was an inevitability, something that was bound to happen, and not necessarily in positive terms. Given Dorian's eventual murder of Basil, it is clear that Basil's premonitions were accurate. Inevitability is similarly brought up in reference to dangerous and harmful events when Dorian goes to the opium house:

There are moments, psychologists tell us, when the passion for sin, or for what the world calls sin, so dominates a nature, that every fibre of the body, as every cell of the brain, seems to be instinct with fearful impulses. Men and women at such moments lose the freedom of their will. They move to their terrible end as automatons move. Choice is taken from them. (Wilde 210)

Wilde's description here makes it seem as though sinning is inevitable when overcome by passion. Especially with the mention of "lose the freedom of will" and "Choice is taken from them," the inevitable is thus depicted in a negative light. This is further emphasized given the fact that this passage is in reference to Dorian's addiction to opium, and is immediately preceded by James Vane assaulting Dorian. By surrounding this discussion of passion and inevitability with moments of sin and potential harm, Wilde both includes inevitability as a theme, as well as effectively gives inevitability a negative connotation.

In this section, I have attempted to show how both *Frankenstein* and *Dorian Gray* are riddled with examples of the interplay between ambiguity and inevitability. Next, I

show how these themes contribute and augment the horror caused by the monsters in the two stories.

III. Horror from Inevitability and Ambiguity

In *Frankenstein* and *Dorian Gray*, the themes of ambiguity and inevitability are often found in parts of the narrative that are generally considered more fearful. For example, in *Frankenstein*, while creating a companion for the Creature, Victor states, “Every moment I feared to meet my persecutor. Sometimes I sat with my eyes fixed on the ground, fearing to raise them lest they should encounter the object which I so much dreaded to behold” (Shelley 137). In this line, Victor’s fear comes from the knowledge that the Creature’s return is inevitable. However, this fear is augmented by the ambiguity and uncertainty of when the Creature will show up. This example illustrates my proposed theory of horror within Horror. Though monsters are an essential aspect of Horror, Horror is not defined by the inclusion of a monster. As Carroll writes, “Monsters inhabit all sorts of stories—such as fairy tales, myths and odysseys—that we are not inclined to identify as horror” (16). At the end of the day, a Monster is simply a character in a story who happens to have traits which make it horrifying. I hold that the inclusion of ambiguity and inevitability within Horror serve to provide an atmosphere and environment that makes the monster more horrifying than it would be by itself and are the truly essential aspects of the Horror genre.

One way in which ambiguity and inevitability create horror is through the tension between the two. Ambiguity and inevitability can be seen as opposites. As shown in section II, both *Frankenstein* and *Dorian Gray* are rife with situations in which ambiguity and inevitability coexist. In these situations, the coexistence of two opposing concepts creates tension. This tension within the situation then augments the horror already caused by the existence of the monster. During these interstitial periods, the Horror novel is characterized by dread as the tension created by the mixture of ambiguity and inevitability creates an expectation of disaster that builds as time goes on. Victor’s depiction of the time leading up to the Creature murdering Elizabeth perfectly demonstrates this, slowly but surely hinting towards the coming disaster. “As the period fixed for our marriage drew nearer, whether from cowardice or a prophetic feeling, I felt my heart sink within me... I felt those cares and fears revive, which soon were to clasp me, and cling to me for ever [sic]” (Shelley 162-164). When the monster does finally appear, that tension that has been building up is finally released. This release of tension is a moment of catharsis, mirrored in Victor’s description of his reaction. “As I heard it [Elizabeth’s scream], the whole truth rushed into my mind...I could feel the blood trickling in my veins, and tingling in the extremities of my limbs” (165). This catharsis created from the release of tension between ambiguity and inevitability is an integral part of the Gothic genre: “Exaggerated emotion proves more important than hyperbolic

language, vast size, or impossible events for an understanding of Gothic sublimity” (Morris 303). Morris also notes the inextricableness of sublimity and terror, quoting Edmund Burke, who wrote, “Terror is in all cases whatsoever, either more openly or latently the ruling principle of the sublime” (Morris 300). Given this connection between the sublime and terror, and given the importance of exaggerated emotion in the sublime, I argue that the exaggerated emotion caused by the release of tension when a monster finally appears in works of Horror is an essential part of what makes it horrific. And this release of tension when the monster finally appears is a direct result of the tension created between ambiguity and inevitability.

This same tension from ambiguity and inevitability is found in *Dorian Gray* with regards to James Vane, Sybil’s brother. Throughout *Dorian Gray*, it is hinted at that James will confront Dorian at some point, with James stating, “if he ever does you [Sybil] any wrong, I shall kill him” (Wilde 76). After James unknowingly let Dorian go at the opium house, when Dorian see’s James’ face in the window, but later believes it was nothing but a hallucination, it seems inevitable that James will finally confront Dorian and make him pay for his sins. This tension and suspense is built upon in the next chapter with the death of a random beater while hunting and Dorian proclaiming, “It is a bad omen, Harry, a very bad omen” (Wilde 225). In *Dorian Gray*, this tension is released when James Vane is revealed as the random beater who was shot. Dorian’s moment of catharsis is described as thus: “A cry of joy broke from his lips. The man who had been shot in the thicket was James Vane... As he rode home, his eyes were full of tears, for he knew he was safe” (Wilde 231). The tension between the ambiguity of what would happen when James and Dorian confronted each other, and the seeming inevitability of their confrontation, is released in this moment, making this moment of reveal so much more emotion-filled and horrific as the reader faces the possibility that Dorian may never have to face the consequences of his actions.

Conclusion

My proposed explanation of what makes Horror horrific emphasizes the importance of ambiguity and inevitability. By having these two concepts at play with each other, authors of Horror are able to create an atmosphere of tension and unease that augment the horror created by monsters. By drawing focus away from the monsters themselves, I hope to help develop a more well-rounded theory of Horror. As a genre that has in recent years garnered more and more public attention as well as critical acclaim, a more well-rounded and nuanced critical discussion of Horror is the least that the genre deserves.

Finally, I believe it is helpful to better understand why ambiguity and inevitability are so important in Horror by placing the genre in a historical context. It is no coincidence that the Horror novel developed from the Gothic novel, which in turn developed

following the Enlightenment. As Carroll hypothesizes, “the horror novel represents something like the underside of the Enlightenment. Where the Enlightenment valorizes reason, the horror novel explores emotions” (56). The Enlightenment claimed that science and reason could explain anything and everything. The Horror novel responds, shining a light on the limits of human knowledge. Ultimately, the fear created by inevitability and ambiguity is inextricably linked to human identity as rational beings. It is easy to see inevitability and ambiguity as a dichotomy. Inevitability represents the knowledge that something is, that something will be. Ambiguity represents the mirrored lack of knowledge. However, Horror works to break that dichotomy, revealing a new epistemology that shows us that life is much messier than that. The themes of ambiguity and inevitability play a large part in this. Swingle further muddies the metaphorical waters, claiming that in *Frankenstein*, “The question is not the truth or falsity of things themselves...Mary Shelley is concerned with whether man can judge rightly, and more important whether he can know he has judged rightly” (54). The interplay between inevitability and ambiguity in works of Horror reveal that we do not even know what we do and do not know. With how much emphasis is put on human rationality and knowledge, this epistemological challenge could perhaps be the scariest monster yet.

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Video Games, Virtual Reality, and the Progression of the Cinema of Interactions

Sam Luedtke

Abstract: Many virtual reality projects are so focused with presenting users a virtual world that they lose sight of one of the aspects that make virtual reality so compelling – that not only can it take someone to another world, but also allow them to make it their own. The emphasis of presentation over creation is due to the fact that the early stages of VR have closely resembled the beginning years of early cinema, what Tom Gunning describes as the “Cinema of Attractions,” which argues that the purpose of most pre-narrative cinema was the engagement and display of spectacle. VR art installations are similar to this because they often remove the element of interaction. By focusing on the interaction, I believe virtual reality has the opportunity to evolve from Cinema of Attractions into something new. The controls and technology available with VR allow a spectator to interact with the display and manipulate it to their will. Instead of only observing spectacle, they are given the power to create it. This will move VR beyond the Cinema of Attractions to what I define as the Cinema of Interactions, which sees cinema and art that solicits the attention of the spectator in order to interact and create their own spectacle.

To further develop the idea of the Cinema of Interactions, I have created a virtual reality application of my own. It combines some of the best elements from both VR and console-based games to create something new. The application in question is a rhythm-matching game inspired by popular music video games like *Beat Saber* and *Audiosurf*. It creates an adaptable world and experience that feels unique to each individual’s music preferences and playthroughs. The aim of this project is both to deconstruct the state of virtual reality by shedding light on its origins in early cinema and to explore the possibilities of where it can go. VR has technologies and capabilities that were not available in the early 1900s, and by emphasizing them, it can create a unique interactive experience for each individual spectator. By refocusing on allowing the spectator to create their own images and experience, VR has the opportunity to move into a new Cinema of Interactions.

Introduction and the Cinema of Attractions

Most theme parks offer mixed reality experiences, which often consist of a combination of moving seating and 3D projection. While rides like these may seem futuristic and involving cutting-edge technology, their ideology actually traces back to the very beginning of cinema itself. One of the first known depictions of camera movement in cinema was used to display the movement of a train in *Départ de Jérusalem en chemin de fer* (Leaving Jerusalem by Railway, Alexandre Promio, 1897). This was a phantom ride, a genre of early film that simply captured motion and relayed it back to the audience in the cinema. The term *phantom* comes from the fact that the train was not shown in the film, as the display of the ride and geography was the main purpose of the footage. The phantom ride can be thought of as a sub-genre of sorts of a form of cinema that dominated the medium during the timespan of 1895-1906. Films from this era were what film theorist Tom Gunning identifies as the Cinema of Attractions. This form is not as concerned with its narrative means so much as it is in its ability to show something, what Gunning describes as “less as a way of telling stories than as a way of presenting a series of views to an audience, fascinating because of their illusory power” (Gunning, 64). This power applies in equal sense to something seemingly realistic, such as Promio’s train ride, and something more fantastical like the titular journey in Georges Méliès’s *Le Voyage dans la Lune* (A Trip to the Moon, Méliès, 1902). Gunning explains that once narrative film became the most popular form of film, the Cinema of Attractions mostly went underground and into avant-garde (Gunning, 64). In recent years, however, Cinema of Attractions has seen a further development in the last few years with the creation and release of virtual reality. VR has closely followed in the footsteps of its cinematic predecessor with an exhibitionist style of early distribution and content that revolved around its presentation to the audience. While Gunning sought to dissect films from over 100 years ago, his theory adeptly describes the of the direction of VR technology of the future.

To evolve Cinema of Attractions, I define a new term for interactable artwork, which I call the Cinema of Interactions. This is similar to Gunning’s cinematic term, but it positions the interaction between the spectator and the art as the main attraction. To further develop this idea, I have created a virtual reality application of my own. It combines some of the best elements from both VR and console-based games to create something new. The application in question is a rhythm-matching game inspired by *Beat Saber* and *Audiosurf*. It utilizes gameplay similar to *Beat Saber* while implementing an audio analysis system similar to the one seen in *Audiosurf*. In doing this, it creates an adaptable world and experience that feels unique to each individual music preferences and playthroughs.

Virtual Reality in the Cinema of Attractions

The creation and distribution of cinema and virtual reality have more in common than one may initially realize. Before home theaters existed, and before traditional theaters even existed, cinema was mostly available to people through roadshows and fairgrounds. Even the first versions of theaters were extremely focused on the experience of watching rather than what the audience was watching. The design of theaters and their attitude toward film more closely resembled modern 4D theater/ride hybrids that can be seen populating amusement parks, because Edison wanted to design the theaters like the audience was on the actual ride, or whatever was being shown. This incorporated external effects and movement to create a theme park ride sensation. This is not dissimilar to how consumers experienced virtual reality before traditional at-home headsets existed. At electronic conventions that were often open to the public, companies would showcase the technology they are working on but have not released yet, which included VR in recent years. This would frequently consist of a makeshift booth where viewers would line up to watch a short show before moving on. I personally was able to experience this at a show about two years before the release of any of the major VR systems. I was excited to try out the headset, as I had only read about the technology at the time, but was a little underwhelmed by the result. When I put on the head mount display, the only thing I witnessed was a display of lightning emitting from my standpoint. There seemed to be infinite possibility in that device, yet all that was being used for was just another way to display fascinating scenery.

Some of the first few widely released virtual reality projects have mostly consisted of extended attractions that were similar to early cinema. One of the more successful early titles, *Resident Evil 7: Biohazard*, is a great example of this. *Resident Evil* works as an attraction because it drops the spectator into a dangerous and fantastical setting where one can be killed with the simplest of mistakes, yet it requires little input from the player to function. The game is not as much concerned with the reasoning and narrative of its situation as it is with atmosphere and presentation. The player does not need to know what created the monsters or the meaning behind each individual piece of artwork to accept and be astonished by the world. In fact, *Resident Evil*, and many other games like it, take a "less is more" approach to narrative because it usually is more effective, meaning that sometimes what is left unseen is better at instilling fear in the players than levels of exposition. Since it is a survival-horror game, *Resident Evil* limits control and input almost entirely to movement. This presents the spectator with an exciting situation, one where they will be treated as if they were on the verge of being killed but know in reality that they are safe within their home. The game acknowledges the spectators are safe but encourages them to act as if they were in the dangerous world. This parallels the Cinema of Attractions in the way that films of that form acknowledged and even reveled in the fact that they were being observed by someone from the outside, in a way that encourages

observation. While it did this, it simultaneously knew that the audience was not a part of the world and could not participate in the action onscreen, which added further to the excitement of its presentation.

As virtual reality headsets have become more readily available to people, the exhibitionist format persists. Many VR arcades and theme parks have started to open up, which are a collection of booths where each person pays to experience a short VR ride or show. This is very much a modern-day Cinema of Attractions. The exhibitionist style is nearly identical to early cinema, just displayed in a different format. The content of the shows of both eras is quite similar. As previously mentioned, one popular concept to display in the Cinema of Attractions was the idea of motion. Many films would be presented from the viewpoint of a passenger. In VR arcades, one of the most common attractions are virtual roller coasters. This is where someone watches a virtual roller coaster ride in first person through the headset while sitting on a platform that may occasionally move to simulate the motion effects of the ride they are viewing. Virtual rides like these are basically utilizing modern day technology to fully realize Edison's early ideas for the cinema. However, few arcades have done more with virtual reality than simulate rides. With the technology available with virtual reality, I believe it has the opportunity to move beyond a modernized version of Cinema of Attractions, where it emphasizes the ability for the audience to control the action, thus creating the Cinema of Interactions.

Beat Saber and the Cinema of Interactions

The Cinema of Interactions is an idea that was investigated before with the rise of digital content. For instance, in a 2006 piece by film theorist and media scholar Richard Grusin called "DVDs, Video Games, and the Cinema of Interactions," he uses the notion as an umbrella term of sorts to discuss the new widespread reach of cinema and media as it converts to a digital format. Grusin argues that cinema is changing from the traditional theater-viewing experience into what he sees as a "hybrid network of media forms and practices" (Grusin, 69), as he remarks about the increasing transition to fully digital media. However, while Grusin blends together all forms of digital distribution, I argue that the application of the Cinema of Interactions requires further clarification. I seek to use this term in a specific way that both respects Tom Gunning's groundbreaking analysis of early cinema and realizes a new participatory form of cinema that is possible with modern technology. As I use the phrase, the Cinema of Interactions describes art and cinema that solicits the attention of the audience in order to interact with what they see to create their own spectacle. Whereas the Cinema of Attractions' entices the audience to view moving images, the Cinema of Interactions invites the viewer to manipulate the image before them, thus generating new images and experiences that are unique to each person's choices. Rather than thinking about this as a more abstract idea of digital

multimedia, I see this definition of the Cinema of Interactions as a natural progression of Tom Gunning's Cinema of Attractions, since in the most basic sense it refocuses the spectator's interaction with the artwork as the attraction. Another reason I see this as an evolution of Gunning's term is because of the Cinema of Attractions' connection to vaudeville and its relationship to the audience. Gunning explains that "the spectator at the variety theater feels directly addressed by the spectacle and joins in, singing along, heckling the comedians" (Gunning, 66). Where this relationship served as a circulation of energy between the performers and the audience to keep the show's momentum, the Cinema of Interactions has a similar bond, but this time the spectator is responsible for direction of the display. The audience is explicitly addressed and the action does continue until they have decided how it should unfold, which constructs the spectator as the creator. My approach aids in understanding how VR qualifies as the Cinema of Interactions, while conventional motion pictures qualify as traditional cinema.

Richard Grusin observes that a growing amount of digital content increases the importance of user interaction. Some video games created before the VR explosion reflect this change in direction and pave the way toward my definition of the Cinema of Interactions. One game that was particularly emblematic of this change is Nintendo's *Super Smash Bros.* series. The brainchild of Masahiro Sakurai that began in the late 90s, *Super Smash Bros.* is a game that brings together video game characters from various franchises to fight in grand, and sometimes quite eccentric, multiplayer battles. The first iteration of *Smash Bros.* initially only included Nintendo owned characters, but has since gone on to feature well-known faces of the gaming industry such as Pac-Man, Sonic the Hedgehog, and *Metal Gear Solid's* Snake, whose personality is about as far from a Nintendo character as one can get. Sakurai is keenly aware of the fact there is not a coherent story in the video game world or real world that would ever put any of these characters together, much less have them fight each other. Rather than focusing on a scripted story, he designed the game to put the spotlight on the player and the narratives they build from their own gameplay. Instead of transpiring as linear path to the audience, the world of the *Smash Bros.* "becomes a game for the player to manipulate and change, ultimately urging the player to think imaginatively about what they are experiencing" (Halm, 1). The opening of the first two *Super Smash Bros.* titles features an arm reaching for action figures of all the featured characters and then re-arranging them in a battle formation. This is a direct message from Sakurai himself, telling the player that he is giving them a toybox of all their favorite characters, and wants the player to go create their own stories with them. He is allowing the audience to "move the fictional characters away from their own worlds and into a new play pen of the player's own design" (Halm, 2). For instance, if someone ever wanted to see Bowser finally defeat Mario and successfully kidnap Princess Peach, they could do it in this game. On the other hand, if they wanted someone like Pikachu to step in last minute to save them both, then that is

something they can also create. *Super Smash Bros.* thoroughly belongs to the Cinema of Interactions because it presents the audience with an adaptable dreamscape and the tools to create a seemingly infinite amount of unique experiences. Sakurai gives the player everything they need to express themselves creatively, they just have to pick up the controller.

As virtual reality has progressed, applications and games have started to shift their attention from display to user interaction. One game that epitomizes this progression is *Beat Saber*, a VR rhythm-based game. In *Beat Saber*, the player is given two lightsabers, one for each hand, that they must use to slice incoming block targets in sync with music. The game provides a score based on how closely the player matches the beat of the song and how many targets they have successfully hit in a row without missing. *Beat Saber* is an impressive balance of interaction and display, as it presents a signature surreal neon-noir environment that evokes a moody, *Tron*-like atmosphere. While it has a dazzling visual style, the main focus of the game remains on the player's engagement with the gameplay and music. The visuals reflect this attitude, as they never overpower the gameplay and even react and change as the player accurately hits targets that match the beat. This design choice allows the player to create what is arguably the greatest spectacle seen in the game, as the lights start to move in a unique fractal design as the player gets closer to perfectly matching the rhythm. *Beat Saber's* choice to focus on user interaction has seemed to work in its favor and resonate with players, as it is currently the most popular virtual reality title and has remained on top of Steam's VR sale charts for a year now. The small Czech studio behind the game, Beat Games, has even been bought out by Facebook in their attempt to break into the VR market. With its increasing popularity, however, there has been a growing desire for deeper customization within the game. People continuously create unofficial modifications to allow for more customization. The main reason for this is that the game only includes ten songs to begin with, all of which were composed in-house specifically for it. With a game centered around music, people would naturally want to play to their favorite songs and artists. This element of *Beat Saber* acts as both a restriction and a challenge to innovate. It has a solid foundation with captivating rhythm-matching gameplay in virtual reality, but it can be taken a step further to give the player a stronger voice in the game they are playing.

My Project and Evolving the Cinema of Interactions

To offer players a stronger voice and active role in my game, I combine the rhythm-matching elements of *Beat Saber* and the player choice and control that can be seen in a game like *Super Smash Bros.* Whereas in latter, Masahiro Sakurai was giving players a toolbox of their favorite characters to create stories out of, I am providing the audience with a jukebox of their favorite music to craft unique experiences out of. In doing this, I

am creating a fun and not too unfamiliar user interaction that puts a stronger emphasis on the distinctive individual playthrough that comes with choosing one's own music.

The first element of rhythm games like *Beat Saber* and *Rock Band* that can be improved is something that might at first seem trivial, but is one of the most important aspects of any console or VR game: the geometry. When in virtual reality, the player should feel that they were literally transported to a new space, free to look and play in any direction. However, the blocks that the player needs to slice in *Beat Saber* only move toward them from the Z-axis, forcing them to play in just one direction. This is a problem with multiple games and applications other than just *Beat Saber*: the VR headset gives the player an infinite sense of space, but then they are restricted to only look and interact in their immediate forward direction. In the real world, one is required to look and move in many different directions, and in the virtual world, one should have to behave similarly. To enforce something like this, I designed the targets to come toward them from a much larger depth of field, utilizing the players' full peripherals. This may present more of a challenge to the player, as they will have to now look in almost every direction because the targets will spawn from all around them. While this is a more demanding design choice, it also takes full advantage of the capabilities of virtual reality. If a player is put into a new reactionary world, then it should act like an actual world and not just a series of objects that they need to hit.

The next element that I am integrating in my game is the way in which it incorporates the player's music. Almost all rhythm games have a predetermined track list for gameplay. This means that the developers have selected certain music to include for their game and have gone through and made levels specifically for each individual song. While this is a good approach for having exact precision in gameplay, it can be limiting in other terms. Specifically, I became somewhat frustrated that VR rhythm games seem to consist almost entirely of modern pop and electronic dance music. Given the futuristic-techno aesthetic of most of these games, these are fitting to the designs, but limiting to fans of different genres of music.

One game series, however, frees the player from the restriction of a predetermined song list. This is Dylan Fitterer's *Audiosurf* series. The way *Audiosurf* works is that the user provides the game with song files from their computer, and the game then analyzes those files and creates levels out of them. The levels play similar to *Rock Band* and other rhythm games; the player controls a ship that must surf a track set to the music, catching orbs that are in sync with the beats and avoiding obstacles along the way. What is unique about *Audiosurf*, other than the unlimited music library, is that not only does it provide strong beat-matching gameplay, but it also alters the design of the world and level based on elements of the chosen song. For instance, the shape and elevation of the track itself

changes based on the momentum of the song, so the track will be on an incline during the buildup of a song and a decline during the release. The speed will also alter based on the moments of intensity of the song, meaning the ship will speed up and slow down according to the current energy levels. While design choices like these may just seem like nice little effects to most, they actually utilize the audio analysis to craft a special and distinctive ride for each chosen song, and thus each player's experience. This puts *Audiosurf* into the Cinema of Interactions alongside *Smash Bros.* because the world is created according to the player's unique interaction and choices they have made. This engineering truly adaptable gameplay that changes to, and even celebrates, a diverse musical pallet.

The robust analysis offered by *Audiosurf* gave me an idea of how to break from the limitation of a prearranged song list seen in most other rhythm games. I am evolving from this by implementing a system that takes in any audio file that a player provides and analyzes it to create the gameplay based around their chosen music. This feature carries meaning beyond fascination. Allowing any song to be played gives the power of creation back to the audience, which is something that may not have been possible during the Cinema of Attractions but should have more focus today. It makes the experience more accessible to a wider audience by allowing all preferences in music to be played. It goes even further than simply allowing different music by reconstructing the world distinctly with each song, such as adjusting the speed in accordance with the energy levels like in *Audiosurf*. It also illuminates the scene with the changes in frequencies of the audio signal. When the audience chooses the music they want to play with, they are choosing how their story will unfold before the show even starts. The audio analysis system is there to help construct a narrative that felt tailor-made for each individual person, one that they had a voice in creating and feel positioned around. This makes them essential, and even the focus, of the new attraction.

The word *interaction* implies reciprocal action between multiple people or things. To have a game, or any artwork for that matter, be truly interactable, it must communicate back to its player or spectator. There are many different ways for a game to effectively communicate with its audience, whether it is through dialog choices like in role-playing games, a short celebration for the winner as seen in *Super Smash Bros.*, or a score that increases with a better performance. A scoring system is the form of communication that is most often used in rhythm-matching games, since it is able to quickly congratulate players for staying on beat while not distracting them for long to avoid pulling them out of rhythm. To communicate back to the players, my game will be utilizing a scoring system similar to those of other rhythm games. The closer the player is to matching the beat, the higher their score will be. It encourages and requires them to put in energy and focus to play the game correctly. At the same time, however, it

acknowledges and rewards the work it takes from the player to achieve a higher score, successfully forming a two-way interaction between the player and the game world.

Conclusion

While cinema has changed in multiple ways with the digital age, it is not being eradicated by video games and virtual reality. Although the formation of VR parallels that of early cinema, it has concurrently developed into its own offshoot of cinema as the Cinema of Interactions. Traditional cinema is a collective experience; part of the enjoyment of watching the film is viewing the projection together as an audience. Virtual reality is all about the relationship between the singular player and the world they are thrown in to. It is a very individual experience, and by focusing on the independence it creates, VR can open up an enormous amount of possibilities. I developed an application to push VR in the direction of choice and individualism, a game in which the player is given power to assist in creation. Instead of thrusting the player into a predesigned world, it generates it dynamically to the player's taste in music. It keeps in communication with the player by rewarding them for successfully matching the rhythm of their music. I am hopeful that my application will inspire others to develop more projects to further expand the concept of the Cinema of Interactions.

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Formalism and Film: What Aesthetic Theories of Art Mean for Cinema

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Abstract: This paper addresses the concern that cinema serves as a counterexample to formalist aesthetic theory. In his article “Are There Counterexamples to Aesthetic Theories of Art” Nick Zangwill considers the possibility that cinema poses a significant problem for FAT (formalist aesthetic theory) because many people consider cinema to be a form of art, but Zangwill is worried that many films might not actually meet the requirements for art-status as set by FAT. In short, FAT holds that an object requires some degree of significant form in order for an object to qualify as art. My paper ultimately finds that cinema does not pose a serious problem to FAT, as it seems to me that many films (especially those people typically have in mind when considering films-as-art) actually do meet the requirements set forth by FAT. I also demonstrate the strengths of FAT through its application to cinema and how further FAT-analysis of cinema can only be fruitful for both aesthetics and film studies.

[The discipline of] aesthetics, with notable exceptions, seems determined to limit its interest to the traditional canon of fine arts (painting, sculpture, music, literature, poetry, theater, dance), and tends to ignore popular arts such as film and video. How long can aesthetics afford to downplay these major changes in the system of the arts? Erwin Panofsky wrote in 1947 that narrative films, with the exception of architecture, cartooning, and commercial design, are “the only visual art entirely alive.” If a grain of truth exists in Panofsky’s hyperbolic claim, perhaps aestheticians ought to think about the movies more often.

-Carl Plantinga, “Film Theory and Aesthetics: Notes on a Schism”⁴¹

Though cinema is one of the most popular and relevant “artistic mediums” today, yet not many aestheticians seem to be concerned with this so-called artform (possibly because they do not actually consider film to be art). The aim of this paper is to examine this oft-ignored artistic field through the lens of aesthetics—specifically, the aesthetic theory of formalism. In short, formalist aesthetic theory (or simply, formalism) requires objects to have “significant form” in order to qualify as art. My paper’s examination of cinema through formalism renders many—if not most—narrative films as art. It also demonstrates the strengths of formalism as an aesthetic theory and how further formalist-analysis of cinema can only be fruitful for both film studies and aesthetics.

I. FORMALIST AESTHETIC THEORY (FORMALISM)

Clive Bell developed one of the first instances of formalism in his book *Art* (1913). There, he writes that, “the starting point for all systems of aesthetics must be the personal experience of a peculiar emotion” and this aesthetic emotion he claims is due to an object’s “significant form” which is “the one quality common to all works of visual art.”⁴² Bell elaborates that significant form is “lines and colours combined in a particular way” and that these “certain forms and relations of forms, stir our aesthetic emotions.”⁴³ For Bell, significant form is inseparable from the aesthetic emotion it elicits. In fact, he believes that the way in which one is aware of significant form in an artwork is through the aesthetic emotions which one feels when looking at said artwork. As an illustrative example, consider chairs. Usually, a regular, ordinary chair—like one found in a classroom—does not have significant form, so therefore such an object does not give rise to aesthetic emotion (i.e. the feeling that one is experiencing artwork) and is thus not a work of art. On the other hand, *Chair* (1961, Pablo Picasso) does have significant form. Its

⁴¹ Carl Plantinga, “Film Theory and Aesthetics: Notes on a Schism,” *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 51 (1993): 453.

⁴² Clive Bell, *Art* (New York, Frederick A. Stokes Co., 1913), 5.

⁴³ *Ibid*

extremely striking usage of line and shape probably stirs some kind of aesthetic emotion in the viewer, therefore, according to formalism, it is a work of art.

Nick Zangwill offered a refined version of formalist theory in his essay “The Creative Theory of Art.” Zangwill proposes that “something is a work of art if and only if someone had an insight that certain aesthetic properties would be determined by certain nonaesthetic properties; and because of this, the thing was intentionally endowed with the aesthetic properties in virtue of the nonaesthetic properties as envisaged in the insight.”⁴⁴ This definition of art provides its own terms to be defined: aesthetic and nonaesthetic properties. Zangwill writes that “aesthetic properties may be substantive aesthetic properties such as elegance, daintiness, balance, or frenzy” and that “nonaesthetic properties include physical properties, such as shape and size, and secondary qualities such as colors or sounds.”⁴⁵ Zangwill’s aesthetic properties are akin to Bell’s aesthetic emotions in that they are feelings which onlookers experience in the artworks they perceive—these feelings are then validated by inter-subjective agreement. For instance, the usage of color in a Rococo painting lend it pleasant, properties, like the daintiness mentioned by Zangwill. Alternatively, the usage of line in a Cubist painting might produce more jarring aesthetic properties, such as frenzy. Zangwill’s work can be seen as an expansion of Bell’s in that Bell’s original formula only accounted for works of visual art (e.g. paintings, sculptures) while Zangwill’s formula has the potential to include other kinds of art, such as music (as a simple example, a contemporary song in a minor key will likely be read as “sad” while one in a major key will likely be read as “happy”).

Zangwill also adds some caveats to his definition of art. For instance, Zangwill argues that something is a work of art when some entity (or entities) imbue something with some nonaesthetic properties which then gives rise to aesthetic properties. Therefore, if I accidentally spill a bucket of paint on a canvas but happen to produce certain nonaesthetic properties which then give rise to aesthetic properties, the “painting” that I haphazardly produce is—according to Zangwill’s theory—not actually art. However, if I intentionally spill a bucket of paint on a canvas in an attempt to produce certain nonaesthetic properties which give rise to aesthetic properties and I am at least somewhat successful, then I have produced an artwork.

Zangwill’s views on aesthetic insight are related to another caveat of his, the success condition. Under his view, “for art require that the person must have intended to make a thing possess certain aesthetic properties by giving it certain nonaesthetic

⁴⁴ Nick Zangwill, “The Creative Theory of Art,” *American Philosophical Quarterly* 32 (1995): 307.

⁴⁵ Ibid

properties and that it must in fact have the aesthetic properties because it has the nonaesthetic properties."⁴⁶ For an object to qualify as a work of art then, it must really possess at some of the aesthetic properties intended by the artist(s). Yet, Zangwill also allows for the existence of bad art, writing, "'bad' works of art are aesthetically successful in some respects. Success and failure is not black and white. Not every aesthetic ambition need be successfully achieved, but they cannot all fail. The requirement is deliberately vague: that some significant proportion of aesthetic intentions are successful."⁴⁷

The theories of Zangwill and Bell provide us a foundation of formalism. In each of their theorizations, the formal qualities of an artwork (for Bell, significant form; for Zangwill, nonaesthetic properties) grant it its aesthetic value / status as art (for Bell, aesthetic emotion produced in the onlooker; for Zangwill, aesthetic properties in the artwork itself). I believe Zangwill's theory is an improvement upon Bell's in that he explicitly grounds his discussion in the qualities of the artwork itself rather than the vague concept of aesthetic emotion. It should also be noted that each of their theories also allow for nonessential narrative/representational qualities to be present in works of art in addition to the essential formal properties. As Zangwill writes, "it is only when there are narrative meanings without an aesthetic point that there is trouble for aesthetic theories of art. When there are aesthetic purposes as well as meanings, then the works are not works of pure meaning, and there is no problem."⁴⁸ While Bell writes, "that there is an irrelevant or descriptive element in many great works of art is not in the least surprising."⁴⁹ Bell also notes that,

Very often, however, representation is a sign of weakness in an artist. A painter too feeble to create forms that provoke more than a little aesthetic emotion will try to eke that little out by suggesting the emotions of life. To evoke the emotions of life he must use representation. Thus a man will paint an execution, and, fearing to miss with his first barrel of significant form, will try to hit with his second by raising an emotion of fear or pity.⁵⁰

Having established the formalist framework, we may now consider the question at hand: does cinema qualify as art according to formalism?

⁴⁶ Zangwill, "The Creative Theory of Art," 309.

⁴⁷ Ibid

⁴⁸ Zangwill, "Are There Counterexamples to Aesthetic Theories of Art," 114.

⁴⁹ Bell, *Art*, 11.

⁵⁰ Ibid

II. THE POTENTIAL PROBLEM WITH FORMALISM: NARRATIVE “ARTS”

In article published in 2002, “Are There Counterexamples to Aesthetic Theories of Art?”, Zangwill addressed some objections to formalism via counterexamples. The most troublesome possible counterexample that he considers is narrative arts such as plays, novels, and films. He is concerned that many plays, novels and films may only have narrative value and not aesthetic value, “so if we say that works of art are necessarily things that have an aesthetic point, then it seems that some narrative works will fall outside the bounds of art.”⁵¹ (Of course, this is assuming that narratives themselves cannot possess aesthetic properties, which is perhaps another discussion altogether.)

This may initially appear to be something of a serious problem for formalism, as we colloquially consider things like films, novels, and plays to be forms of art. But Zangwill suggests that this might instead reveal that our colloquial usage of “art” is sometimes incorrect:

There is no pretheoretic notion [of art] that students are recollecting or making explicit. Instead they are imbibing and internalizing the ideology of the Modern System of the Arts, which is embodied in the notion of Fine Art. The idea that students are drawing on a neutral folk concept, which they already possess, and which can be analyzed at leisure, is an illusion. Instead, the students are being subtly indoctrinated.⁵²

What Zangwill is illustrating here is simply that, while the counterexamples of narrative films, novels, and plays may appear very problematic for aesthetic theorists, it is not as though we should automatically consider such examples to be art. Zangwill elaborates, “we do not need to worry about counterexamples to aesthetic theories of art that stem from the fact that there are things that are art according to the bourgeois concept that are not art according to aesthetic theories.”⁵³ Zangwill believes that such “counterexamples” are only problematic for aesthetic theorists if they believe that the bourgeois concept of art is to be respected. I intend to closer analyze the medium of cinema with regard to formalist theories such as Zangwill’s and Bell’s in order to determine if narrative films really do function as counterexamples to formalism and how serious this possible problem may be for the formalist aesthetic theorist.

III. FORMALISM APPLIED TO CINEMA

Firstly, I think that the number of potential counterexamples to formalism is quite a bit smaller than it may appear at the outset. Zangwill provides no specific

⁵¹ Nick Zangwill, “Are There Counterexamples to Aesthetic Theories of Art,” *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 60 (2002): 114.

⁵² Zangwill, “Are There Counterexamples to Aesthetic Theories of Art,” 115.

⁵³ Ibid

counterexamples (i.e. films lacking aesthetic properties), but when referring to films that have “significant aesthetic virtues” he cites “Pasolini’s wonderful films *Medea* and *Oedipus Rex*.”⁵⁴ Yet Zangwill also does not expound upon what these significant visual aesthetic virtues are nor how, why, and where they are present. So, I shall begin, by examining many possible examples of cinema through Zangwill’s “creative theory” lens in order to determine the extent of the problem that narrative cinema poses for formalism. The closest Zangwill comes to specifying a counterexample is when he writes “there are plays and films in which what we see and hear is only dramatically important; it is not beautiful or elegant as pure form or as the aesthetically apt embodiment of a certain narrative meaning. (Ordinary horror movies are examples.)”⁵⁵ Because Zangwill cites these “ordinary horror movies” as examples of pieces without aesthetic function, horror cinema and its aesthetics (or lack thereof) certainly deserves further exploration.

It is unclear what exactly Zangwill’s modifier of “ordinary” is supposed to imply, so let us start by examining the highest-grossing horror movie of 2002 (the year Zangwill’s article was published), an American remake of a Japanese horror film titled *The Ring* (2002, dir. Gore Verbinski). However, it seems to me that *The Ring* fits the formalist definition of art. One only has to look at stills from the film to notice its clearly intentional and evocative color-palette—which consists of icky, darkened blue and green hues—to prove this point. This alone qualifies the film as art. In the case of *The Ring*, it seems obvious that its color was intentionally constructed in such a way that it produces certain aesthetic properties, such as discomfort, dread, and sorrow. Yet, even beyond its blatant use of color, the cinematographic and editing techniques employed by the film to create dread also appear to be instances of aesthetic insight giving rise to aesthetic properties. One might be worried about the fact that *The Ring*’s narrative drama is far more central than its aesthetic attributes, but this is not an issue when it comes to the film’s status as art. *The Ring*’s narrative elements are its focus, but it still contains significant form and thus is art according to formalism.

Perhaps looking at something as popular and acclaimed as *The Ring* is not fully grappling with Zangwill’s idea of the “ordinary horror” film, so perhaps I should then turn to a poorly received box-office “cash-in” sequel (also released in 2002): the 8th movie in the *Halloween* franchise, *Halloween: Resurrection* (2002, dir. Rick Rosenthal). Even in this case though, I find it difficult to assert that the film has no aesthetic point whatsoever. Its prominent usage of shadow, its blue/orange palette (a popular choice for genre films of the early aughts), its frenetic MTV-esque composition and editing style all seem to me to be intentional choices on the part of those involved in the film’s production to produce

⁵⁴ Ibid, 114.

⁵⁵ Zangwill, “Are There Counterexamples to Aesthetic Theories of Art,” 114.

certain kinds of aesthetic effects. Now, they may not be particularly interesting or original or even properly “effective” (and/or “affective”) aesthetic effects. Yet, even if the aesthetic point of *Halloween: Resurrection* is muddled and even if some its aesthetic intentions fail, it appears to me that some aesthetic insight was still realized in the film. So, it still qualifies as art by Zangwill’s own definition, though it could possibly function as an example of “bad art.” Bell would likely classify the film similarly, considering his views on the usage of representation in art (see earlier quotation on page 4). *Halloween: Resurrection* relies a lot more on representational properties (e.g. onscreen murders) than formal properties in order to achieve fear in its audience—yet it seems to still possess some degree of significant form.

Maybe then I must actively seek out the worst kinds of films in order to find possible counterexamples. One possible example of such a horror film (again from 2002) is the direct-to-video C-grade slasher flick *Scarecrow* (2002, dir. Emmanuel Itier). And, finally, I think that this film may indeed be an example of narrative film without aesthetic merit—a possible counterexample to aesthetic theories. Every “creative” choice behind the film seems purely functional; there seems to be no aesthetic insight involved. And, if there were—unlike the other examples of “ordinary horror”—*Scarecrow* is wholly unsuccessful in achieving any sort of aesthetic effect through its uncreative, uninspired nonaesthetic formal properties.

I think *Scarecrow* and films like it are the kinds of films best suited to serve as proper “counterexamples” to formalism. Some other counterexamples might be films whose sole intention is to serve as mindless entertainment for young children, such as *The Smurfs* (2011, dir. Raja Gosnell); or films whose sole intention is to comfort/entertain viewers through a cliché cookie-cut narrative formulas, such as Hallmark Christmas movies; or films that fail so utterly in their aspirations that they produce an aesthetic effect which is likely the opposite of what was intended, such as *The Room* (2003, dir. Tommy Wiseau). Such examples seem to have no aesthetic insight involved and thus they contain no aesthetic value.

Of course, there are films aimed at young children which do seem to have some level of aesthetic insight at play (e.g. early Disney feature animations, which possess painterly levels of formal rigor and balance) and there are cookie-cutter narrative pieces that may fall into a similar camp (recent work from Steven Spielberg may apply here).

IV. THE ADVANTAGES OF FORMALIST ANALYSIS IN CINEMA

The question then becomes, how big of a problem do such works pose for formalism? And, when looking at these counterexamples, it seems that we should not be

particularly concerned by the fact that such pieces might not qualify as art. To recall Zangwill's earlier claims about the Modern System of Arts:

It seems that what counts as the target for explanation in the theory of art is somewhat shifting. To some extent, we must set up the target and then shoot at it. So long as the aesthetic theory succeeds in giving the essence of a great many art forms, I do not think that we should worry too neurotically about whether it covers every item in the Modern System of Arts.⁵⁶

After all, is anyone actually going to take serious issue with an aesthetic theory because it excludes films such as *Beverly Hills Chihuahua 2* (2011, dir. Alex Zamm)?

Furthermore, I would even argue that the fact that formalism excludes such pieces is actually a strength of the formalist definition and all the more reason to employ it. I believe that explicitly stating that some films qualify as art while others might not can actually be helpful to both aesthetic and film-theoretic disciplines; *Citizen Kane* (1941, dir. Orson Welles) and the aforementioned *Beverly Hills Chihuahua 2* do not deserve the same kind of analysis. While *Beverly Hills Chihuahua 2* may warrant some kind of cinematic analysis as a mere product of an industry (and debatably, an ideological system), *Citizen Kane* can additionally be analyzed as a piece of legitimate, intentional art. The fact that formalism excludes certain objects demonstrates that it is not merely trivially true.

Furthermore, viewing films through a formalist lens is helpful in that it provides criteria by which to judge cinema. As Ian Jarvie asserts in his book *Philosophy of the Film: Epistemology, Ontology, Aesthetics*:

Film lacks an agreed canon. Those writing about film can be thought of as engaged in the arduous and long drawn-out process of attempting to establish a canon. However, their not being aware of this makes them uncritical, hence their employment of criteria that are difficult to defend: connoisseurship, liking, popularity (whether generally or by connoisseurs) and comparison. [...] there are here serious obstacles to any efforts to treat films as art.⁵⁷

Jarvie believes that the diffuse and varied evaluative criteria, which film-writers employ in order to evaluate films, are flimsy. This is another reason cinema deserves to be examined through the lens of formalism, which will provide both aestheticians and film theorists with a fairly concrete evaluative framework. This is not to imply there is some "objective standard" by which to judge a work of art, but keeping the formalist

⁵⁶ Zangwill, "Are There Counterexamples to Aesthetic Theories of Art," 117.

⁵⁷ I.C. Jarvie, *Philosophy of the Film: Epistemology, Ontology, Aesthetics* (New York: Routledge, 1987), 188.

definition of art in mind when approaching an artwork allows one to interpret their subjective experience of the piece in a specific, evaluative way.

Another advantage of formalism is that it accentuates the unique capacities and affective abilities of each artform. Some might take issue with the fact that formalism greatly values form over content, but such a framework allows art-viewers to consider what each artform “brings to the table” so to speak. When someone reads *Great Expectations*, then watches a stage adaptation, and then watches a film adaptation, each time they get the same (or at least, a very similar) narrative with the same kinds of representational properties (e.g. Pip, London, etc.). Thus, if the art viewer’s focus is on the representational properties, they will not be able to appreciate the artistic mediums themselves. If instead the viewer has their eye on the works’ formal qualities, they will gain a much better understanding of each artform. They might appreciate the prose and language of Dickens’ writing, the blocking and lighting of the theatrical rendition, and the cinematography and editing of David Lean’s cinematic rendition.

All of this leads me to suspect that narrative cinema is not as serious a problem for aesthetic theories of art as we may initially believe it to be. Though it seems as if representational, narrative-driven media may not meet the “significant form” requirements of formalist definitions of art, it turns out that most narrative films (especially those we would be inclined to colloquially refer to as “art”) actually appear to have at least some amount of aesthetic and formal insight. Of course, there are certainly many films that do not meet the requirements of formalism, but these ought not to concern us too greatly. Indeed, formalism actually seems aptly suited to cinema—it is a useful way of classifying, analyzing, and critiquing films. Though narrative film may at first seem like a perilous subject for adherents of formalism, I think that a closer, formalist examination of cinema (both narrative and beyond) can only be fruitful for both film studies and aesthetics.

Miller

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Where Did the Money Go? Internal Migration, Remittances, and Household Spending in Indonesia

Hikari Mine

Abstract

I explore the impact of remittances from internal migrants on household spending in Indonesia. I hypothesize that when households send more internal migrants to different parts of the country, the household will receive more remittances from the migrants. I also hypothesize that when a household receives more remittances, they will spend the increased revenue in either short-term consumption or long-term investments. With a panel data set of households in Indonesia in 2000, 2007, and 2014, I use money transfer per household as a proxy for an amount of remittance. I employ two-stage-least-square models to test my hypothesis. This study confirms my hypothesis: A household with more internal migrants will receive more money transfer. More money transfer leads households to spend more money on short-term consumption such as food and daily necessities. More money transfer has no impact on long-term investments.

1 Introduction

As transportation technologies develop, moving to different places is getting easier. As a result, migration is becoming a familiar option for individuals to increase their income and to improve their working conditions. The majority of the migration literature focuses on international migration and migrant-receiving communities, instead of internal migration and migrant-sending communities. That leaves more room for research on internal migration and migrant-sending

communities. International migration occurs when individuals cross national borders and resettle in different countries. Alternatively, through internal migration individuals move to different parts of the same countries and settle there. There are some differences between these two types of migration. One of them is that there is a distinction between original residents and newcomers. The distinction is clearer in international migration than in internal migration due to more explicit differences in cultures, languages, and currencies. Therefore, in a conversation on migration's effects on people's utility, focusing on such differences and talking about the effects of international migration seem to be more popular than the whole discussion on internal migration. Furthermore, when talking about migration, the consequences of immigrants on receiving communities get more attention than the consequences of emigrants on sending communities.¹ This is possibly because the former is rather direct whereas the latter is somewhat indirect.

The state of current migration studies make me question, if there are any effects that those who have left have on those who are left, what it looks like, and if it is something that can contribute to creating better utility and a better future in the long run. Specifically, I aim to understand, in Indonesia, how remittances from internal migrants affect the spending behaviour of their original household back home. I explore the indirect influences that internal migration brings to migrant-sending households in Indonesia. A better understanding of internal migration's externalities helps us to develop constructive applications. Migration, both internal and international, can be a vehicle for economic growth. To make the best of it, it is significant for us to be aware of what is behind their externalities. Whether the externalities of internal migration are positive or negative and how much magnitude they are need to be discussed in order for the creation of effective policies in both national and regional levels of governments.

2 Data

My data comes from the most recent version of the Indonesian Family Life Survey (IFLS). This data is a household level, and each observation represents each household. This data includes the answers to survey questions from 12728 households. I look at the last three waves of the

¹Source: <https://trends.google.com/trends/explore?date=all&q=immigration,emigration>

survey in 2000, 2007, and 2014 to observe changes over time.

Figure 1 and 2 list the definitions of the dependent variables, different measures of spending per household in my case. To keep the accuracy of the measure, I employ the questions in Strauss et al. (2016)'s survey to the outcome variables. All of the outcome variables are continuous variables and measured in one million Rupiahs. I look at eight different outcome variables. Five of them are for observing changes in short-term spending behavior. Three of them are for estimating long-term spending behavior.

Figure 3 lists the definitions of the independent variables. IFLS data does not include the exact amount of remittances that households sent or received. Therefore, I use the amount of money transfer that the household received in the past year from parents, siblings, children, neighbors, and others as a proxy for value of remittances, following Adams (1998).

In my specification, I estimate the effects of a number of present migrant members and the amount of money transfer on short-term and long-term consumption, while controlling for household demographics, education, a number of previous migrants, income, farmland size, year, and time-invariant household characteristics. Based on Rozelle et al. (1999), C. Li et al. (2012), L. Li et al. (2013), I instrument for an amount of money transfer using a number of current migrants. The unit for the amount of money transfer is one million Rupiah. Following C. Li et al. (2012), L. Li et al. (2013), Rozelle et al. (1999), Sindi and Kirimi (2006), I control for demographics characteristics, education characteristics, household head characteristics, and economic characteristics. Additionally, I control for previous migration characteristics in the household.

3 Methods and Results

I introduce an instrumental variable technique. This is a common technique in the research on the influence of internal migration, as used by C. Li et al. (2012), L. Li et al. (2013), Rozelle et al. (1999), Sindi and Kirimi (2006). It is often used when there's a reverse causality between the independent variable and the dependent variable. In my study, to prove causality of independent variable, number of current migrants in the household, over the dependent variable, household

Figure 1: Short-Term Outcome Variables Definitions

Source: Indonesian Family Life Survey (2000, 2007, 2014)

<p>Food Consumption (Weeks)</p>	<p>Total expenditure to purchase the following items during the past week</p> <p>(1) Staple foods - corn, sago/flour, cassava, tapioca, dried cassava, other staple foods, like sweet potatoes, yams</p> <p>(2) Vegetables - Kangkung, cucumber, spinach, mustard greens, tomatoes, cabbage, katuk, green beans, string beans and the like. Beans like mung-beans, peanuts, soya beans, and the like. Fruits like papaya, mango, banana and the like</p> <p>(3) Dried foods - Noodles, rice noodles, macaroni, shrimp chips, other chips, and the like, Cookies, bread, crackers</p> <p>(4) Meat and fish - Beef, mutton, water buffalo meat and the like, Chicken, duck and the like, Fresh fish, oysters, shrimp, squid and the like. Salted fish, smoked fish</p> <p>(5) Other dishes like - Jerky, shredded beef, canned meat, sardine and the like, Tofu, tempe, other side dishes</p> <p>(6) Milk/eggs - Eggs, Fresh milk, canned milk, powdered milk and the like</p> <p>(7) Spices - Sweet and salty soy sauce, salt, shrimp paste, chill sauce, tomato sauce, and the like, shallot, garlic, chill, candlenuts, coriander, MSG and the like, Javanese(brown) sugar, Butter, Cooking oil like coconut oil, peanut oil, corn oil, palm oil and the like.</p> <p>(8) Beverages and other drinks/consumer products - drinking water, granulated sugar, coffee, tea, cocoa, soft drinks like Fanta, sprite, alcoholic beverages like beer, palm wine, rice wine, betel nut(for chewing, traditional drug, others), cigarettes, tobacco, prepared food(eaten at home), and prepared food(away from home)</p>
<p>Food Consumption (Months)</p>	<p>Amount of the money that the household paid for the following items in the last month</p> <p>Rice, beef, chicken, fish, kangkung, spinach, cooking oil, granulated sugar</p>
<p>Non-Food Consumption (Months)</p>	<p>Amount of the total expenditures by all household members for the following items during the past month</p> <p>Electricity, water, fuel, telephone (including vouchers and mobile starter pack), personal toiletries, household items, domestic services and servants' wages, recreation and entertainment, transportation, sweepstakes and the like, arisa, and non-food items given to others/other parties outside the household on a regular basis</p>
<p>Non-Food Consumption (Years)</p>	<p>Total expenditures by all household members for purchasing the following items during the past year</p> <p>Clothing for children and adults, household supplies, furniture, medical costs, ritual ceremonies, charities, and gifts, taxes, other expenses not specified above, and non-food items given to others/other parties outside the household on an irregular basis (less than twelve times per year)</p>
<p>Non-Food Consumption</p>	<p>Total value of the following items owned by the household and not used for a farm or non-farm business</p> <p>Household appliances (radio, tape recorder, tv, fridge, sewing or washing machine, VCD player, HP, etc.), household furniture, and utensils</p>

Figure 2: Long-Term Outcome Variables Definitions

Source: Indonesian Family Life Survey (2000, 2007, 2014)

Farm Assets (Years)	Total value of the following items owned by the household and were used for farm business in the last 12 months Farmland, poultry, livestock, fishpond, hard stem plants, house or building used for the farm business, vehicles, tractor, irrigation equipment, heavy equipment, small tools like saws and axes, machetes, forks, plows, and finishing equipment
Non-Farm Assets	Total value of the following items owned by the household and not used for a farm or non-farm business House and land occupied by this household, other houses/ building (including land), poultry, livestock, fishpond, vehicles (cars, boats, bicycles, motorbikes)
Savings	Total value of the following items owned by the household and not used for a farm or non-farm business Land (not used for farm or nonfarm), savings, certificate of deposit, stocks, and jewelry

spending, I use the instrumental variable, amount of money transfer. By finding a variable that has no impact on household spending except for the impact caused through its relationship with the number of current migrants, I can distinguish variations in household spending based on migration and the influence of the error term. In other words, the number of current migrants cannot have a direct influence on the household spending. The influence of the number of current migrants on household spending must appear through the variance in the amount of money transfer.

Another possible issue is that the number of current migrants might have an influence on food consumption through the change in household size and not through the change in the amount of money transfer. However, the household size is already controlled and therefore it is not an issue.

Now, I introduce fixed-effect two-stage least square (2SLS) regressions. In the first stage, I regress the amount of money transfer on the number of current migrants. Consider the follow-

Figure 3: Independent Variables Definitions

Source: Indonesian Family Life Survey (2000, 2007, 2014)

Migration Characteristics	# of Current Migrants	Number of people who were in the household moved across the village to a different place in the last 7 years for a job-related reason, and currently live there for more than 6 months
	Amount of Money Transfer (Years)	Amount of monetary help the household received from the following people not in the household in the past 12 months father, mother, children, sibling(s), spouse, non-biological parents, family members other than parents, siblings or children, friends and/or neighbors
Demographic Characteristics	Household Size	Number of people who are in the household
	# of Children	Number of household members who are younger than 20
	# of Elderly People	Number of household members who are older than 60
Education Characteristics	# of Students	Number of household members who go to some kind of school
	% of HS+ Graduates	Percent of members whose highest education completed is highschool or higher among household members who are older than 20
Household Head Characteristics	Age of Household Head	Age of the person who is regarded as a household head by the household members
Economics Characteristics	Household Income (Years)	Total earnings of the household in the last 12 months
	Farmland Size (Hectares)	Size of the land for farming that the household owns
Previous Migration Characteristics	# of Past Migrants	Number of people who are in the household, moved across the village to a different place in the last 7 years for a job-related reason, lived there for more than 6 months, came back to the original household, and currently live in the original household

ing model:

$$\begin{aligned} \text{Amount of Money Transfer}_{ti} = & \alpha + \beta_1 \text{Number of Current Migrants}_{ti} + \beta_2 \text{Household Size}_{ti} \\ & + \beta_3 \text{Number of Children}_{ti} + \beta_4 \text{Number of Elderly People}_{ti} + \beta_5 \text{Number of Students}_{ti} \\ & + \beta_6 \text{Percent of HS+ Graduates}_{ti} + \beta_7 \text{Age of Household Head}_{ti} + \beta_8 \text{Number of Past Migrants}_{ti} \\ & + \beta_9 \text{Household Income}_{ti} + \beta_{10} \text{Farmland Size}_{ti} + \gamma_1 \text{is2007}_{ti} + \gamma_2 \text{is2014}_{ti} + \delta_j \sum_{j=2}^{38186} \text{Household}_{ti} \end{aligned}$$

where Amount of Money Transfer_{ti}, the outcome variable, is the amount of money transfer and a proxy for remittances, is2007_{ti} and is2014_{ti} are the binary dummy variables for the year-fixed effect, and Household_{ti} is the binary dummy variable for the household-fixed effect.

I measure the extent to which the variation in current migrants number influences the variation in the amount of transfer. This is based on the assumption that the change in the amount of money transfer is through the family member's migration status. I expect the coefficient, β_1 , to be positive. That is, I expect to see an increase in the amount of money transfer as the number of current migrants increases.

Table 1 shows the result. I observe an increase in the amount of money transfer associated with the number of current migrants. This is statistically significant at the one percent level. As the number of current migrants increases by one person, the amount of money transfer the family had past year is expected to increase by 2.677 millions Rupiah(160.62 USD), on average. This increase is economically significant as well. 2.677 million Rupiahs is more than 2.5191 million Rupiahs(151.146 USD), the average amount of money transfer for families without migrants.

In the second stage, I regress spending on the fitted amount of money transfer and measure how much the variations in the fixed value of the household's money transfer affect the variation

in the household spending. Consider the following model:

$$\begin{aligned}
 Y_{ti} = & \alpha + \beta_1 \widehat{\text{Amount of Money Transfer}}_{ti} + \beta_2 \text{Household Size}_{ti} + \beta_3 \text{Number of Children}_{ti} \\
 & + \beta_4 \text{Number of Elderly People}_{ti} + \beta_5 \text{Number of Students}_{ti} + \beta_6 \text{Percent of HS+ Graduates}_{ti} \\
 & + \beta_7 \text{Age of Household Head}_{ti} + \beta_8 \text{Number of Past Migrants}_{ti} + \beta_9 \text{Household Income}_{ti} \\
 & + \beta_{10} \text{Farmland Size}_{ti} + \gamma_1 \text{is2007}_{ti} + \gamma_2 \text{is2014}_{ti} + \delta_j \sum_{j=2}^{38186} \text{Household}_{ti}
 \end{aligned}$$

where Y_{ti} , the outcome variable, is the amount of each type of spending,

$\widehat{\text{Amount of Money Transfer}}_{ti}$ is a newly predicted variable estimated from the first stage, is2007_{ti} and is2014_{ti} are the binary dummy variables for the year-fixed effect, and Household_{ti} is the binary dummy variable for the household-fixed effect.

I expect the coefficients, β_1 , to be positive for some of the outcome variables. That is, the family with more migrants is likely to receive more money compared to those families with fewer current migrants. Then, I expect the families with more migrants to spend more money in some parts of their lives.

Table 1 shows the results of the second stages of the 2SLS regressions. The fitted amount of money transfer has a positive relationship with the amount of food consumption last week (column 1) and an amount of non-food consumption last month (column 3). As the amount of fitted money transfer increases by 1 million Rupiahs, the amount of food consumption per week is expected to increase by 0.00415 million Rupiahs (0.249 USD), on average. This is statistically significant at the 10 percent level. This number is economically significant in some cases. 0.00415 million Rupiahs is equivalent to a price for a bottle of water.² Hence, especially when the household lives on the margin, this increase can allow the household to purchase more foods. Similarly, as the fitted amount of money transfer increases by 1 million Rupiahs, the amount of money spent on non-food consumption last month is predicted to increase by 0.161 million Rupiahs (9.66 USD). This is also statistically significant at the 10 percent level. 0.161 million Rupiahs is almost equivalent to a price for a monthly pass for public transportation.³

²Source: <https://www.numbeo.com/cost-of-living/countryresult.jsp?country=Indonesia>

³Source: <https://www.numbeo.com/cost-of-living/countryresult.jsp?country=Indonesia>

With this increase, households can have more monetary leeway in their regular spending.

Although the estimates of the amount of money transfer on long-term spendings are not statistically significant, I am confident to say that the result shows the statistically significant impact of money transfer on short-term spending. As seen in Figure 1, the amount of Food Consumption (Weeks) represents a more comprehensive amount of money spent on food in the household than Food Consumption (Months). Likewise, Non-Food Consumption (Months) covers the amount of money spent on more items than the other two variables in terms of non-food consumption. Therefore, I conclude that remittances from internal migrants have a statistically positive influence on household's temporary non-food spending, aligned with a finding by Quisumbing and McNiven (2010), and a positive influence on temporary food-spending by Cuong et al. (2009). In addition, insignificant impact of remittances on Farm Assets aligns with the finding from Adams (1998), Cuong et al. (2009), C. Li et al. (2012). The insignificant impact of remittances on Non-Farm Assets is in line with findings from Adams (1998), Cuong et al. (2009) but not in line with a finding from Quisumbing and McNiven (2010), thus requiring a further investigation.

4 Conclusion

Using panel data and two stage-least-square regressions, my study has identified that internal migrant's remittances are used for migrant-sending household's daily expenditures. My study has also identified that internal migrant's remittances do not have an impact on migrant-sending household's long-term asset accumulation. This outcome confirms my initial hypothesis that remittances affect either short-term or long-term spendings. Furthermore, this outcome confirms findings from past research done by Adams (1998), Cuong et al. (2009), C. Li et al. (2012).

For further research, I am interested in incorporating geographical and community characteristics into the models, as seen in L. Li et al. (2013), Lu (2010), Rozelle et al. (1999), Sindi and Kirimi (2006), Taylor et al. (2003). I have not been able to incorporate them this time due to data and time limitations. Furthermore, I intend to conduct robustness checks and observe

how robust my models are.

With these future refinements in mind, I still recognize that this research fills an important gap in the internal migration literature, that of the effect of internal remittances on household spending. In the understudied situation of the impressive field of research, I look at an ignored part of research - how households use internal remittances - principally under the NELM theory. These findings would give more ideas to policymakers, especially those in countries with massive internal migration, and an opportunity to re-think ways to bring the best utility for the population in both rural and urban areas.

Appendix

Table 1: Fixed-Effect Two-Stage Least Square (2SLS) Regressions

Variables	(0) Amount of Money Transfer	(1) Food Consumption (Weeks)	(2) Food Consumption (Months)	(3) Non-Food Consumption (Months)	(4) Non-Food Consumption (Years)	(5) Non-Food Consumption	(6) Farm Assets (Months)	(7) Non-Farm Assets	(8) Savings
# of Current Migrants	2.677*** (0.007)								
Amount of Money Transfer(Years)		0.00415* (0.051)	0.000198 (0.81)	0.161* (0.085)	0.116 (0.292)	-0.00238 (0.965)	-0.673 (0.126)	-0.344 (0.562)	-0.0412 (0.861)
Household Size	3.636*** (0.009)	0.0517*** (0.000)	0.0291*** (0.000)	0.052 (0.916)	0.67 (0.247)	1.025*** (0.000)	8.438*** (0.000)	18.03*** (0.000)	1.165 (0.347)
# of Children	-3.028* (0.063)	-0.0167 (0.138)	-0.0114*** (0.009)	-0.374 (0.448)	0.0139*** (0.981)	-0.0824 (0.775)	-5.947** (0.01)	-9.829*** (0.002)	-0.105 (0.933)
# of Elderly People	3.891* (0.078)	-0.0449*** (0.003)	-0.00648 (0.265)	-0.419 (0.525)	-0.336 (0.665)	0.00126 (0.997)	8.283*** (0.008)	8.152* (0.052)	-0.994 (0.55)
# of Students	-0.562 (0.630)	-0.00685 (0.315)	-0.00269 (0.31)	0.309 (0.303)	-0.282 (0.424)	-0.0595 (0.734)	-1.226 (0.385)	-0.737 (0.699)	-0.326 (0.666)
Percent of HS+ Graduates	-1.073 (0.823)	0.00515 (0.851)	0.0338*** (0.002)	-1.418 (0.239)	-1.12 (0.43)	2.187*** (0.002)	11.21** (0.048)	-1.39 (0.856)	0.563 (0.853)
Age of Household Head	-0.230** (0.047)	0.00145* (0.076)	0.000801*** (0.012)	0.0469 (0.191)	0.0627 (0.139)	0.0649*** (0.002)	0.276 (0.103)	1.254*** (0.000)	0.205** (0.024)
# of Past Migrants	0.528 (0.303)	-0.00109 (0.721)	-0.00133 (0.265)	-0.105 (0.437)	-0.0687 (0.665)	0.000165 (0.998)	0.305 (0.631)	-1.239 (0.148)	0.339 (0.319)
Household Income (Years)	-0.0332* (0.058)	0.000663*** (0.000)	0.000263*** (0.000)	0.00997* (0.062)	0.0529*** (0.000)	0.0267*** (0.000)	0.133*** (0.000)	0.373*** (0.000)	0.151*** (0.000)
Farmland Size	-0.012 (0.804)	0.0000426 (0.869)	-0.0000138 (0.89)	-0.0019 (0.867)	-0.00251 (0.852)	-0.000409 (0.951)	0.171*** (0.001)	-0.00463 (0.949)	-0.0218 (0.446)
is2007	7.682*** (0.000)	0.0418* (0.037)	0.0383*** (0.000)	3.026*** (0.001)	3.852*** (0.000)	-0.123 (0.811)	5.501 (0.186)	32.70*** (0.000)	-3.852* (0.084)
is2014	4.352* (0.067)	0.0967*** (0.000)	0.0734*** (0.000)	-0.208 (0.766)	4.431*** (0.000)	1.617*** (0.000)	27.54*** (0.000)	98.37*** (0.000)	4.300** (0.015)
cons	1.200 (0.838)	0.145*** (0.000)	-0.00354 (0.786)	0.438 (0.766)	0.507 (0.771)	0.777 (0.367)	-10.68 (0.124)	-27.94*** (0.003)	0.597 (0.873)
N	38186	38186	38186	38186	38186	38186	38186	38186	38186
R ²	0.002	0.016	0.036	0.006	0.012	0.02	0.021	0.093	0.016

*** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$

Note: 1 unit is 1 million Rupiahs for Amount of Money Transfer (Years), Household Income (Years), and all outcome variables.

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I Love You God (P.S. We're Breaking Up): How Emerging Adults are Navigating Religious Ambiguity Through Taizé

Katherine Mueller

Abstract: For the last three years, Lawrence University has been home to a small intergenerational Taizé community. Taizé refers to both a place of pilgrimage and a form of ecumenical Christian worship that uses chant and meditation to create a contemplative service. While services are rooted in Christian traditions, the emerging adults who routinely attend Taizé services at Lawrence identify for the most part as “spiritual but not religious,” or as a “religious none,” meaning they hold no religious affiliation. Now more than ever, emerging adults are leading the way in these growing demographics. These identities suggest a distancing from religious community, but just how nonreligious are these “religious nones?” Through my research I suggest that emerging adults who identify with these terms aren’t necessarily unaffiliated with religious lifestyle but are actually using these identifiers as a way to articulate a spiritual fluidity they experience within their religious lives. I explored how this spiritual fluidity functions through conducting interviews with five Lawrence students who routinely attend the Taizé services. Through these interviews, I found that students who identify as “spiritual but not religious,” or as a “religious none,” experience multiple religious expressions in their own life, and this multiplicity has often led to anxiety and insecurity within normative religious communities. Taizé has worked as an exception for these emerging adults, and this is largely due to how they interact with the participatory music that guides each Taizé service. I suggest participatory music alleviates this anxiety by mirroring back the same multiplicity these emerging adults experience within their own religious lives. The more we begin to create dialogue about this multiplicity, the more we can develop language that better represents what these emerging adults are experiencing as they tell their spiritual narrative and as they look for religious communities to feel seen in.

“Come as you are. Sing as you wish. Listen and be heard.” This is what the program reads for the Taizé services that have been going on at Lawrence University in Appleton, Wisconsin for the last three years. Taizé can refer to a place of pilgrimage as well as a form of ecumenical Christian worship that incorporates meditation with chant and silence to create an overall contemplative service. Despite the overall Christian nature of the services, the emerging adults who have been coming together for the last three years (2017-2019) and attend the college have a very hard time considering themselves religious. In fact, some don’t consider themselves to be religious at all. If they’re not religious, why are they attending a religious service...religiously?

The spiritual and religious habits of emerging adults, who range from age 18-25, have been the fascination of many religious studies scholars for good reason. Particularly given the context of the current religious climate across North America, where emerging adults are severing themselves from religious identities now more than ever, it seems specifically pertinent to understand this demographic’s relationship to religious identity. Not only are more emerging adults identifying as nonreligious, but when it comes from the growth of “religious nones” in America, emerging adults are the ones leading this demographic shift. Nones exists as another topic of great interest to many scholars, as these individuals are choosing to identify without affiliation to any religious identity. Atheist or Agnostic doesn’t sum it up for them. Elizabeth Drescher describes claiming “none” as a refusal, “to participate in the normative system of religious identification, where labels suggest general agreement with beliefs, values, and practices that distinguish one religious institution from another” (Drescher 30). This movement against the grain of normative systems of religion has created many questions as to how people come to terms with identifying as none in the first place. Scholars like Chaeyoon Lim have pursued extensive research on the quality of this religious identifier. Lim and his co-writers suggest that the term none is “liminal.” This means that people who say they have no religious affiliation usually, “still hold a weak sense of attachment to a religious tradition and thus may identify with the tradition sometimes, if not always” (Lim, 3). In this sense, Lim suggests that those who identify as none are usually in the process of switching between one religious identity to another.

It stands to be mentioned too that emerging adults take the lead in the growing demographic of “spiritual but not religious” (SBNR) individuals in America. There is also a liminal quality to those who identify as SBNR, because while the name implies an unattachment from religious practice, 60% of those who identify within the group still recognize a religion in their life that predominantly shapes them (Lipka). This functions similarly to the liminal nones who often are likely to move, “betwixt and between the religious and the secular” (Lim, 5). While both these religious identifiers seem to suggest a self-separation from religion, these liminal qualities are still tying back to religious

interests. Through this paper, I question just how non-religious these religiously unaffiliated people are, particularly focusing on emerging adults as they comprise a large percentage of these ambiguously religious identities. I suggest that identities like “religious none” and “spiritual but not religious” might not just indicate a liminal religious experience, where a person moves between the religious and the secular, but might also indicate a spiritually fluid identity, where secular, and multi-spiritual interests exist at the same time. This can be seen by looking at the group of emerging adults who routinely attend Taizé services at Lawrence University. Through listening to the stories of five of these individuals, not only can we understand how spiritual fluidity functions throughout their lives, but we can also try to understand why Taizé is a space where this fluidity feels welcomed. I suggest that Taizé functions this way because the religious multiplicity these emerging adults are experiencing are mirrored back to them through the use of participatory music making used in Taizé.

Taizé: Its History and Current Context

Taizé is a tiny village in western France. Roger Shütz started the community when he moved to the village of Taizé in 1940. Shütz moved to France to serve the many people who had been displaced there from the war. A handful of people joined Shütz in the work he was doing from his home, and a fraternity developed. The brothers at Taizé began to create a form of worship that they could offer to help process the experiences of war and trauma. The services utilized chant and meditation. Even after the war ended, these services continued in the village and increased in popularity. To this day, hundreds of thousands of individuals come to Taizé each year to sing the same chants and to live in the intentional community. Taizé is not just anchored to this physical place of pilgrimage, but it has become a sort of brand. Many churches all over the world lead their own Taizé services. The services at Lawrence University bring in anywhere from 15-25 individuals. The emerging adults who attend most routinely identify with a variety of religious backgrounds, or none at all. The interviews I conducted with these emerging adults were one-on-one and featured a list of prepared questions we discussed together. In its elongated version, I wrote these interviews into extended and analytical narratives. For the sake of length, I have taken out the narrative and have listed a select number of questions followed by their answers for each interviewee.

SADIE

What is your religious identity?

It can be challenging to identify myself in a religion because I think that in growing up in the atmosphere I did, I will always be Catholic. There's good in that,

but there's also a lot of pain. I'm Catholic because that's just what is in my brain and in my body.

Do you ever struggle with your religious identity?

I feel a lot of dissonance between the doctrine I'd learn about at school and how things played out in the church. We'd learn about the catholic social teachings. A lot of it was based in such loving, kind, open, and generous values. But at the same time, queer people get turned away. It is this juxtaposition of teaching one thing that's beautiful but doing another thing that is exclusionary that's given me a lot to struggle with.

What do you think about the difference between being "spiritual," and "religious?"

I don't want to identify as a religious person. I don't always understand the difference between spiritual and religious in the first place. But I find my spirituality coming up in specifically religious contexts. I know my brain and the way I think comes from a religious background; I know that. I don't always know who I want to tell these things to and in what context.

How does Taizé influence your spiritual life?

I always really resonated with music and it's something that kept bringing me back into faith. That's something I get to celebrate in Taizé. On top of that, the rituals of Taizé resonate differently with me than they do in Catholic Mass. In Mass, there's such hardness towards knowing when to stand and when to kneel. The symbolism is important, but I feel the why of it all is often lost. Taizé feels so much more personal and intimate in how the ritual functions. There's ritual but there's also space.

How has your spiritual identity changed since you were a Freshmen at Lawrence?

I didn't want to go to college where I'd have to take religious courses and talk about Catholic theology. But now not having that has felt shocking because so much of my academic upbringing was focused around these subjects. I sometimes wonder if I needed to get away from it in order to choose it. Now I'm at a place

where I could say I don't need this but I'm realizing it is something I do need. I need to start choosing it.

CYNFOR

What is your religious identity?

In Cynfor's terms, he is agnostic in that he doesn't believe in a "capital G-God," but he does believe, "that there's something intangible out there. A power or being or some concept even that isn't just science."

How does Taizé influence your spiritual life?

The more I attended the services, the more I realized how much I enjoyed the community of Taizé. Community is something that I've always said I missed by not being raised in a religious family. I think it would've been really interesting to have a community that I would've grown up with and that would've seen me grow up outside of my family or classmates. The intergenerational aspect of communities in organized worship is a special type of community. It feels increasingly uncommon to see six-year-olds and sixty-year-olds in the same room for the same purpose on a weekly basis. I think that's valuable because there's so much to learn from each other through engaging and interacting with different age demographics. It's an important way to learn about peoples' perspectives and their opinions.

The influence of Taizé cont.

When I go into a church it's almost like a laboratory experiment. It's like I'm investigating the religion to learn about the customs and traditions involved, whether it's the Eucharist or a Catholic wedding. But Taizé is much more personally experiential for me. I'm going because I like it and not because I feel like I'm there to learn something about the process.

AMY

What is your religious identity?

I'm pretty hesitant to say I'm Buddhist because I don't have a background in it. I haven't taken refuge or anything. I do practice Zen and go to a Zen center

every week, I'm part of that community. So maybe there is a place for me, but even then, changing my identity stresses me out. While I feel confident as a Buddhist, I still feel like it might be putting me in a box.

How would you describe your religious upbringing?

I definitely thought about religion a lot growing up. Even though I didn't grow up in a particularly religious family, I was pretty concerned about my own religious identity. In middle school I met a friend who was studying in the U.S. on a foreign exchange program from Pakistan. She is Muslim and very religious, and I thought she was amazing. I really admired her commitment to her faith and meeting her made me realize I wanted to be religious like her. Since I come from a Jewish family and that's my background, I got really into it. I started keeping kosher without telling my parents. I even prayed secretly in a closet, so they wouldn't know what I was doing, as if they'd get upset or something!

What do you think about the difference between being "spiritual" and "religious?"

Religion has always been stressful for me. I don't feel like I have an answer and sometimes I feel like I should. Sometimes I align more with being a spiritual person, but I know I've carried a negative connotation about what the word spiritual means. As if it means I'm less committed or less serious. Even though I know that's not the case, it's what I associate with the word. At the end of the day too, I like the idea of being considered a religious person. I don't know where that comes from, it may be some kind of attachment. What does it really matter? But it does matter.

Do you ever struggle with your religious identity?

I'm insecure in religious circles, and even interfaith situations because I feel like I don't have the background. A lot of people who are religious do have a background in their faith. While I feel really connected to these different circles, communities, and places – I get worried people won't take me seriously.

How does Taizé influence your spiritual life?

I love participatory singing and chanting. I love seeing sacred music as a way to connect with the divine. Maybe it's the way sacred music utilizes physicality or

its embodied nature of singing, but it feels very vulnerable. Something about singing is always so vulnerable. It's hard not to be vulnerable when you sing in a community like Taizé. That's what I love about Taizé. We repeat the same text over and over and it's not about singing well or sounding good, but about connecting with something outside myself. Or maybe inside myself, or with God. Whatever you want to call it.

VIVIAN

What is your religious identity?

The word I need doesn't exist. I think I'm Christian-centered because that's what I grew up with for the most part. But at the same time, maybe there's one god and maybe there's many. I don't really think anyone's wrong. I'm good going anywhere.

How would you describe your religious upbringing?

I was exposed to a lot of different religions growing up. My mother had schizophrenia and she viewed the world as a literal battle between evil things and good things. She liked to go to different religious places to try understanding that battle. So, she'd be Buddhist for a week or two and then leave it behind when it didn't work. Even still, as I grew up, I ended up going to church and even getting confirmed. All the while, there are all sorts of religions mixing at all times for me.

What do you think about the difference between being "spiritual" and "religious?"

I consider myself to be spiritual and little religious. Even though I go to church every week, I don't necessarily know where I fit in. I've picked a church more for a people than for a god. I know I need spirituality in my life, because regardless of whether there's a god I do believe in soul. There's this feeling I get sometimes, when someone tells you the truth and you know immediately that they mean it and it feels pure. You get a glimpse into them. That's a type of evidence to me that these things matter. And I need to keep this part of myself fulfilled.

How does Taizé influence your spiritual life?

The first time I went to a service I was excited because I had been trying out churches in the area, but I also wanted something bound to Lawrence. I went and I loved it. I think the singing did it for me. I love singing, it's one of my favorite pastimes, but I don't do it on my own. It's a chance to make something beautiful with others, like our souls are collaborating. That first time I went people were singing some crazy stuff over the chants too, someone must've been from the con. It all resonated with me so much.

How has your spiritual identity changed since you were a Freshmen at Lawrence?

My spirituality has changed a lot since coming to school. Even though I have a religious community now, I didn't go to church until last year when my mom passed away. I needed something so I just started exploring. You need ways to feed yourself especially through education. I love biochemistry but it's not what I want to do 24/7. Even a lighting a candle helps feed my soul a little bit. Maybe I can't paint something today, tomorrow or next week, but I can light a candle.

NORA

What is your religious identity?

Part of me would still say I'm Lutheran because that's what I was raised in. I feel like the ELCA is what I understand, I get how it works. But I also feel agnostic. Also, it all depends on who I'm talking to. Depending on the audience, how I identify brings up all sorts of questions. I'm drawn to talking about both identities, but I don't want to discuss it with anyone. On top of that, I really don't identify as anything strongly. I often see myself working from agnostic to some sort of middle ground. But it needs to be said that there's no word for this middle ground.

What do you think about the difference between being "spiritual," and "religious?"

The spiritual thing – yep, I get it. The religious one is more difficult for me. For a while I did not want religion. But during my gap year before college I started walking back to it. I met a friend who is studying to be a priest. Talking to him and learning about how much his religion guides him and how much confidence he gets from his faith was really cool to me. Imagine if you could just hand over

burdens to your religion and you don't have to worry so much. It sounds so lovely. I'm just not sure it really is that clear, it almost makes me jealous. So, what would it look like for me, I haven't figured that out.

How does Taizé influence your spiritual life?

Maybe my brain just craves stillness. I need time to go into my own thoughts but not in a negative way. That's why I love Taizé. I also love singing with people. It stems from summer camp. We'd sing with other people and there'd never be written music and there were amazing singers who could do crazy harmonies. Community can be built in one song, that is really incredible. People feel connected to each other because they're all singing the same thing.

How has your spiritual identity changed since you were a Freshmen at Lawrence?

There's been a change for me. Starting out at college, I didn't really see myself as religious. But now I am realizing it's a part of myself. I'm trying out more things and I'm getting more comfortable trying different religions. I'm trying not to feel about it and to own the fact that your spirituality can change and that it's okay.

Concluding Remarks

The five individuals featured in these interviews come from a variety of backgrounds. They differ in whether they see themselves as nones, SBNRs, neither, or both. Despite such a variety of upbringings and affiliations, all these students consistently attend Taizé services. They sit together singing chants about the love and protection of God and Jesus Christ, and they read stories from the Gospel. With such differences, Taizé is serving as a place that highlights what does connect them spiritually.

One aspect that connects these emerging adults is a level of fluidity that is woven through their spiritual narratives. Most all of these students interviewed articulated being influence by multiple religious practices. Identity can be seen as something dynamic and changing as we grow, so why wouldn't spirituality be a part of that growth? The stories of these students line up with Bidwell's narrative of spiritual fluidity which suggests religious bonds are, "shaped simultaneously by symbols and practices from multiple religious traditions as religious symbols speak not only across traditions but also to individuals" (Bidwell 52). These emerging adults are forming religious bonds with multiple religious practices and are being put in a position where they must search for a religious identity that represents this multiplicity.

This commonality of multiplicity highlights one other aspect that connects these emerging adults, their confusion towards religion. For many spiritually fluid people,

initially coming to terms with this fluidity is a time of confusion. Expressing this fluidity to others can come at a risk, and many people who are spiritually fluid, “feel anxious when deciding whether to hide or disclose their religious multiplicity” (Bidwell 53). This anxiety is often rooted in the conception that religion is a singular entity. Some monoreligious communities, “can have a strong negative response to multiple religious bonds,” which can make it stressful to express spiritually fluid identities for fear that one would be, “shunned by those who do not accept complex religious bonds as life-giving.” (Bidwell 58). In all of this anxiety, none of the students listed Taizé as something that adds to this confusion. In fact, most said Taizé works to alleviate it.

When these emerging adults spoke about Taizé, they mainly spoke about the effect that participatory music plays in their own spiritual lives. I posit that because Taizé uses participatory music making, it incorporates multiple forms of spiritual expressions which mirrors a spiritual multiplicity within these emerging adults. The chanting draws from a variety of religious practices, from singing, to meditating, to the use of an array of languages, in order to build community. For these emerging adults, Taizé worship might not be functioning as a Christian space, but more as a multi-spiritual space, with Christianity as the source of symbolism. It is a religious community that hasn’t asked them to confess a faith, to choose one God, or to believe a specific and singular “truth.” The chanting is powerful in that through multiple avenues of expression, individuals are able to engage on their own terms, but towards a collective song. This form of singing is a type of social cohesion that doesn’t ask participants to seek one truth or ideology in asking them to be a part of the music making.

Looking back on these interviews, I’m led to believe that for this circle of emerging adults, navigating SBNR and none identities doesn’t just indicate a liminal attitude towards religious identity, but also might indicate a spiritually fluid attitude towards religious identity. These adults aren’t just in the midst of switching from one identity to the next, they’re learning how these different spiritual expressions converge, and they’re also learning that one religious identity doesn’t summarize this convergence. It seems that at Lawrence, Taizé is bringing these different individuals together largely through its use of participatory music, a form of music which mirrors the same multiplicity they feel within their own spiritual identity. As more people now than ever are severing themselves from religious affiliation, this multiplicity might become more common. Religion has always been ambiguous, and religious expressions have always been borrowing from one another and informing one another. The more we begin to create dialogue about this multiplicity, the more we can develop language that better represents the experiences of these emerging adults as they seek religious communities they can feel seen in.

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What Would it Take to Decarbonize the Economy?: The Case of Vietnam

Thuy Nguyen

Abstract: Staving off the potentially catastrophic effects of global climate change will require steep reductions in global emissions of carbon dioxide (CO₂) and other greenhouse gases. While the academic literature on decarbonization for the United States and other developed countries is vast and growing (Heal 2017, 2019), far less attention has been paid to the cost of clean-energy transitions in developing countries. The difference is important, as electricity consumption has been largely flat in the U.S. and Western Europe, whereas electricity demand has grown rapidly in many developing economies, particularly in Southeast Asia. My work addresses this gap by examining the economic and energy transitions in Vietnam, where electricity demand is growing more rapidly than the economy, creating a demand for a rapid increase in generating capacity within its somewhat tenuous electricity system. Following Heal (2017, 2019), I replicate costs to decarbonize the U.S. economy and employ the same methodology to estimate Vietnam's decarbonization costs. My findings demonstrate that although developing nations face a daunting task of mitigating greenhouse gas emissions, the decarbonization of developing economies will likely prove to be even more costly and challenging. Indeed, although the U.S. economy is 29 times bigger and consumes 21 times more electricity than Vietnam, I find that the cost of transitioning to a carbon-free electricity system for the U.S. by 2050 is only 13.1 times higher than what it would cost for Vietnam.

I. Introduction

Vietnam has experienced exceptional economic growth over the past thirty years, leading to a considerable increase in the average living standard and a substantially lower rate of poverty. The new-found wealth has fueled an even more rapid increase in electricity demand. Since 1992 the growth in Vietnamese electricity consumption has consistently outpaced rates of economic growth, revealing a highly inefficient electricity consumption pattern that has put immense pressure on the electricity system to constantly expand (Dapice 2018).

As the country transitions from a predominantly agrarian economy to an industrialized one, Vietnam now has a conscious choice to make about its electricity generation mix, which bears significant implications on its long-term economic and environmental trajectory. During the last decade, Vietnam has undergone three major structural changes that fundamentally transformed its evolving electricity landscape. First, in 2010, the World Bank reclassified Vietnam as a middle-income country, up from its previous status of a low-income country, reflecting its remarkable economic and electricity consumption growth (Kim and Poensgen 2019). Second, coal has replaced hydropower as the primary source of electricity and is expected to take the central role in the generation mix. The Power Development Plan VII (PDP VII) projects coal will produce 53.2 percent of the total power output while hydropower will produce only 15.5 percent in 2030. Lastly, from a major coal exporter, Vietnam became a net coal importer in 2015 due to its fast-growing demand for coal-based power. In 2019, its coal imports almost doubled, reaching 43.85 million tons of coal, a nearly 15-fold increase since 2014 (GSO 2019). Thus, Vietnam is at a crossroads. The country's once seemingly abundant domestic hydropower and coal resources are no longer sufficient to meet its electricity demand. From a largely self-sufficient country, Vietnam is increasingly reliant on fuels beyond its borders as its domestic resources fall short. Insistence on building out its coal plants will result in dependence on fuel imports and carbon lock-in for many decades to come.

This research paper replicates the analysis by Heal (2017, 2019) and applies the framework in the context of Vietnam to estimate the investment cost required to completely decarbonize its electricity sector. This paper proceeds as follows. Section II describes Heal's analysis and assumptions. Section III describes my replication of his calculations for Vietnam. Section IV describes my results and compares Vietnam and U.S.'s decarbonization costs. I also discuss the implications of my results for comparable Asian economies and provide sensitivity analysis of my results. Lastly, Section V represents my conclusion.

II. Methodology and Assumptions

In 2016, the United States pledged to cut greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions by 80 percent compared to its 2005 levels by 2050 as a signatory to the Paris Agreement (a pledge it has since rescinded). Heal (2017) characterizes a path by which the U.S. could meet these aggressive targets and estimates the cost of doing so. Rather than employing a complicated model, he provides rough calculations of the investment needed to completely switch out of fossil fuels by 2050. In 2019, Heal revises his initial cost assumptions and provides updated estimates.

Heal (2017, 2019) breaks the expenditures into three general categories: (1) new generating capacity from renewable energy, (2) transmission and distribution extension, and (3) energy storage. The deployment of renewable generation capacity affects costs by eliminating fuel costs of coal and natural gas and thermal plant replacement costs. There are a number of salient assumptions that underlie Heal's analysis. First, fossil energy sources account for approximately two-thirds of the current electricity generation, and he assumes that wind and solar photovoltaic (PV) energy completely replace fossil fuels' generation. Second, he assumes that renewable energy requires two days of energy storage capacity to ensure seamless power provision. Third, he assumes that the seasonal cycle does not influence electricity demand and supply.

Cost of New Wind and PV Capacity

The initial step taken of this process is to determine the cost of new wind and solar PV capacity to match the amount of electricity currently generated by thermal power plants. From the annual coal and natural gas power output, which is roughly two-thirds of total U.S. electricity generation, he calculates the effective power capacity needed and equally split this between wind and PV. As renewable energy is highly dependent on weather conditions, the average renewable generation is only a small fraction of its maximum theoretical output. This ratio is known as the capacity factor, which determines the actual installed generating capacity needed to generate the desired amount of electricity. Thus, considering the respective average capacity factors and per kilowatt (kW) costs of wind and solar farms, he estimates that the renewable capacity expansion would cost roughly \$1.68 trillion.

Cost of Additional Transmission Lines

Renewable energy is an intermittent resource, meaning that its availability is contingent on exogenous factors, such as whether the sun is shining. While we receive abundant solar radiation during midday, there is no solar power generated at night. Thus, substantial penetration of renewable electricity production introduces great uncertainty to the electricity system, as peak generation sent to the grid can overwhelm the transmission and distribution system, leading to power grid failure or curtailments

of the variable energy. Thus, the transmission infrastructure needs to be accordingly expanded to connect new renewable farms to the grid and alleviate issues with their fluctuating production. Therefore, Heal assumes that transmission capacity would need to expand by 25 percent along with the buildout of substations and interconnections between the old and new transmission lines. This amounts to roughly \$0.1 trillion, which is a small component of the decarbonization cost when compared to generation and storage capacity costs.

Cost of Energy Storage Capacity

As the electricity system hinges on the constant matching of supply and demand, the main challenge of integrating a large amount of renewable into the energy mix is to stabilize its variable generation to meet the baseload demand. Heal asserts that if the U.S. is serious about reducing GHG emissions through the deployment of renewable energy, “the obvious path forward is to invest in energy storage capacity,” battery storage specifically, to store excess the power output for later use (Heal 2017, p. 323). Although battery storage has often been viewed economically unviable, there has been significant progress towards lowering its costs. Heal (2017) assumes battery storage price to be \$280/kW in the worst-case scenario and \$150/kW in the best-case scenario; however, the recent drop in battery cost has inclined Heal (2019) to revise his initial cost assumptions to just \$75/kWh with no upper bound cost. He further assumes that the storage capacity to store two days of renewable output is required to ensure reliable power production. Then, the energy storage capacity cost is \$1.08 trillion for the U.S (Heal 2019).

Role of Cost Offset

While large-scale adoption of renewable requires additional expenses for generating capacity, transmission, and storage capacity, Heal also specifies two cost savings from renewable deployment. First, renewable farms do not need fuel as once installed, wind and solar virtually generate power at “zero marginal cost” (Heal 2017, pg. 327). To compute fuel cost offset, Heal (2017, 2019) estimates the total amount of coal and gas each needed to produce their current share of the power output and utilize the price of \$50 per ton for coal and \$3 per million British thermal unit (MMBTU) for gas. Assuming renewable replaces coal at a constant rate, Heal (2019) suggests that the U.S. would save \$1.12 trillion of fuels over the course of 30 years. Furthermore, since most U.S. coal power plants and roughly 20 percent of their existing natural gas will have retired by 2050, switching to renewable energy ceases the need to replace these worn-out power plants. At the cost of 3000/kW for coal plants and \$1000/kW for natural gas plants, Heal (2019) finds that the U.S. would save \$1.01 trillion from thermal plants’ replacement costs.

III. The Overall Cost of Carbon-Free Electricity in Vietnam

Key Parameters and Assumptions

Table 1 lays out the key parameters I use to estimate the decarbonization cost of Vietnam along with parameters used in Heal (2019) for the U.S. The wind and solar capacity factors stem from the samples of renewable plants in GreenID (2017) and ASEAN-RESP (2016), respectively. These estimates suggest that despite Vietnam's rich wind potential, the capacity factors for wind and solar are markedly lower in Vietnam compared to the U.S, which implies Vietnam has to expand its renewable capacity by much more than the U.S to generate the same amount of electricity. I utilize the generating capacity cost estimates for Vietnam from Teske, Morris, and Nagrath (2018) and convert them to constant 2019 US\$.⁵⁸ I further assume natural gas price to be \$6 where the current price is approaching in Vietnam (IGU 2019). GreenID (2017) estimates the domestic coal price to be \$64 per ton and coal imports to be \$93 per ton in 2020. Thus, I assume the cost of coal to be roughly in the middle at \$80 per ton.

[Insert Table 1 here.]

Two implicit assumptions in Heal (2017, 2019), while facilitating my analysis of Vietnam, most likely will not hold in the context of the fast-growing country. Following Heal, I assume that neither electricity generation nor the generation mix in Vietnam varies over time. Figure 1 shows the annual GDP and electricity generation growth in Vietnam and the U.S between 2000 and 2018. Although U.S. electricity consumption has been flat, Vietnam has consistently observed double-digit growth in electricity demand over the past two decades. However, while these assumptions do not fit Vietnam, they are less problematic than they first appear and even serve to bolster my conclusions, as I will later explain.

Cost of New Wind and PV Capacity

I apply the framework that Heal has established to investigate the net cost for a steep reduction in GHG emissions in the case of Vietnam and assume that solar and wind capacity is scaled up to displace fossil fuel electricity generation. This means that wind and solar each is responsible for 62 percent of the total electricity generation. Assuming Vietnam's annual electricity generation stay constant at its 2018 level of 212.9 TWh, solar and wind power each need to generate 65.5 TWh annually or 7.48×10^6 kW in terms of effective capacity. Given the wind and solar capacity factors of 30 and 16 percent, respectively, the additional installed capacity needed is 2.49×10^7 kW for wind and 4.67×10^7 kW for solar. Assuming the capacity costs of \$1726/kW and \$1197/kW, the investment cost for new wind and PV amounts to \$43 billion and \$56 billion, respectively.

⁵⁸ \$1 in 2015 is \$1.07865 in \$2019 using the [CPI calculator](#).

Thus, the total cost of replacing fossil fuel generation with renewable power amounts to almost \$100 billion in new capacity.

Costs of Additional Transmissions Line

In line with Heal (2017), I assume a 25 percent extension of the existing transmission line of about 25,000 km (EVN 2017). Transmission capacity costs depend on the number of circuits and their voltage. A 500-kilovolts (kV) transmission line costs \$0.45 million/km/circuit (Fukasawa, Kutani, and Li 2015). Assuming 500 kV AC double-circuit transmission lines of 6250 km, the cost of additional transmission lines will reach \$5.625 billion. With substations and interconnections costs, the total cost of grid extension will fall between \$6 and \$7 billion.

Costs of Energy Storage Capacity

As battery technologies prove to be increasingly cost-effective even in comparison to pump-hydro and compressed air storage, I assume that storage capacity is used to leverage the massive expansion of renewable energy in this study. Consistent with Heal (2017, 2019), I assume the storage capacity which satisfies two average days of generation from wind and solar to ensure stable electricity supply at the cost of \$75/kWh. The assumption of two days serves as an upper bound for how much power we would need to be able to store for extensive penetration of renewable power. The average daily electricity consumption in Vietnam is 0.359×10^9 kWh and thus, the investment in storage for two average days of wind and solar power is \$53.8 billion.

Role of Cost Offsets

Switching from thermal power to renewable would allow Vietnam to limit its reliance on the fuels beyond its border and save billions of dollars due to the high import fuel price it faces. Coal and gas account for 41 and 21 percent of power output in Vietnam. Given 0.00052 short tons of coal or 0.01011 million cubic feet (mcf) of natural gas generate one kWh of electricity (Heal 2017), Vietnam consumes 448 million BTU and 45 million tons of coal to produce electricity annually. Assuming the price of gas and coal to be \$6/million BTU and \$80/ton, Vietnam would save \$94.4 billion from fuel cost offsets over the course of 30 years.

Unlike in the U.S., the coal capacity in Vietnam is relatively young and would still be producing a massive amount of electricity in 2050. By the end of the first half of this century, assuming the retiring age of 40, only one-third of the currently operating coal plants with the total capacity of 2890 MW will retire in Vietnam. At the cost of \$1834/kW, replacing the coal plants retired by 2050 would cost \$5.3 billion. The expansion of gas plants in Vietnam took place during the 2000s. Thus, most of Vietnam's existing gas plants will have retired by 2050. However, this still only amounts to 5152 MW of installed

capacity. At the cost of \$540/kW, replacement cost offset for gas would be \$2.8 billion, making the total replacement cost offset \$8.1 billion.

IV. Results and Discussion

Summary of Results

[Insert Table 2 here.]

Table 2 presents the GDP, electricity generation, and costs of decarbonizing the electricity sector of Vietnam and the United States. The last column compares the relative magnitude of the various variables of interest between the two countries. The figure demonstrates that although the U.S. economy is 29 times bigger and the U.S. consumes 21 times more electricity than Vietnam, the cost of transitioning to a carbon-free electricity system for the U.S. by 2050 is only 13.1 times higher than what it would cost for Vietnam. This result is even more striking when considering my unrealistic assumption that Vietnam observes no electricity consumption growth. Vu, Khanh, Cuong, and Binh (2017) projects that by 2030, Vietnam's electricity consumption will more than double, reaching 511 TWh, while PDP VII suggests that consumption may even triple. Thus, while the decarbonization cost for the U.S. presented serves as an upper bound in Heal (2019), my estimate represents a lower bound cost of Vietnam's carbon-free electricity sector. It is clear that the odds are stacked against the developing country. Whether we adjust for the size of the economy or the total electricity consumption, the decarbonization cost per unit of output for Vietnam is substantially higher than that of the U.S. Thus, while deep decarbonization requires strenuous efforts for the United States, a prosperous developed country, it will prove to be even more taxing for Vietnam, a developing nation with a fast-growing demand for electricity.

To further examine the reasons for the disparity between the decarbonization costs the two countries face, I deconstruct the total cost of decarbonizing the electricity sector for Vietnam and the U.S. into costs and cost offsets, which is summarized in Table 3. Consistent with the previous table, the last column of Table 3 compares the relative magnitude of the cost and cost savings between Vietnam and the U.S.

[Insert Table 3 here.]

Table 3 reveals the two driving forces of the high decarbonization cost in Vietnam. The new wind and solar capacity constitute the largest portion of the decarbonization cost in both countries; however, it would cost the U.S. only 17 times more than Vietnam to build out its renewable capacity. This steep capacity cost is primarily due to the low capacity factors of renewable energy in Vietnam, which implies that Vietnam must

drastically expand its installed renewable capacity to compensate for the poor energy efficiency. Thus, despite having cheaper solar farms and similar wind farms' costs to the U.S., Vietnam's low generation per renewable capacity substantially increases the investments required to scale up wind and PV. Furthermore, since only a handful of coal plants in Vietnam will have retired by 2050, the country would enjoy trivial cost savings from not having to replace worn-out fossil-fuel plants. Although under this plan, Vietnam would benefit immensely from fuel cost savings due to the high coal and gas import price, total savings from deploying renewable is roughly the same for the two countries, once adjusted for electricity generation. The large net decarbonization cost in Vietnam relative to the size of its economy and power output then reflects the country's low capacity factors and trifling replacement cost savings. These characteristics, however, are not unique to Vietnam but are general to many developing Asian economies.

Implications for Developing Countries

ASEAN-RESP (2016) reports the average capacity factors for solar PV plants in its sample of four Association of Southeast Asian Nations's member states including Vietnam to be just 15.4 percent, with a minimum of 10.8 percent and a maximum of 18.4 percent. China does not perform any better as its wind farms' capacity factor stood at only 16.5 percent in 2016, whereas the EU and the U.S. enjoyed the average capacity factors of 22.5 and 32 percent, respectively (Huenteler et al. 2018). Additionally, the fleet of coal power plants is significantly younger in Asia compared to developed Western countries. In 2019, the International Energy Agency reports that the average age of coal power plants in Asia is 12 years (The Guardian 2019), while the majority of coal plants in the U.S. have already exceeded 40 years old (Heal 2017). Thus, by 2050, there will be far more retired coal plants in the U.S. than in developing Asian economies, who will realize little benefits from the replacement cost offsets by switching to renewable. Although my analysis is specific to the context of Vietnam and its electricity sector, my conclusion can be generalized to comparable Asian countries, who will also encounter enormous financial barriers to decarbonization due to their low renewable efficiency rate and young coal plants.

Sensitivity Analysis

I also conduct a sensitivity analysis to examine the robustness of my results. Figure 2 shows the percentage changes in the decarbonization cost in response to a 50 percent increase/decrease in the parameters used. Consistent with the previous cost breakdown in Table 3, the sensitivity analysis suggests the capacity factors of renewable have consequential effects on whether decarbonization is economically viable. Given a 50% increase in the capacity factors for both wind and solar farms, the cost of a carbon-free electricity sector declines by 59%, while a 50% decrease in the capacity factors leads to a 178% rise in the decarbonization costs. Figure 2 shows two striking features of the

capacity factors. First, any reductions in the capacity factors would exacerbate the cost of a carbon-free electricity system. Second, the higher the capacity factor, the less sensitive the decarbonization cost is to its changes, as shown by the differences between the sensitivity of wind and PV capacity factors. It is also interesting to note that a 50 percent increase in renewable capacity factors would place the two countries' renewable efficiency rates roughly equal. Thus, if Vietnam were able to maintain its renewable capacity costs and considerably improve its renewable's efficiency rates to the same level as those in the U.S., its decarbonization cost would decrease to just \$23.3 billion. The total cost is also sensitive to my assumption about the price of gas. Thus, in line with the analysis in Heal (2017), cost offsets constitute a major appeal of decarbonization.

V. Conclusion

Vietnam is in transition. During the past three decades, the country has experienced transformative economic development that drives exponential growth in electricity consumption. To accommodate its electricity demand, Vietnam has increased its reliance on coal as its hydropower is nearly depleted. However, coal poses an increasingly unattractive option due to the limited domestic supply and the environmental consequences of coal combustion. Thus, Vietnam now has a complex decision to make about its electricity generation mix. Locking in coal implies that the country will bear the full cost of climate change. However, to sharply reduce its carbon footprint, Vietnam faces the dual challenges of decarbonizing its existing electricity sector and meeting the new demand with zero-carbon sources.

My paper applies the framework established in Heal (2017, 2019) to estimate the investment cost of decarbonizing Vietnam's electricity sector and demonstrates that while decarbonization is difficult for advanced economies, it is an uphill battle for developing countries like Vietnam. Regardless of whether we adjust for the size of the economy or electricity consumption, Vietnam's per unit decarbonization cost is much higher than that of the U.S. The factors that drive up this cost, low capacity factors and a relatively young fleet of coal plants, are not unique to Vietnam but are general to many other emerging or even newly industrialized countries such as China or South Korea. Thus, my paper sheds light on the frustrating problem of climate change mitigation. Although decarbonization may be a manageable problem for developed nations such as the U.S. (Heal 2017), developing countries, who lack the means to respond to climate change, face even higher financial barriers to reduce GHG emissions.

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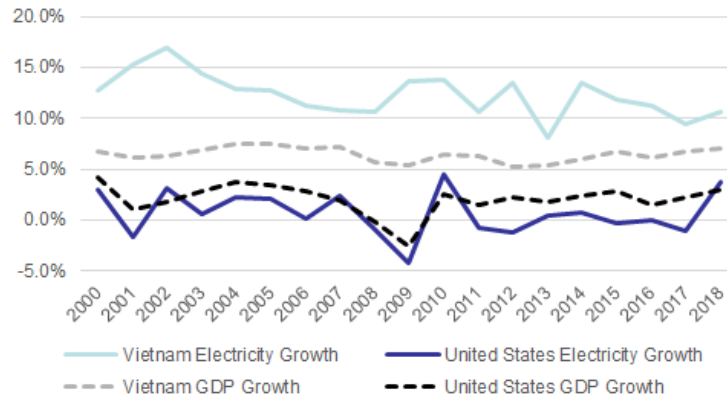
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Appendix

Table 1: Key Parameters	Vietnam	U.S
Generation (TWh)	212.9	4461
NG share (%)	21	33
Coal share (%)	41	33
Total (%)	62	66
Capacity factor (%)		
Wind	30	42
Solar	16	26
Capital cost (\$2019/kW)		
Wind	\$1726	\$1600
Solar	\$1197	\$1900
Coal	\$1834	\$3000
Natural Gas	\$540	\$1000
Storage		
Price (\$/kWh)	\$75	\$75
Days	2	2
Fuel costs		
Coal (\$2019/ton)	\$80	\$50
NG (\$2019/MMBTU)	\$6	\$3

Sources: BP World Energy (2019), Green ID (2017), ASEAN-RESP (2016), Teske, Morris, and Nagrath (2018), IGU (2019)

Figure 1: GDP and Electricity Generation Annual Growth (%)



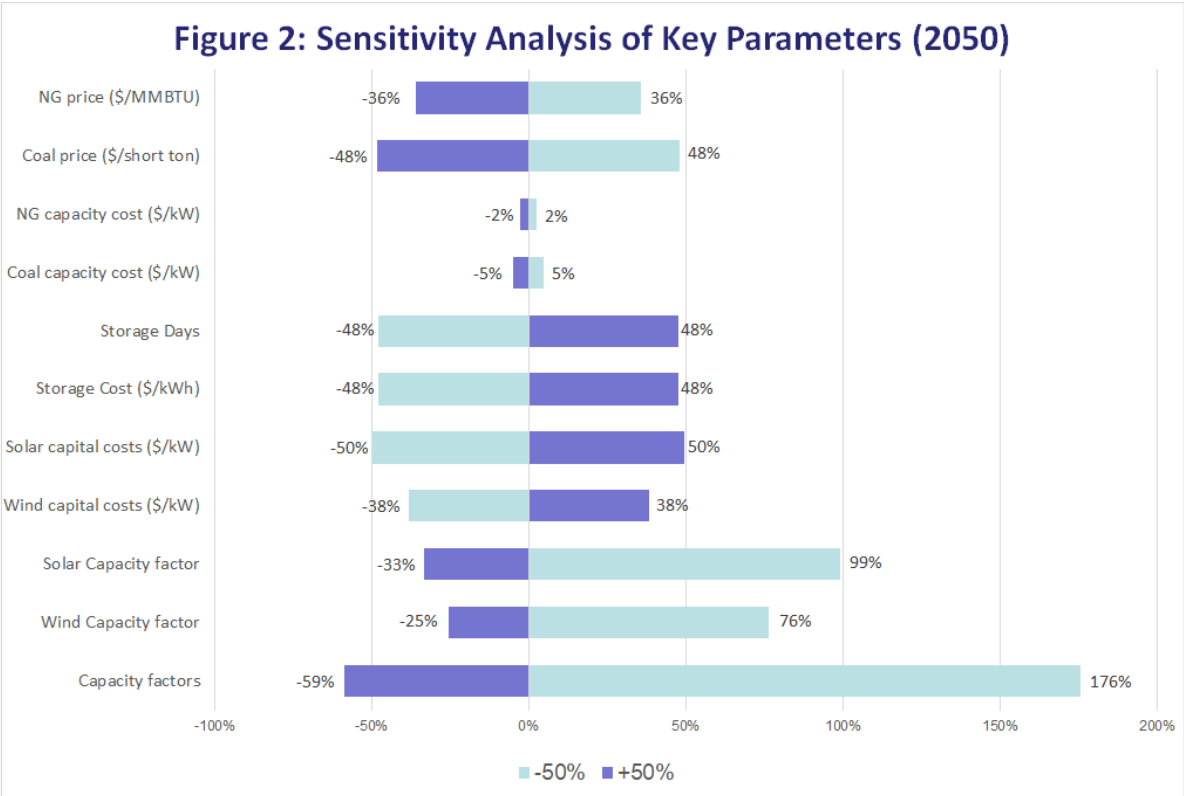
Sources: World Bank Group and author's calculations using data from BP World Energy (2019)

Table 2: GDP, Electricity Generation, and Costs of Decarbonization			
Category	United States	Vietnam	US/VN
GDP, PPP (\$2011 trillion)	\$18.2 trillion	\$0.6 trillion	28.9
Electricity generation (TWh)	4460.8 TWh	212.9 TWh	21.0
Carbon-free electricity system (\$ 2019 billion)	\$734.8 billion	\$56.3 billion	13.1

Note: The total cost of decarbonizing the electricity sector for the U.S. and Vietnam stems from Heal (2019) and author's calculations, respectively. The other data are from the World Bank Group and BP World Energy (2019).

Table 3: Cost of a Carbon-Free Electricity Sector by 2050 (\$2019)			
Category	United States	Vietnam	US / VN
Capacity	\$1675.2 billion	\$99.0 billion	16.9
Storage	1084.9	53.8	20.2
Grid	100.0	6.0	16.7
Fuel offsets	1115.3	94.4	11.8
Capacity offsets	1010.0	8.1	125
Total	734.8	56.5	13.1

Note: The first column is from Heal (2019). The second column is the author's calculations. The last column compares the relative magnitude of the estimates for the two countries.



Note: Figure 2 shows the changes in the decarbonization cost in Vietnam with $\pm 50\%$ decrease/increase in values of key parameters.

Las Locas en la Naturaleza

Callie Ochs

Abstract: This paper tracks the usage of the word “loc@”, which translates both as the adjective mad and as the noun madman/woman, throughout *La Loca de Gandoca*, a novel by Anacristini Rossi. The novel follows the fight of a woman against developers to protect a wildlife refuge on the Costa Rica coastline. This paper seeks to understand how the word “loc@” is used by the author and by the actors within the novel, and to use this understanding to establish precedent for new ways of thinking about and using this word. The nickname “loca” is associated with the main character of the work, Daniela. This paper cites both a linguistic study and a literary study in tracking the use of the word “mad” in relation with outspoken women to further understand the historical power-dynamics at play. This paper then draws parallels between the narrative of madwoman that is constructed for Daniela and the narrative that is constructed by those same authorities about the land she protects. Just as a madwoman is easily dismissed, so too is a wildlife refuge that is already “too altered” by human interference. This paper uses works from both the ecocriticism and ecofeminism schools of literary theory to establish precedents for this connection between ruined womanhood and ruined nature. The paper finally turns to the author’s decision in choosing the word “loca” as such a prominent part of her book. This paper argues that, through her continued use of the word and through Daniela’s gradual acceptance of the word, both author and character begin to reclaim it. This paper argues that, while in a typical, male-dominated literary tradition a madwoman may be a thing to be avoided, cured or suppressed, in a newer, more broadly representative literature, being mad may simply be a sign of a refusal to obey authority and of the courage it takes to break with traditional expectations.

En *La Loca de Gandoca* de Anacristini Rossi, la palabra 'loca' desempeña un papel importante en la lucha en contra de la protagonista. Ella está luchando para proteger el Refugio de Vida Silvestre Gandoca – Manzanillo, y el gobierno está intentando a entregar esta área a los desarrolladores. Rossi cuenta la historia de como la palabra 'loca' está usado por los ministros y empresarios en una guerra publicitaria en contra de Daniela y su Refugio, pero también explora las otras posibilidades de la palabra 'loca'.

Al comienzo del libro, la palabra 'loca' aún no pertenece a las autoridades. De hecho, a primera vista, los locos en este libro parecen ser los empresarios que piensan a desarrollar el Refugio ilegalmente. El primer uso de la palabra 'loc@' en el libro es cuando responde el biólogo, Álvaro Cienfuegos, a las noticias de Daniela que "el Ministerio se dice que ese refugio ya no vale la pena" (Rossi 22). Él dice de los ministros que "¡Están locos!" (Rossi 22). En este caso, "loco" sale de la boca de Álvaro por sorpresa. En este momento, parece racional a él y al lector, que las autoridades van a ser del lado de Daniela, que tiene la fuerza de la ley con ella, y que todo va a salir bien. Parece loco pensar de otra manera. Esta evaluación por un científico presenta un punto de partida por mi exploración de esta palabra. "Loc@" no tiene que ser la palabra convertido en un arma en que se convierte. Aunque incluso en este caso la palabra no falta un trasfondo de peligro. Álvaro encuentra esta palabra en su sorpresa, y lo usa para combatir el ataque que presentan estos empresarios a su obra de una vida.

Pronto, las autoridades empiezan cambiar la historia. Se empiezan cuando Daniela logra su primera victoria: cuando logra que la Procuraduría advierte el Ministro que no puede "arrogarse potestades de desarrollo turístico en lugar de proteger los recursos naturales" (Rossi 41). Este es la primera vez que alguien en una posición de autoridad ha estado de acuerdo con Daniela. Es la primera vez que ella constituye una amenaza. Así, el Ministro se pone en guardia. Hace la misma cosa como Álvaro y ataca a Daniela verbalmente. Vocifera que "Daniela Zermat es una loca, que tiene una loca en su Ministerio y que a esa loca hay que echarla" (Rossi 41). En otras palabras, cuando ella empieza a dudar su autoridad, el Ministro inmediatamente recurre a usar insultos personales, y específicamente 'loca'. En este momento, el ministro habla por sorpresa, pero pronto se ve que esta palabra se convierte en algo más premeditado.

Este es el primer caso de llamar Daniela "loca", pero ya sabemos que va a volverse su apodo por el titulo del libro. El apodo 'loca' no se establece hasta que Daniela presenta otra amenaza: organizar la comunidad. Ella no pretende dirigir los habitantes del Refugio, pero ellos vienen para pedirle información en lo que está pasando. Organizan una reunión y a lo largo de algunas semanas empiezan a formar un grupo organizado. Entonces el 'hombre de diez bypasses', un "empresario no muy respetado", hace su "declaración de guerra" (Rossi 52, 53). Él empieza una campaña de publicidad en contra

de la reputación de Daniela. Ella recibe las noticias de una amiga quien la llama para decirle que “la gente del refugio anda diciendo HORRORES de vos, HORRORES” (Rossi 61). Después de esta llamada, las comunidades que antes apoyaban a Daniela ahora no quieren oír de ella. Después de esto, “ninguno de los líderes comunales [le] volvió a llamar...No volvieron a convocar a ninguna reunión” (Rossi 62). Esta es la empieza de la perdición de Daniela. Desde este campaña crece el apodo de ‘loca’ y la historia de una “loca de Gandoca” de poca confianza y inestable.

Esta historia crece de una tradición de llamar a mujeres locas. Usar la palabra ‘loca’ para desacreditar una mujer tiene precedentes largos en la tradición literaria y en el habla cotidiana. Un estudio lingüístico muestra que las palabras como ‘loca’ son asociadas con más frecuencia con mujeres. Dice que, “WOMAN patterns more strongly with *distraught, dissatisfied, mad, neurotic* and *silly*... *Mad man* and *silly man* were not generated” (Jevrić). Ya existe en la imaginación popular. No es difícil imaginar una mujer inestable, emocional, “silly”. Así, de este procede la campaña de ataques verbales, de esta tradición bien establecida.

The Madwoman in the Attic por Gilbert y Gubar, ofrece una explicación por este fenómeno. Expone las dos opciones que existen por los personajes femeninos, o que sea un ángel o que sea un monstruo. El ángel es una mujer que se restringe a las actividades femeninas, que es pasiva, la esposa o hija perfecto en otras palabras. El monstruo es una mujer que no se cuadra con este ejemplo. El texto dice que, “assertiveness, aggressiveness—all characteristics of a male life of “significant action”—are “monstrous” in women precisely because “unfeminine”” (Gilbert & Gubar 28). Las autoridades quieren un ángel. Es mucho más fácil para ellos si Daniela desempeña un papel pasivo, pero en lugar de eso Daniela posee estos característicos “masculinos”, y por eso es monstruo.

No requiere mucha imaginación pasar de una mujer monstruosa a una mujer loca. ‘La loca’ se queda a dentro de esta definición de monstruo. Gilbert y Gubar dicen claramente que para las autoridades masculinos “insubordinate women are merely...neurotic women” (Gilbert & Gubar 61). Así por la misma razón que Daniela es monstruo, Daniela es loca. Las autoridades no están sosteniendo que Daniela tiene una enfermedad mental. Su ‘locura’ pública no tiene a ver con diagnósticos médicos, tiene a ver con el hecho que ella no quiere callarse antes de las autoridades, que ella es, como dijeron Gilbert y Gubar, *insubordinate*.

Este no es solamente una guerra de insultos, también es una guerra de realidades. Daniela no solamente está luchando en contra de gente que tienen otra perspectiva que ella, pero está luchando en contra de gente que crean su propia realidad. Para mostrar un

ejemplo de esta manipulación, considera el uso de lenguaje del Ministro. Él sigue diciendo que Ecodolares es “totalmente ecológico”, que la urbanización es “totalmente ecológica”, que el salón de patines va a ser “totalmente ecológica” (Rossi 37, 71). Él sigue usando esta frase para que se vuelve realidad (de la misma manera como algunos políticos en los EEUU hoy en día). Él intenta cambiar la realidad con sus palabras. Esta actitud es suficiente para volver loco a cualquiera.

Los ministros también usaban este tipo de narrativo para hablar de la naturaleza misma. Cuando Daniela consigue que el Viceministro, una supuesta ambientalista, se reúne con ella, él la ninguneó. Él dice que, “Me han dicho que ese refugio está demasiado alterado. Que ya no vale la pena protegerlo” (Rossi 18). Este es la actitud de los demás de los ministros también: que ya está demasiado alterado. Esta actitud suena familiar porque es la misma manera en que Daniela ya está considerado demasiado alterado y por lo tanto loca.

Este tipo de pensamiento viene de la idea que la ‘tierra salvaje’ solo sirve si está totalmente intocado. En *Ecocriticism*, Greg Garrard describe algunos de los tropos de la ‘tierra salvaje’ que han existido en la literatura. Dice, “the ideal wilderness space is wholly pure by virtue of its independence from humans” (Garrard 78). Dice que, “this vision has pernicious consequences for our conceptions of nature and ourselves since it suggests that nature is only authentic if we are entirely absent from it” (Garrard 77). Mientras esta ideología se cuadra mejor con la ideología de Daniela, también es parte del excuso que usan los ministros para desarrollar el Refugio. Porque la tierra ya está dañada, no sirve como ‘tierra salvaje’ y no sirve como refugio de vida silvestre.

Analizar los narrativos de la ‘locura’ de Daniela y lo de la naturaleza ‘sin esperanza de salvar’ juntos es útil porque los dos nos ayuda entender como las autoridades sofocan las voces subalternas. Esta conexión entre las voces subalternas forma el base de la escuela de ecofeminismo. En el libro *Ecofeminism: women, culture, nature* Karen Warren dice que, “According to ecological feminists (“ecofeminists”), important connections exist between the treatment of women, people of color, and the underclass on one hand and the treatment of nonhuman nature on the other” (Warren 3). Es útil entender como las autoridades descartan Daniela para entender como descartan la naturaleza y viceversa. Mujeres son blancos fáciles para descartar con narrativos de locura por las razones ya enumerado arriba, pero estos mismos métodos pueden ser usados contra la naturaleza. Al mismo tiempo, el narrativo sobre el Refugio que dice que ya no vale la pena es un arma para el narrativo de locura de Daniela. Se preguntan ¿por qué está protegiendo esta loca un refugio que ya no vale como refugio?

Por el otro lado, la palabra 'loca' no viene solamente de los ministros y empresarios. Anacristina Rossi eligió el título de este libro. Eligió centrarse en la palabra 'loca'. Es fácil analizar las acciones de las autoridades como gente actual, pero son personajes creados por una autora. Rossi está contando su propia historia de lucha contra el gobierno, y ella misma eligió como estaba retratado la locura. En este sentido, el poder del apodo 'la loca de Gandoca' no tiene que quedar únicamente en las manos de las autoridades. Se puede ver esta posibilidad en la manera en que Rossi introduce la palabra. Ya he hablado de la primera uso de la palabra 'loc@', pero también vale la pena a notar el primer uso del apodo completa, 'la loca de Gandoca'. Ocurre cuando Daniela está hablando con su pareja después de un largo día de activismo, y está dicho por Daniela misma (Rossi 93). Daniela está empezando a reconocer este apodo, y por este empieza a reclamarlo como suyo. Dado que la autora tiene el poder de decidir donde a colocar esta palabra, esta elección muestra que Rossi también está reclamando este apodo. Estoy seguro de que las autoridades tienen otros insultos para llamarla, pero ella elige este en que fijarse.

Tal vez esto es porque la locura ofrece un tipo de libertad. Las autoras de *The Madwoman in the Attic*, dicen que, "the madwoman in literature by women is not merely, as she might be in male literature, an antagonist or foil to the heroine. Rather, she is usually in some sense the Author's double, an image of her own anxiety and rage" (Gilbert & Gubar 78). En el caso de este libro, el personaje de Daniela y su reputación como loca representa la frustración de Rossi misma, aunque en este caso Rossi no es tímida acerca de que Daniela es su doble; incluso escribe el final para mostrar que Daniela es la autora.

Y Rossi reconoce que 'loca' tiene algunos rasgos positivos. En la conversación entre Daniela y su pareja hay otras pruebas de las posibilidades positivas de la 'locura'. De inmediato después de Daniela dice 'la loca de Gandoca', su pareja manifiesta que la locura no tiene que ser cosa mala. Dice "Es buena tu locura, es tu rasgo más genial" (Rossi 93). Por lo largo del cuento ser 'la loca' ha sido un insulto, un arma para el gobierno, pero como mencionada arriba, la 'locura' en el sentido que usan las autoridades para crear este apodo solo es un desafío a las autoridades. Como dicen Gilbert y Gubar, "from a male point of view, women who reject the submissive silences of domesticity have been seen as terrible object...But from a female point of view the monster woman is simply a woman who seeks the power of self-articulation" (Gilbert & Gubar 79). La 'locura' de Daniela es una manera para rechazar las restricciones de las autoridades y para expresarse. En esta manera, 'loca' más que otros insultos, ofrece la posibilidad de ser recuperado.

Para demostrar este último punto, regresamos al estudio de Jevrić. En este estudio contrasten el uso de loc@ cuando asociado con mujeres y con hombres. Dice que, “By contrasting the *mad woman* with *the man is mad*, we see that *mad woman* illustrates that madness is closely connected to the noun. *The man is mad* suggests that his madness might only be a temporary condition or, if a complement is added, it might even have a neutral or positive connotation – *the man is mad about sport*” (Jevrić). Así, hay otras posibilidades para esta palabra. Es posible ser ‘loca por’ algo en vez de ser ‘la loca’. Significa que Daniela, y los demás de las ambientalistas que representa, pueden ser locos por la naturaleza en vez de solo ser locos.

Jugar con palabras es uno de los métodos que pueden usar los autores para explorar posibilidades. Rossi muestra que la palabra “loc@”, y loca específicamente, tiene muchas potencialidades. *La Loca de Gandoca* interroga el tratamiento de mujeres y la naturaleza por la palabra ‘loca’. Cuenta la historia de una ambientalista casi derrocada por esta palabra, pero muestra que todavía hay esperanza. Aunque las autoridades les llaman locas, todavía siguen luchando. Tal vez porque les llaman locas siguen luchando.

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Garrard, Greg. *"Wilderness" Ecocriticism*. Garrard, Greg. Routledge, 2012.

Este capítulo habla del tropo literario de 'tierra salvaje'. Empieza con nociones antiguos de la tierra salvaje como espacio que pertenece a las bestias y existe más allá de las áreas cultivadas. En esta visión del mundo la tierra salvaje es un lugar peligroso. Más tarde la tierra salvaje se convierte en algo sublime, más allá del mundo humano, algo divino. Pero lo más importante es que sea inmaculado. Este es un parte de la noción de la naturaleza que tenemos hoy en día. Garrard complica esta idea por observar que esta simplificación borra los narrativos humanos de los que vivían allí.

Gilbert, Sandra M., and Susan Gubar. "Infection in the Sentence: The Woman Writer and the Anxiety of Authorship" *The Madwoman in the Attic: The Woman Writer and the Nineteenth-Century Literary Imagination*. Gilbert, Sandra M., and Susan Gubar. Yale University Press, 1980.

Este capítulo habla de las ansiedades que vienen con ser una autora en un mundo restringido por los hombres. Menciona otra vez la dicotomía entre ángel mujer y monstruo mujer de que habla el capítulo anterior, y muestra que esta dicotomía lo hace difícil escribir con personajes mujeres. Muestra que, para eludir las restricciones de un mundo dominado por los hombres, las autoras tenían que esconder sus sentimientos verdaderos detrás de sus contenidos 'públicos'. Un mecanismo de esto fue escribir sobre personajes 'locos'. Estos personajes desobedecen las normas sociales, y por eso representan los deseos de las autoras mismas.

Jevrić, Tamara. "'Medical Men' and 'Mad Women' - A Study into the Frequency of Words through Collocations." [Sic] - *a Journal of Literature, Culture and Literary Translation*, no. 1.8, 1 Dec. 2017, doi:10.15291/sic/1.8.lc.2.

Este estudio analiza los adjetivos más frecuentes que preceden las palabras "mujer" y "hombre". El estudio hace este por el uso de un análisis estadístico del British National Corpus. En el parte en que enfoco yo, el estudio compara las palabras sobre enfermedades mentales asociadas con mujeres y hombres. Muestran que "mad", "neurotic" y "silly" aparecen con más frecuencia asociadas con mujeres, y que cuando "mad" aparece con un hombre es en la forma de "el hombre es loco", en vez de "mujer loca". Este es un estudio lingüístico de una profesora de la Universidad de Priština en Kosovo.

Warren, Karen. "Taking Empirical Data Seriously: An Ecofeminist Philosophical Perspective" *Ecofeminism: Women, Culture, Nature*. Warren, Karen, and Nisvan Erkal. Indiana University Press, 1997, pp. 3-20.

Esta fuente habla de las conexiones importantes entre el tratamiento de las mujeres y de la naturaleza. Este capítulo se centra en la medición empírico de los lazos entre las mujeres y la naturaleza. Habla de como las mujeres usan la naturaleza en una manera distinto y menos medido que los hombres. También habla de algunas circunstancias en que las mujeres han sufrido más que los hombres por la destrucción de la naturaleza. Describe como el lenguaje sobre la naturaleza usa lenguaje de género y como este lenguaje está usado para justificar la extracción y explotación de la tierra. Demuestra que para solucionar las cuestiones ambientales necesitamos abordar las cuestiones de grupos subalternos, para ella este significa mujeres. Habla de las multitudes de manifestaciones que estaban iniciados por mujeres, y de los movimientos grass-roots que son ligados a cuestiones de mujeres.

Just Terrorism in the Name of National Liberation

Logan Robison

Abstract: While discussion of “terrorism” is ubiquitous in modern political discourse, definitions of what exactly this term entails remain heavily controversial. Despite this lack of agreement on a precise definition, there is a general consensus that “terrorism”—whatever it may be—is necessarily morally wrong. A precise definition of what constitutes a “terrorist” act is needed in order to determine whether—and under which circumstances—such actions may ever be morally justified. Using the actions of Algerian nationalists during the Algerian Revolution as a case study, I reject any conception of terrorism that necessarily includes the targeting of “innocents” and put forward a definition that focuses on the fundamentally political nature of terrorist attacks. I contend that terrorism may be considered morally just when it is employed against those who are “non-innocent.” In the case of the Algerian Revolution, I utilize the arguments of various anti-colonial theorists to categorize settlers who participate in the colonial occupation of another people’s land as “non-innocent,” thereby making them liable to justifiable terrorist attacks.

For centuries, “terrorist” has been a pejorative term, used to brand official enemies of the established order as unjustifiably evil, whose actions are morally indefensible. However, from French Jacobins during the Reign of Terror to the 9/11 hijackers, those who have been branded as “terrorists” often have little in common. The wide variation in definitions of “terrorism,”⁵⁹ as well as the term’s prevalence in any discussion of modern-day armed conflict, necessitates a more satisfactory characterization of what “terrorism” actually is. In this essay, I formulate a precise definition of what constitutes a “terrorist” act and determine whether such actions may ever be morally justified. Using the actions of Algerian nationalists during the Algerian Revolution as a case study, I reject any definition of terrorism that necessarily includes the targeting of “innocents” and contend that terrorism may be considered morally just when it is employed against those who are can be considered “non-innocent.” In the case of the Algerian Revolution, I extend Anne Schwenkenbecher’s criteria for “non-innocence” to include settlers who participate in the colonial occupation of another people’s land, thereby making them liable to justifiable terrorist attacks.

While there exists much debate concerning terrorism committed by state actors, in this discussion, I am principally concerned with what Martha Crenshaw Hutchinson defines as “revolutionary terrorism,” a strategy in which insurgents utilize “terrorist” tactics in an attempt to seize power from an established state and implement political and social change.⁶⁰ Hutchinson bases her analysis of revolutionary terrorism on the actions of the Front de Libération Nationale (FLN) during the Algerian Revolution. From 1954 to 1962, the native Algerian people, under the leadership of the FLN, waged an ultimately victorious war of independence against their French colonial rulers. This conflict was notable for the particularly violent tactics used on both sides; the French indiscriminately bombed Algerian cities, massacred civilians, and famously resorted to torture during interrogations, while the FLN led a campaign of deadly attacks against the civilian population of White French settlers, known as the Pied-Noir.⁶¹ While the actions of the FLN have been lauded by many for their brave (and effective) resistance to colonial occupation, they have been condemned by others for their brutal attacks against allegedly “innocent” civilians, and for being the progenitors of modern terrorism. Because of this controversy over the FLN’s tactics, they have been the focus of many discussions on the ethics of terrorism.

⁵⁹ When a group of experts was asked to define “terrorism,” the only definition that could be derived from what all of their answers had in common was that it “is a strategy or a tactic that employs violence or force in order to reach political objectives.” Anne Schwenkenbecher, *Terrorism: A Philosophical Entry* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 14.

⁶⁰ Martha Crenshaw Hutchinson, “The Concept of Revolutionary Terrorism,” *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 16, no. 3 (1972): 384, Accessed January 21, 2020. www.jstor.org/stable/173583.

⁶¹ Hutchinson, “Revolutionary Terrorism,” 386.

In order to investigate the moral consequences of terrorism, it is necessary to establish a definition of the tactic itself. The lack of a solid definition of terrorism allows the label to be manipulated to suit various propagandists' political agendas. Only when the actual contents of an action are determined can its moral consequences be analyzed.

The philosopher Michael Walzer approaches his definition of terrorism through the terrain of Just War theory, of which he is a prominent proponent. Just War theory investigates the ethics of warfare, determining both whether a war is fought for a just cause—in which case it complies with *jus ad bellum*—and whether a war is fought using just methods—complying with *jus in bello*. Terrorism, being a tactic, falls most closely under the jurisdiction of *jus in bello*, despite the fact that it is not always used in a wartime setting. The rules of *jus in bello* “set certain classes of people” such as those who are considered to be “innocents” “outside the permissible range of warfare, so that killing any of their members is not a legitimate act of war but a crime.”⁶² Terrorism as defined by Walzer necessarily violates *jus in bello*, as he claims that it consists of “the random killing of innocent people, in the hope of creating pervasive fear. The fear can serve many different political purposes...Randomness and innocence are the crucial elements in the definition.”⁶³ This definition encapsulates the orthodox critique of terrorism because it “hangs especially on the idea of innocence.”⁶⁴ Under this definition, terrorism necessarily harms innocents and is undeniably morally wrong.

Before we proceed, it is important to understand what exactly is meant by “innocent,” as well as what it would mean to be “non-innocent.” Walzer describes innocents as those who “have done nothing...that entails the loss of their rights.”⁶⁵ In Just War theory, combatants—soldiers fighting in a war—lose their right not to be killed during wartime because of their (willing) participation in that war, and can be considered to be “non-innocents.” Those who do not participate (to a certain degree) have not lost that right, are protected under *jus in bello*, and are deemed “innocents.”⁶⁶ Similarly, Schwenkenbecher claims that “innocents” are “persons who are in no plausible sense responsible for the problem the terrorist combats,”⁶⁷ while non-innocents are those who can be held morally responsible for those problems, either through their direct involvement, or their inaction when they had the ability to intervene.⁶⁸ There is a general consensus that innocents are not responsible for the present state of things, are not liable to attack. A list of those who

⁶² Michael Walzer, *Just and Unjust Wars*, (New York: Basic Books, 2015), 42.

⁶³ Michael Walzer, “Terrorism and Just War,” *Philosophia* 34, (2006): 3, doi: 10.1007/s11406-006-9004-1.

⁶⁴ Walzer, “Terrorism and Just War,” 3.

⁶⁵ Walzer, *Just and Unjust Wars*, 146.

⁶⁶ Walzer, “Terrorism and Just War,” 3.

⁶⁷ Schwenkenbecher, 51.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 58.

can be considered “innocent” would include children, those with no political power, and those with no connection to the situation at hand. Meanwhile, those who are responsible, such as politicians, soldiers, police, financiers, propagandists, etc. are considered non-innocent and may be held liable to attack.

Returning to Walzer’s definition of terrorism, there lies an obvious question. What makes the targeting of innocents with the intent to spread fear in pursuit of a political goal different from targeting non-innocents with the same intent? Consider two hypothetical scenarios: A) dissidents bomb a non-innocent politician’s home with the intention of killing the politician’s child in order to intimidate the politician’s party into passing a law. B) dissidents bomb a non-innocent politician’s home with the intention of killing that politician in order to intimidate their party into passing a law. The two situations are nearly identical, with the only difference being the innocence (or lack thereof) of the target. It seems rational to classify both actions as different implementations of the same tactic, i.e. the use of violence to elicit a desired political response out of a particular group. However, only scenario A falls under Walzer’s definition of terrorism, as scenario B did not result in the deaths of any innocents. Additionally, the two instances would most likely have different ethical consequences, as killing a young child is far worse than killing a “non-innocent” politician. If scenario B *were* accepted under the orthodox understanding of terrorism, would it merit the same level of moral condemnation reserved for all other acts of “terrorism,” such as scenario A? This thought experiment appears to demonstrate that Walzer’s conventional definition of terrorism does not adequately address all aspects of the matter.

Despite this, it is possible that Walzer would argue that scenario B is not an example of terrorism, but of assassination. When explaining why he feels that terrorism is fundamentally unjust, Walzer contrasts terrorists’ alleged lack of discrimination between innocents and non-innocents with what he calls the assassin’s “political code.” According to Walzer, the political code is a rule that mimics the *jus in bello* principle of discrimination between combatants and noncombatants during war, and which leads assassins to only target political figures while avoiding harming civilians. Walzer believes that some assassinations may be morally permissible, given that they have a just cause, saying that “we judge the assassin by his victim, and when the victim is Hitler-like in character, we are likely to praise the assassin’s work.”⁶⁹

However, Walzer’s hypothetical rebuttal misses a key difference between assassination and terrorism. Ignoring any difference in the culpability of their targets, terrorism and assassination differ dramatically in what they set out to achieve. The main

⁶⁹ Walzer, *Just and Unjust Wars*, 199-200.

goal of an assassination is to remove a specific person from power, while any politically beneficial fear that spreads as a result of the attack is only a welcome byproduct. Conversely, the primary objective of any terrorist attack is to spread terror among a specific group in an attempt to make political gains, while the deaths of any enemies in the actual attack are merely additional benefits. In Schwenkenbecher's terms, assassination (like conventional warfare) is a "direct" tactic, where the primary objective is physical dominance, while terrorism is an "indirect" tactic where the primary objective is psychological dominance.⁷⁰

This stark difference between terrorism and other forms of political violence warrants a shift towards focusing on the tactic's indirect strategy as its defining feature, rather than obsessing over the moral status of its targets. With this in mind, I contend that "terrorism" can be defined as **the use of violence with the intent to spread fear within a particular group in order to elicit a desired political response from that same group.**⁷¹ Using this definition, the actions of the FLN during the Algerian war qualify as terrorism. The FLN terrorized the Pied-Noir population through violent attacks with the explicit intention of convincing them to leave Algeria. This is a clear example of the use of terror to lead a group towards a political goal.

This definition of terrorism leaves out any consideration of the innocence or non-innocence of the target, focusing on the strategy itself rather than on the moral character of its victims. In doing so, it allows for the possibility of a morally justified terrorism because it is no longer defined by the killing of innocents. As Lionel McPherson argues, terrorism should be held to the same ethical standards as conventional war: "If we believe that war can be justifiable on grounds of just cause and the unavailability of less harmful means...we must take seriously whether these same grounds could ever justify terrorism."⁷²

The question still remains as to what exactly a "Just" terrorism might look like. Schwenkenbecher puts forward a list of criteria that she believes a terrorist attack must meet in order for it to be considered just. The actions of the FLN can be judged against these requirements in order to determine whether they fall under Schwenkenbecher's definition of a morally justifiable terrorism. Schwenkenbecher's first requirement for a

⁷⁰ Schwenkenbecher, 44-45.

⁷¹ My definition of terrorism is very similar to that put forth by Schwenkenbecher, who defines terrorism as "an indirect strategy of using fear or terror induced by violent attacks or force (or the threat of its use) against one group of people (direct target) or their property as a means to intimidate and coerce another group of people (indirect target) and influence their actions in order to reach further political objectives." *Ibid.*, 38.

⁷² Lionel K. McPherson, "Is Terrorism Distinctively Wrong?" *Ethics*, no. 3 (2007): 546.

“just” terrorism is that it is being committed for a “just cause,” stating that one “may only resort to terrorism against non-innocents in response to a severe injustice, therewith aiming to achieve the cessation of that injustice.”⁷³ The cause of the FLN was clearly just: liberation from brutal French occupation and exploitation. Schwenkenbecher’s next requirement claims that a Just terrorist must have “moral authority,” wherein either the terrorist has the “explicit approval of the people on whose behalf she acts,” or the injustice against which she is fighting is a crime against humanity.⁷⁴ The FLN had clear moral authority, drawing high levels of support from the indigenous Algerian population. Even without this support, the injustices of colonialism can reasonably be classified as crimes against humanity. Next, Schwenkenbecher requires that the ethical terrorist must follow the principle of “proportionality,” wherein “the positive results or moral benefits of resorting to a strategy of terrorist violence must outweigh the negative results or moral costs.”⁷⁵ This criterion was clearly met by the FLN as, thanks to their strategy, Algeria gained its independence from France, which is a clear positive result. The next criterion is that of “last resort,” which allows terrorism to be utilized “only if all plausible, non-violent alternatives to resolving the conflict in question have been exhausted.”⁷⁶ Because the FLN did not have the military or technological capacity to wage a conventional war⁷⁷ and their previous attempts at peaceful protest failed, it is clear that terror was their last resort. Schwenkenbecher also mentions a need for discourse between a Just terrorist and the general public, through which the terrorist “must expose herself to a critical debate of those goals and their justifying principles.”⁷⁸ In the case of the FLN, the group had a history of issuing clear and explicit public statements regarding the purpose of their actions.⁷⁹

While the actions of the FLN align with most of Schwenkenbecher’s criteria, there remains a point of contention with her most important requirement, “discrimination and protection of the innocent.” According to Schwenkenbecher, a Just terrorist “should choose targets carefully, target only those responsible for significantly unjust behaviour,

⁷³ Schwenkenbecher, 83.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ This excerpt from the film *The Battle of Algiers* demonstrates this technological imbalance: JOURNALIST: “Mr. Ben M’Hidi ... Don’t you think it is a bit cowardly to use your women’s baskets and handbags to carry explosive devices that kill so many innocent people?” BEN M’HIDI: “And doesn’t it seem to you even more cowardly to drop napalm bombs on unarmed villages, so that there are a thousand times more innocent victims? Of course, if we had your airplanes it would be a lot easier for us. Give us your bombers, and you can have our baskets.”

⁷⁸ Schwenkenbecher, 84.

⁷⁹ Franz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (New York: Grove Press, 2004), 23.

and avoid collateral damage among those who are not responsible. Only persons responsible for the state of affairs which delivers the just cause can be considered non-innocents."⁸⁰ For Schwenkenbecher, those who count as non-innocent include "political decision makers, members of the government, those public servants who are involved in the genocide to a larger extent, influential (financial) supporters of A's government and propagandists."⁸¹ According to this list, most of the FLN's victims—Pied-Noir civilians—qualified as "innocents." Walzer directly addresses this issue and argues that the Pied-Noir were not liable to lethal attack, claiming that the FLN "had explicitly rejected [the political] code. They killed Europeans at random."⁸²

It is true that the FLN killed many civilians, but it was hardly at random. During wars of national liberation, such as the Algerian Revolution, the oppressed nation often resorts to terrorist attacks against its occupiers. Members of the occupying class are not the neutral innocents that Walzer portrays them to be, as they actively exploit the oppressed by reaping the benefits of their subjugation. The Pied-Noirs' way of life in Algeria depended on the suffering of native Algerians. Simply by living in Algeria and taking advantage of the privileges offered to them as colonizers, the Pied-Noirs upheld the system of colonial oppression. Of the relationship between the colonized and the colonizer, Fanon writes, "their first confrontation was colored by violence and their cohabitation—or rather the exploitation of the colonized by the colonizer—continued at the point of the bayonet and under cannon fire...The colonist derives his validity, i.e., his wealth, from the colonial system."⁸³ Because the colonizers' existence within the colony is predicated on the ongoing violent oppression and exploitation of the indigenous population, their innocence must be called into question. Settlers who have the ability to leave the colony and do not take that opportunity are directly responsible for the colonized people's suffering and can be considered to be non-innocent.

In his attempt to define terrorism as fundamentally indiscriminate and immoral, Walzer obfuscates the real motivations behind much of contemporary terrorism by alleging that oppressors are targeted simply for their identity. Claiming the oppressors to be "people whose national existence has been radically devalued," he cites "the Protestants of Northern Ireland, the Jews of Israel, and so on"⁸⁴ as victims of religiously motivated persecution. Contrary to what Walzer would have his readers believe, the

⁸⁰ Schwenkenbecher, 83.

⁸¹ Schwenkenbecher, 61.

⁸² Walzer, *Just and Unjust Wars*, 205.

⁸³ Fanon, 2.

⁸⁴ Walzer, *Just and Unjust Wars*, 203.

struggle in Northern Ireland was against British Imperialism, not Protestantism, and the struggle in Israel is not against Judaism, but Zionist colonialism.

Walzer's implicit defense of oppressive regimes becomes clear if, rather than discussing Northern Ireland, Algeria, or Israel, one imagines what he might say about the African National Congress' (ANC) struggle against Apartheid. The ANC was a national liberation organization that, similarly to the FLN, was often left with no choice but to use terrorism as it waged its revolutionary struggle. When viewed through Walzer's analysis of similar situations, the ANC appears to have targeted white South Africans simply because they were white, not because they upheld Apartheid. Because the victors ultimately write history, the ANC is viewed in a much more positive light than other less successful organizations that also utilized terrorism in their struggles for freedom, such as the Irish Republican Army or the Palestinian Liberation Organization.

Through characterizing terrorism as definitively wrong, Walzer in effect sides with oppressors all over the world, as the only advice he gives for those in a struggle for national liberation is a patronizing suggestion that they forgo "incapacitating rage and random violence" in favor of "restraint and self-control."⁸⁵ Walzer's comments are reminiscent of the European liberal that Jean-Paul Sartre ridicules as being "in a quandary: it is well aware of the true fate of the 'natives,' the pitiless oppression they are subjected to, and does not condemn their revolt...But even so, it thinks, there are limits: these guerillas should make every effort to show some chivalry; this would be the best way of proving they are men."⁸⁶

Walzer's classification of all terrorism as targeting a group because of their identity is incorrect, as being an occupier is not an identity, but a political choice. Every day that an occupier fails to leave, they actively uphold an oppressive system. Following Walzer's political code, "ordinary citizens, *not engaged in political harming*...are immune from attack."⁸⁷ It stands to reason that those who *are* engaged in political harming through contributing to systems of oppression are therefore *not* immune from attack. Because of this, I am extending Schwenkenbecher's list of non-innocents to include colonial settlers like the Pied-Noir. The actions of the FLN in Algeria can thus be interpreted as satisfying all of Schwenkenbecher's requirements for Just terrorism against non-innocents and are a shining example of how terrorism can be used morally in a fight for national liberation.

⁸⁵ Ibid., 206.

⁸⁶ Jean-Paul Sartre, Preface to *The Wretched of the Earth*, (New York: Grove Press, 2004), liv.

⁸⁷ Walzer, *Just and Unjust Wars*, 200.

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“They’re Moving North”: Milwaukee, The Media, and the Murder of Barbara Anderson

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Abstract: In 1992, Barbara Anderson was stabbed in the parking lot of Milwaukee’s Northridge Mall, and her husband Jesse claimed she was stabbed by two black men. Their fellow white suburbanites were horrified – then Jesse turned out to be the real killer. “They’re Moving North”: Milwaukee, the Media, and the Murder of Barbara Anderson explores the role of shopping malls and other suburban developments in Milwaukee’s history of racial segregation, culminating in the city being named the most segregated in the United States in 2010. The paper’s focal point is the 1992 murder of Barbara Anderson, which the local media transformed into a sensation after her husband Jesse, the only direct witness, claimed that she was stabbed in a botched mugging perpetrated by two black men. Northridge Mall, where the stabbing occurred, was located in a neighborhood with a rapidly growing African-American population. The area was already beginning to suffer from “white flight” by 1992, with many leaving for further-flung suburbs because they felt unsafe, although violent crime around Northridge was almost nonexistent. Jesse’s mugging story fed into these racial fears and dominated the local conversation, but within a week, his hoax crime had been unraveled and he was arrested. Coincidentally, he died in the same prison incident as fellow murderer Jeffrey Dahmer in 1994, while Northridge Mall never recovered from the fabricated blow to its reputation. A decade after the murder, the mall’s last remaining stores closed, and all efforts to redevelop the property have failed in the face of the area’s economic devastation. The abandoned mall still stands empty today, an accidental monument to fear and hatred.

On April 21, 1992, employees and diners at the T.G.I. Friday's just outside of Northridge Mall in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, were shocked to find that a woman had been stabbed repeatedly in the parking lot behind the restaurant. The woman was Barbara Anderson, and her husband Jesse Anderson had sustained a few superficial stab wounds as well, the knife sticking out of his hand. As soon as help arrived, Jesse began to describe what had just happened: that a gang of young black men had attempted to mug them and had suddenly turned violent.

Many in Milwaukee were unsurprised by the story. Northridge Mall, once a prestigious location in a wealthy suburb, was going through a major demographic shift. African Americans have been historically concentrated on the city's north side, in neighborhoods that have been described as among the most segregated in the United States. Those African Americans who could afford a middle-class lifestyle and homeownership found that communities like Northridge Lakes, across the street from the mall, were convenient and safe, being only a few miles north of those predominantly black areas. Rumors and fears of crime and violence followed them into these new surroundings, causing many whites to flee the area for more distant northern suburbs like Cedarburg and West Bend.

The Andersons, a typical white middle-class family from Cedarburg, were instantly relatable victims to the same types of people who were already beginning to fear Northridge. Jesse was a well-respected local businessman who had recently lost a close election for city council, and Barbara was a homemaker who cared for her three children. Local television news reports covered the story breathlessly, giving the Andersons glowing and sympathetic coverage, while radio hosts warned about the dangers of areas like Northridge. One local resident interviewed on TV, when asked about the case, simply responded "They're moving north."

Barbara succumbed to her injuries two days after the stabbing, and her husband appeared at her funeral in handcuffs. Milwaukee police had arrested Jesse Anderson for the murder of his wife, which he had staged and attempted to blame on a stereotype of criminal black men. Although Jesse never admitted to the crime, he was easily convicted and no credible black suspects were ever found. While the initial reports had disturbed local residents, this turn in the story escalated the sensation of the case and cast doubt on the local media. Few Milwaukeeans could ignore the story which had taken over the local conversation.

Today, however, the case is remembered mostly as a strange footnote in the story of fellow Milwaukee murderer Jeffrey Dahmer, who had been arrested the previous summer. Anderson and Dahmer ended up in the same prison, and in 1994 they were

assigned to clean a prison bathroom together with fellow inmate Christopher Scarver. When the three inmates were unsupervised, Scarver bludgeoned both Dahmer and Anderson to death with a stolen piece of exercise equipment.

Northridge Mall, meanwhile, never recovered from the blow to its reputation, even after the truth behind the murder became known. The white flight that the area had already been experiencing accelerated, and the mall's last stores closed in 2003. For nearly two decades, the building has stood vacant and abandoned, with weeds overtaking the parking lot and windows boarded up, a frequent target of vandals and trespassers. Condemned by the city, the mall's owner has refused to obey a series of demolition orders issued in 2019, and so it still stands as nothing but an unintentional monument to bigotry and fear.

Jesse Michael Anderson was born on May 3, 1957 and grew up in Alton, Illinois, on the eastern outskirts of the St. Louis suburbs. While "Mike," as he was known in his childhood, had a mostly uneventful childhood, one of the few things that was memorable about him was his short temper.⁸⁸ Shortly after his thirteenth birthday, his father Levi died unexpectedly,⁸⁹ and his mother Mary later married Willard Forsee. On one occasion, as a young adult, Jesse got into a fight with his stepfather and beat him so badly that he was taken to the hospital.⁹⁰

After dropping out of Knox College, Jesse moved to Iowa and began working at Happy Joe's, a local chain pizza restaurant. Debra Rees, the sister of a coworker, fell in love with Jesse, despite the warnings of her parents and brother that he was untrustworthy, and married him.⁹¹ Jesse was later caught stealing money from the Happy Joe's cash register and he was fired, but he avoided any criminal charges for the theft.⁹² Jesse became a controlling husband, frequently criticizing Debra's weight and lying to her about basic things like her own work schedule, although she would later say that he never physically abused her.⁹³ He soon filed for divorce, claiming that Debra had subjected him to "extreme and repeated mental cruelty," but failed to gain custody of their child.⁹⁴

⁸⁸ Ibid; "Friends know him as family man," *Milwaukee Journal*, April 27, 1992, p. A 6.

⁸⁹ Homicide file of Barbara Anderson, Milwaukee Police Department (MPD), p. 104; Obituary for Levi Anderson, *Alton Evening Telegraph*, May 27, 1970, p. B-6.

⁹⁰ MPD, p. 305.

⁹¹ MPD, p. 305.

⁹² MPD, pp. 305, 308-313.

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ *Journal*, April 27, 1992, A 6; *Sentinel*, April 28, 1992, p. 4A.

Barbara Ellen Lynch was born December 9, 1958 in the Chicago suburb of Alsip, Illinois. She first met Jesse Anderson in Chicago in 1983, when he was still married to Debra. Months after the divorce, Jesse and Barbara were married, and by 1987, they had moved to Cedarburg, Wisconsin and had their first child.⁹⁵ In Cedarburg, Jesse took a job as a salesman at the Lakeside Oil Company in Milwaukee, a supplier to the Chicago and North Western Railroad, where he had worked for several years in Illinois. The owner of Lakeside described Jesse as a “model employee” and “a real family man,” but admitted that as a salesman, Jesse was not in the office much.⁹⁶

A letter from Barbara to her husband written in 1987 was found after her death, in which she mentioned being beaten by him and his consistent threats of divorce.⁹⁷ In March, a month before the attack, Jesse and Barbara spent four days on a “second honeymoon” in Jamaica, leaving their three children behind with Barbara’s brother. Barbara later told a friend that she had “feared for her life” because of Jesse’s aggressive behavior on the trip, and she decided she would never go on vacation alone with Jesse again.⁹⁸ Shortly after returning, Jesse’s campaign for a seat on the Ozaukee County Board lost by twelve votes, two weeks before he and Barbara would go to Northridge.⁹⁹

When it opened in 1956, Capitol Court was one of the first enclosed shopping malls in Milwaukee, a revolutionary development in the city’s retail landscape. Conveniently located on the city’s semi-urban north side, the mall competed closely with the similar shopping centers, such as Bayshore and Mayfair, that appeared on the city’s rapidly expanding fringe in the 1950s. Only a few miles apart from each other, these three malls would soon face very different futures.

Like most Northern industrial cities, Milwaukee had few African-Americans before the Great Migration of the 1910s and 1920s. At this time, the urban area of Milwaukee was only a few miles across, and African Americans soon found that few parts of that small area were welcoming to them. Discriminatory practices and efforts to restrict blacks to particular neighborhoods soon became far more common in cities like Milwaukee than they had been in the Jim Crow South. One of the least restrictive neighborhoods was a predominantly Jewish area centered around Walnut Street, about two miles northwest of downtown. This area soon became home to so many African

⁹⁵ MPD, p. 91; *Journal*, April 27, 1992, p. A 6.

⁹⁶ MPD, p. 98; *Journal*, April 27, 1992, A 6.

⁹⁷ MPD, pp. 293-95; “Man gets 60 years for wife’s murder,” *Wisconsin State Journal*, September 30, 1992, p. 5B.

⁹⁸ MPD, pp. 99, 275, 287, 318-19.

⁹⁹ *Journal*, April 27, 1992, p. A 6.

Americans that by the 1930s, referencing its residents' brown skin, the neighborhood was christened "Bronzeville."¹⁰⁰

Twenty years later, while developers were building expansive shopping malls on the city's outskirts, almost every part of the landscape of Milwaukee was undergoing drastic changes of its own. Freeway construction and "urban renewal" projects of the 1950s and 1960s decimated Bronzeville and demolished thousands of homes and businesses, pushing African Americans into new neighborhoods nearby in the northwest, towards Capitol Court in particular. Meanwhile, new suburban developments were pushing out further from downtown than ever before. For example, part of Granville Township, thirteen miles north of downtown, was annexed by the city of Milwaukee in 1956.¹⁰¹

As the Milwaukee suburbs pushed further out, the owners of the Kohl's chain of department stores partnered with Taubman Centers, a real estate investment firm specializing in the creation of large, fully-enclosed shopping malls. Kohl's planned to build two almost identical shopping malls, each tied for the title of the largest mall in Wisconsin. They would be located in the extreme northwestern and southwestern corners of Milwaukee's metropolitan area, in locations where new freeways were being built, and each of them would be anchored by a new Kohl's department store.¹⁰²

The first of these twins, Southridge Mall, opened in 1970, and Northridge followed in 1972. The latter mall's extreme northern location, half a mile away from the county line, made it accessible and appealing to the residents of towns like Grafton, Cedarburg, Port Washington and West Bend – places which had never been considered part of the Milwaukee metropolis before the suburban freeways reached out to them. That success was a major blow to Capitol Court, which already suffered from lower prestige, but sales there remained high through the end of the 1970s.

Many members of Milwaukee's rapidly expanding African American population, deliberately priced out of wealthier neighborhoods to the east, west, and south, moved north into neighborhoods like Capitol Heights, where Capitol Court was located. These neighborhoods quickly suffered from "white flight", as white residents headed further north towards places like Cedarburg and West Bend, completely outside of Milwaukee

¹⁰⁰ "Halyard Park," Neighborhoods in Milwaukee.

<<http://www.neighborhoodsinmilwaukee.org/Halyard%20Park.pdf>>

¹⁰¹ "Northridge Lakes," Neighborhoods in Milwaukee.

<<http://www.neighborhoodsinmilwaukee.org/Northridge%20Lakes.pdf>>

¹⁰² Joseph A. Rodriguez. "Shopping Malls, New Urbanism, and Bronzeville," in *Bootstrap New Urbanism: Design, Race, and Redevelopment in Milwaukee* (Milwaukee: Lexington Books, 2014), 161-184.

but close to suburban developments like Northridge.¹⁰³ The change in Capitol Court's reputation was rapid: a Boston Store department store opened in the mall in 1981 after studying the customer base and finding ample numbers of "two-income families," but just six years later company officials stated that the mall had become "too 'discount oriented'" – in other words, that its clientele was now mostly lower-income black shoppers – as they announced the store's closure.¹⁰⁴

With the gradual collapse of Capitol Court, and the ongoing expansion of Milwaukee's black population toward the north and west, Northridge became a popular shopping destination for African Americans. Being close to both the upscale but racially-exclusionary lakeside communities like River Hills and the established lower-income black neighborhoods like Capitol Heights, the Northridge area became particularly popular as a place to live for Milwaukee's black middle class.

As the black presence at the mall grew, urban legends sprung up among the Milwaukee area's whites. Popular stories claimed that unknown assailants would hide underneath cars in the mall's parking lot with knives, waiting to stab at the ankles of random passersby. These stories helped to ensure that the *perception* of crime at Northridge grew significantly, while there was little increase in actual crime. Most of those who now started to fear that something bad would happen to them at the mall had not stopped shopping there by 1992, but the stage had been set for the mall's ultimate demise.

At 10:15 pm on April 21, 1992, Daniel Brautigam heard screaming coming from outside the window of his mother's fifth-floor apartment in Northridge Lakes. He ran down the stairs and into the building's parking lot, where he assumed a woman was being sexually assaulted. Instead, he realized, the screams were coming from across the street, from the parking lot of the T.G.I. Friday's restaurant next to the mall, so he went into the restaurant to raise the alarm.

Within minutes, diners and employees at the restaurant, other nearby residents, and police officers had converged in the parking lot.¹⁰⁵ They found Jesse Anderson sitting beside his car, with a fishing knife sticking out of his hand, while his wife Barbara was lying underneath a neighboring car, her upper body coated in blood.¹⁰⁶ When questioned,

¹⁰³ Rodriguez, pp. 161-166; "Capitol Heights," Neighborhoods in Milwaukee.
<<http://www.neighborhoodsinmilwaukee.org/Capitol%20Heights.pdf>>

¹⁰⁴ Rodriguez, p. 165.

¹⁰⁵ MPD, pp. 6-7, 10, 18, 164-165.

¹⁰⁶ Homicide file of Barbara Anderson, FBI; further documentation is accessible only on site at the Milwaukee County Safety Building.

Jesse said that they had been confronted by two young black men who attempted to mug them with the fishing knife. The men had stabbed her, he said, then ran away without taking any money or other valuables from the couple. Jesse said he then grabbed the hat of one of the assailants who was fleeing the scene, which had the logo of the Los Angeles Clippers basketball team on it, and which Jesse gave to the police as evidence along with the knife removed from his hand.¹⁰⁷

The Andersons were brought to the Milwaukee County Medical Center, with Barbara being put on life support in critical condition.¹⁰⁸ Meanwhile, throughout the night and into the following day, Milwaukee police officers searched for potential suspects meeting Jesse's description of the attackers, but they grew suspicious of Jesse's testimony, particularly because, despite the urban legends that circulated about Northridge, the mall had a low crime rate.¹⁰⁹ Nevertheless, police stopped and detained numerous black men in the Northridge area, and did not attempt to dispel the media sensation that grew in the coming days.¹¹⁰

Despite this skepticism, local media began to report heavily on the incident, with extensive interviews of the Andersons' grieving friends and relatives. A particular focus was placed on the changing reputation and racial makeup of the Northridge area, and what that change meant to white suburbanites from places like Cedarburg. These suburbanites saw themselves as "safe" from the crime and violence they associated with the black population of inner-city Milwaukee, and they found that the Anderson incident shattered their illusion of safety.¹¹¹ One local resident being interviewed on television summarized the perceived implications of the stabbing: "They're moving north." It was clear that "they" were both the stereotypical gang members of the suburbs' nightmares and African Americans as a group.¹¹²

Two days after the stabbing, as Barbara's chances of recovery dwindled, Jesse asked for his wife to be removed from life support, and subsequently received her life insurance policy of \$250,000.¹¹³ At that same time, police were following up on a call they had received the previous night from an 18-year-old black student, Tommie Myles, who said that the Clippers hat found at the scene of the crime belonged to him. Myles and his girlfriend Wanda Jackson, both from the Capitol Heights neighborhood, visited

¹⁰⁷ Associated Press. "Husband charged in wife's slaying," *Wisconsin State Journal*, April 29, 1992, p. 4D.

¹⁰⁸ FBI, p. 9.

¹⁰⁹ Associated Press. "Parking lot attack puzzles police," *Stevens Point (Wis.) Journal*, April 23, 1992, p. 16.

¹¹⁰ Jodie DeJonge. "Man detained in wife's stabbing death," *Wisconsin State Journal*, April 27, 1992, p. 1.

¹¹¹ Dave Berkman, "Jesse Anderson Case," WUWM, April 27, 1992; Bob Edwards, "Milwaukee media criticized on murders," *Morning Edition*, National Public Radio, April 30, 1992.

¹¹² Ronald Schultz, personal communication with author, 2019.

¹¹³ FBI, p. 5.

Northridge Mall shortly before noon on the day of the murder. They were approached by a middle-aged white man who told Myles that as part of a job interview, he was being asked to buy something from a mall customer, and offered Myles \$20 for his Clippers hat. Myles said that the person who bought his hat strongly resembled Jesse Anderson, and that he recognized the hat as soon as he saw it on the evening news.¹¹⁴

Further investigation of the hat showed it had hairs inside it, which matched the hairs of the Andersons' dog that were found all over the floor of their car. Meanwhile, an employee at a local surplus store told police she had sold an unusual red-handled fishing knife to a balding white man who resembled Jesse Anderson, and she remembered this because it was the only time in several months that one of those knives had been sold.¹¹⁵ On the basis of this evidence, Jesse was arrested shortly after he was discharged from the hospital.¹¹⁶ Police officers brought Jesse to his wife's funeral in handcuffs for a private viewing of her casket, in the hopes that it would inspire a confession.¹¹⁷

While Jesse continued to maintain his innocence, the news of his visit to the funeral home in handcuffs proved to the media that the rumors of his arrest had come true. These revelations sparked a backlash against the media, both from members of it who felt they had been duped, and local black community leaders, who argued that the reporting of the case was irresponsible and contributed to a long pattern of racism and racial double standards in the media. Just two days after that visit, two thousand miles away from Milwaukee in Los Angeles, four police officers were acquitted of the assault of Rodney King. The reaction to that verdict, which culminated in the 1992 Los Angeles riots, quickly became national news and swept the Anderson case out of the Milwaukee headlines.¹¹⁸

Jesse Anderson's choice of Northridge Mall as the location to murder his wife was an obvious effort to make use of existing racist fears, and the mall's resulting declining reputation, for his personal gain. In doing so, he perpetuated those fears and that decline, and had an effect that lasted long after the hoax had been uncovered.

After a highly publicized but easily decided trial, Jesse was sentenced to life in prison. He responded that he had "been made a scapegoat in a farce that some people call a trial," and that he would "never stop looking" for what he claimed were Barbara's

¹¹⁴ MPD, pp. 69-72, 92-94, 136-137.

¹¹⁵ MPD, pp. 212-213, 219, 224, 231.

¹¹⁶ MPD, pp. 149-155.

¹¹⁷ Associated Press. "Cops admit motive in funeral visit," *Chippewa Herald-Telegram*, May 1, 1992, p. 3; FBI, pp. 9, 23-24; MPD, p. 217.

¹¹⁸ See, for example, the front pages of the *Milwaukee Journal* and *Sentinel*, May 1, 1992.

true killers.¹¹⁹ Acting as his own attorney, Jesse hired a private investigator and found two men who claimed to have witnessed the botched mugging Jesse had described. Together, they claimed to have identified three black men as the attackers, but by the time a judge agreed to hear their case, the defense team had dropped these claims and the case was thrown out.¹²⁰

On November 28, 1994, Jesse Anderson was assigned to a routine bathroom-cleaning detail at the prison, alongside two of his fellow inmates: Christopher Scarver, a black man who had been convicted in the 1990 murder of his former employer, and Jeffrey Dahmer. While the three were unsupervised for upwards of twenty minutes, Scarver used a metal bar he had removed from the prison's weight room to severely beat Dahmer and Anderson.¹²¹ Both died later at a nearby hospital.¹²²

Despite the revelation that Jesse Anderson had lied, Northridge Mall never recovered from the blow to its reputation.¹²³ The mall was left vacant in 2003, just eleven years after the murder. The property was passed between various owners with ambitious redevelopment plans, but none came to fruition. Numerous retail spaces in the Northridge area have been converted into industrial facilities, essentially giving up on the area's former purpose, but similar plans to turn the former mall into a distribution center for Chinese importers have stalled. The City of Milwaukee condemned the dilapidated building in April 2019 and ordered its owners to tear it down. Although a maintenance worker was electrocuted and died at the property in July 2019, demolition has not yet begun as of May 2020.

¹¹⁹ Associated Press. "Man gets 60 years for wife's murder," *Wisconsin State Journal*, September 30, 1992, p. 2.

¹²⁰ Criminal trial records of Jesse Michael Anderson, Milwaukee County Circuit Court, pp. 18-21; Associated Press. "Judge denies new trial for killer," *Racine Journal-Times*, September 1, 1994, p. 3C.

¹²¹ Don Terry. "Jeffrey Dahmer, Multiple Killer, Is Bludgeoned to Death in Prison," *The New York Times*, November 29, 1994, p. A1. <<https://www.nytimes.com/1994/11/29/us/jeffrey-dahmer-multiple-killer-is-bludgeoned-to-death-in-prison.html>>; Don Terry. "Suspect in Dahmer Killing Said, 'I'm the Chosen One,'" *The New York Times*, November 30, 1994, p. A18. <<https://www.nytimes.com/1994/11/30/us/suspect-in-dahmer-killing-said-i-m-the-chosen-one.html>>.

¹²² Elizabeth Gleick. "The Final Victim," *People*, December 12, 1994. <<https://people.com/archive/cover-story-the-final-victim-vol-42-no-24/>>; Associated Press. "Steel bar used to bash Dahmer," *Oshkosh Northwestern*, December 16, 1994, p. B4.

¹²³ David Bernacchi, interview with author, August 19, 2019.

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How Do I Say This Without Rolling My Eyes? The Televisual Attitudes Surrounding David Foster Wallace's "E Unibus Pluram"

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Abstract: My paper examines David Foster Wallace's 1993 essay "*E Unibus Pluram: Television and U.S. Fiction*" and the varying responses it has generated. I first provide an outline of Wallace's dense and intricate argument. He claims that a host of hypocritical political events as they were broadcasted on television in the 60s and 70s inspired a wave of postmodern fiction marked by irony—a tool that "[exploits] gaps between...how things try to appear and how they really are". He explains how television then integrated those very ironic techniques into its own programs so as to "castrate [the] protest fueled by the...postmodern self-consciousness it had first helped fashion." The result is what Wallace dubs our contemporary U.S. "televisual" culture wherein an ironic source (television, fiction, etc.) is encountered by a mass audience. The televisual audience member takes two forms. They may subscribe with "rapt credulity" to the messages of TV-spokespeople whose objective, they simultaneously know, is to dupe and manipulate. Alternatively, an audience member may, with "sneering cynicism," mock and criticize a medium that has beaten them to by punch by embracing cynicism and self-mocking itself. In either case, televisual audiences are marked by the ironic disjunction between what they know about a source and the ways in which they engage with it. Wallace's thesis is that irony has "tyrannized" us, that we remain trapped in our televisual culture.

While many critics and biographers have analyzed "*E Unibus Pluram*", there has been little work done to analyze these analyses themselves. In my paper, I seek to demonstrate the truth of Wallace's thesis as it manifests itself among the body of responses to his essay. I survey the critical attitudes that surround Wallace's proposal of a literary movement that, "endorses single-entendre principles" as a solution to our supposed televisual stasis. Wallace's biographer C.T. Max claims that such a proposal marks Wallace's "special vision," of an escape from our televisual culture. Conversely, the critic Mary K. Holland argues that Wallace's own "addiction to irony" in his writing undercuts this imperative. I argue that these two approaches to Wallace's work can both be characterized as "televisual". I then hold the claim that we are "tyrannize[d]" by irony in light of certain attributes of Wallace's personal life—namely his addiction to television and his abuse of women. I ultimately demonstrate that Wallace is meaningfully comparable to the ironic televisual sources he criticizes in his essay and that his body of scholars, through their commentary on his work and life, similarly demonstrate themselves to be a televisual audience. Through this process of circularly examining the ways in which his essay generates responses that then reinforce the thesis of his essay, I thus offer my own meta-affirmation of Wallace's thesis as it plays out among those who react to it: that as an audience of Wallace's work, we have remained entangled in the very televisual trends that Wallace posits in "*E Unibus Pluram*".

In what has been now more than a decade following his death in 2008, David Foster Wallace remains hard at work in his attempts to engage his contemporary readership. The once satirical predictions he laid out in his major novel *Infinite Jest* in the midnineties are coming to a head in our era--everything from our Netflix binges to our overly-tanned, border wall-erecting, environmentally haphazard, former television star U.S. president. Moreover, Wallace's name has found company among the hashtags of recent the #MeToo movement, one that has called into question the ways in which a mass-audience ought to engage with both the artists that entertain them and the art that they produce. Wallace himself was exploring similar questions nearly thirty years ago, specifically concerned with the mass television audience of the eighties and nineties. His commentary on the relationship between the media-industry and the U.S. population remains pertinent today within the sphere of scholars who analyze and criticize his work. However, I have found that there is next to no critical work or analysis that examines the nature of the criticisms themselves. Thus, I hope to advance a meta-argument on the work of David Foster Wallace, one that looks not just at the content he divulges but more so at the varying responses he generates. Specifically, I will argue that several of the main points advanced by Wallace his 1993 essay "E Unibus Pluram: Television and U.S. Fiction" manifest themselves among the body of responses they have inspired in the decades following the essay's publication.¹²⁴ During a time that demands of us a closer examination of the artists with which we engage, it is important to understand not just what is being said of Wallace, but how we are going about saying it.

Wallace's essay "E Unibus Pluram" chronicles the rise of postmodernist techniques in literature as a response to the trends within and attitudes towards U.S. television beginning in the 1960's through 70's. During the "pre-ironic" (Wallace 64) era of the late 1950's, popular TV shows portrayed a patriarchal, heteronormative, whitewashed, and exceptional America. These images were challenged in the following decades through feminist organizations, civil rights movements, and anti-war protests that represented the mounting distrust and disillusionment of the American population towards their political and commercial reality. However, such demonstrations were nonetheless filmed and broadcasted by television right alongside the very shows whose hypocritical and authoritative ideals remained standard. TV thus enjoyed commercial gain for representing the increasingly anti-commercial attitudes of its audience and furthermore juxtaposing these attitudes against those of the white male protagonist who continued to

¹²⁴ What's an essay on David Foster Wallace without at least one metacognizant footnote? After more than 28 pages of setup, Wallace finally delivers his central argument of "E Unibus Pluram" in the subtly titled section "i do have a thesis". In order to spare several lines of hasty and unenlightening generalization, I am likewise holding at bay the technical aspects of my thesis and analysis until I have satisfactorily outlined Wallace's essay.

star in prime-time. Wallace argues that a sub-population of writers were moved by the hypocrisy they were witnessing via television to reflect and thereby expose the absurdity and irony of it all though their literature--this being for Wallace the genesis of contemporary U.S. postmodern fiction (65).

It is important for clarity's sake to examine the ways in which Wallace employs the term "irony." While he neglects to any explicit definition in "E Unibus Pluram," his use of the term throughout suggests that he is understanding irony in its very broadest sense as "exploiting gaps between...how things try to appear and how they really are" (65). Wallace doesn't go any further into detail regarding what it means to *appear* and what it means to *really be*, this suggesting that he is not committing "irony" to one fixed context. He posits that a natural manifestation of irony is within both television and the act of watching television. As a two-dimensional surface representing a three dimensional world, TV naturally exposes a host of images that are disjoint from their meanings.¹²⁵ He continues to argue that an audience's immersion and engagement with television, a type of relationship he coins as "televisual" (34), admits another form of irony. There is something disjoint, for instance, between a viewer's cynical appraisal of a corny TV show and their knowledge that said show was engineered precisely to be corny. It is similarly ironic that other audience members uncritically subscribe—or at least willingly suspend their disbeliefs in—the messages of TV-spokespeople whose objective, they simultaneously know, is to dupe and manipulate. At any rate, an ironic engagement with an ironic source is the basis for what Wallace sees as our contemporary televisual culture.¹²⁶

While the early postmodernists may have been earnest in their intentions, Wallace ultimately claims that their ironic attitudes have become a malignant cultural force. He illustrates this by pointing back to television: the media that inspired a literary genre of irony and self-recognition/ridicule begins to employ those very techniques as a means of neutralizing the criticism levied against it. The sitcoms that previously featured authoritative father figures now capitalize on "savaging buffoonish spokesm[e]n for hypocritical, pre-hip values" (62). Certain TV shows like *Entertainment Tonight* are created to discuss, mock, and go behind the scenes of other TV shows. Contemporary television, asserts Wallace, has become its own greatest cynic so as to "castrate [the] protest fueled

¹²⁵ Wallace refers, for example, to Nixon's boldfaced and televised lie to the American public in 1974 (36).

¹²⁶ It's important to note that a televisual relationship isn't exclusively between TV and its audience of TV viewers—Wallace later uses the same word to describe the relationship between postmodern fictionists and their readership

by the very ironic postmodern self-consciousness it had first helped fashion" (62). How can you really make fun of a thing that is already making fun of itself?

For television audiences, this new attitude had pernicious effects. According to Wallace, audience members were facing an epidemic of profound isolation generated by the irony spawned by television. By offering self-mocking glimpses behind the scenes, TV offers the audience member the comfort of participating in a mass inside-joke and a sense of intellectual superiority in knowing that it is, after all, just a joke:

... [TV] invites [the viewer] to "see through" the manipulation...[it] invites complicity between its own witty irony and veteran-viewer Joe's cynical, nobody's-fool appreciation of that irony...It congratulates [the viewer], in other words, on transcending the very crowd that defines him, here. (60-61)¹²⁷

An audience member, feeling "congratulated" by television itself for being aware of the whole ironic affair that is TV, feels no incentive to go out into the real world to receive that validation from other human beings. This ultimately serves television itself: by delivering self-mocking, ironic jabs at itself, TV rewards, and therefore retains, its audience.

It is after detailing the nature of this televisual isolation that Wallace asserts his thesis: that irony as a tool of both network television and postmodern fictionists is responsible for a serious crisis of isolation and stasis in U.S. culture and its mass-identity. "Irony tyrannizes us," writes Wallace, "...our TV-culture has become a cynical, narcissistic, essentially empty phenomenon" (49). In this paper, I aim to examine this claim in the context of the varying responses it has generated. Specifically, I will survey the attitudes that Wallace's proposal of a literary movement that "endorses single-entendre principles" as a solution to our supposed cultural crisis of moral stasis. I then hold the claim that we are "tyrannize[d]" by irony in light of certain attributes of Wallace's personal life--namely his admitted addiction to television and his history of physically and emotionally abusing women. In doing so, I ultimately attempt to demonstrate that Wallace is meaningfully comparable to the ironic televisual sources he criticizes in his essay and that his body of scholars, through their engagement with his work, similarly demonstrate themselves to be a televisual audience. Through this process of circularly examining the ways in which his essay generates responses that then reinforce the thesis of his essay, I hope to offer my own meta-affirmation of Wallace's thesis as it plays out among those who react to it: that as an audience of Wallace's work,

¹²⁷ We can see how Wallace's title, an inversion of the traditional U.S. motto "E pluribus unum," is functioning here. Out of one mass audience, each individual finds themselves aloof, disjoint, and alone. Hence, "E Unibus Pluram."

we have remained entangled in the very televisual trends originally posited in “E Unibus Pluram.”

* * *

Toward the end of his essay, Wallace examines several literary and technological advances as potential solutions to our televisual stasis. In response to those who believe the answer lies in decentralizing the broadcasting power of the TV and increasing the number of viewing options available to an audience, Wallace hints at a moral imperative: “Jacking the number of choices up with better tech will remedy exactly nothing so long as no sources of insight on comparative worth, no guides to *why* and *how* to choose among experiences, fantasies, beliefs, and predilections, are permitted serious consideration in U.S. culture” (75-76). Wallace posits such a source in his essay: a return of contemporary literature to a style that extols virtue and sincerity: “The next real literary ‘rebels’ of this country...would treat of old untrendy human troubles and emotions in U.S. life with reverence and conviction...the ones willing to risk the yawn, the rolled eyes” (81). Literature, per Wallace, ought to risk sounding cliché in order to effectively break the ironic loop of U.S. media culture.

Some claim that such remarks signal Wallace as the herald for the “New Sincerity” movement in literature—one that provides a sincere representation of the U.S. population’s urgent need for principles in an increasingly cynical culture. In his biography, *Every Love Story is a Ghost Story: A Life of David Foster Wallace*, C.T. Max extols the “moral project”) Wallace attempted in his writing (xiv). In the introduction, Max writes, “He urged us to engage with the world, to work with him to find a sincere solution to the problem of how to live well in a fraught time” (xiv). Here, Max advocates the notion that Wallace’s writing created a space for collaboration between himself and his audience. This pro-activeness on the reader’s behalf is offered as a contrast to the attitudes of both “rapt credulity”) and “sneering cynicism” that dominate, per Wallace, the U.S. televisual audience (Wallace 29, 40). Max corroborates Wallace’s thesis in “E Unibus Pluram” that televisual irony--“the defeatist, timid, telltale of a generation too afraid to say what it meant”—was the root of America’s moral stasis (156). “Wallace knew better” writes Max, his language positing the novelist’s societal awareness and moral superiority (156).

Others call Wallace’s bluff. In her essay “‘The Art’s Heart’s Purpose’: Braving the Narcissistic Loop of David Foster Wallace’s *Infinite Jest*” Mary K. Holland argues that Wallace’s own “unconscious addiction to irony” undercuts his moral imperative. Regarding the final sentence of “E Unibus Pluram”—“Are you immensely pleased” (Wallace 82)—Holland writes, “The ironic uncertainty that he expresses here in both content and grammatical evasiveness...undercuts all the heartfelt assertions”. She implies that for him to end a 60 page manifesto on America’s desperate need for sincerity with an ironic jab does not demonstrate Wallace’s moral enlightenment so much as re-illustrates

his own thesis on the rampant pervasiveness of irony—indeed pervasive enough to permeate the author himself.

It is true that Wallace often appears to broach the topic of sincerity only with a ten foot pole. During a *Fresh Air* interview on NPR, Wallace is asked to elaborate on his description of the “literary rebel” to which he alludes in “E Unibus Pluram.” He responds, “I feel lame saying it out loud, and it sounds like I’m Bill Bennett or something” (*Fresh Air*). Here, we see an ironic disjunction between the moral authority in Wallace’s writing and his spoken self-undermining on the same topic. In this exchange, Wallace thus demonstrates that he too is entrenched in the ironic attitudes of U.S. televisual culture, this fact jeopardizing what others claim to be his status as America’s transcendent moral voice. What can be said about our society if one of the most vocal sources on sincerity can only speak of it through ironic self-mocking? According to Holland, the answer to this question is “bleak.”

Thus, we see the buddings of a televisual relationship: an ironic, self mocking source that inspires credulity among some of its audience and cynicism among others—all of this, ironically, taking place within a conversation about dissolving such a relationship. Nowhere in Max’s biography is there any indication that he accepted Wallace’s diagnoses and prescriptions with anything but rapt credulity. Max’s support for his claims that works like “E Unibus Pluram” create a space for discourse come only from his observations of Wallace’s memorial services, which themselves consist only of other rapturously credulous fans. Holland, conversely, is too quick to snap shut the possibility that Wallace’s sentiments of sincerity mean anything at all due to his own ironic tendencies. She fails, however, to address the possibility that Wallace knowingly places ironic remarks in his essay in order to *reward* readers like Holland whom he knows are eager to cite them and ultimately corroborate his own thesis on irony in the same way that TV shows mock themselves to congratulate (and therefore retain) the cynicism of their audience members.

Holland’s use of “addiction” in describing Wallace’s relationship to irony is telling. It is common knowledge that Wallace suffered from his own host of addictions, namely to watching television. In his biography, Max claims that throughout his adult life, Wallace returned to television, “his drug of last resort,” to dispel the anxieties that were generated by his career, relationships, and drug use (101). Max’s language during his descriptions of Wallace’s relationship to TV are suggestive of a malignant addiction. In a section of “E Unibus Pluram” Wallace elaborates on the effects of a “malignant addiction” to television, specifically the way it works in “creating difficulties for relationships, communities, and the addict’s very sense of self and spirit” (38). Here, he justifies what he calls the “crisis of despair and stasis” that has resulted from our contemporary televisual culture. Lonely Americans, he argues, are provided a two-dimensional relief from their loneliness via the

representations of human beings they can witness on TV. But it is this increasing dependence on TV that keeps lonely people away from other people, thus only furthering the dependence and loneliness *ad infinitum*.

These ideas should all be taken in light of Holland's insights. Wallace's claims in these sections may be undermined by his own ironic tendencies. In a generally ironic essay all about ironic self-reference and television addiction, Wallace sets himself up to ironically self-reference among the masses in the clutch of entertainment. The fact that he doesn't is, well, ironic. While it is certainly true that he is under no obligation to mention his obsessions in a critical essay (just as I am not obligated to mention that I am indulging my own obsession with Wallace's obsession with people's indulgences in television), the fact that he refrains leaves the audience reconciling between what is said (that there are *some* for whom television can become malignantly addictive) and what is meant (that it is *him* for whom television has become malignantly addictive). To credulously assume that his representations of television addictions are astute is to ignore the possibility that they are in fact just the projections of a malignantly addicted, self-aware source.

Max acknowledges the potential subjectivity of Wallace's television addiction in *Every Love Story*: "...if anyone couldn't imagine life without TV, it was Wallace. But the personal was becoming the societal for Wallace, and in his cosmology, TV was an enormous source" (110). He recognizes the possibility that Wallace's writing was less of a social commentary than it was mere self-reference. However, he later portrays Wallace as a mascot of reformation for overcoming the televisual stasis at the heart of U.S. culture, exclaiming in the introduction that he had become "representative of a generation" for his ability to accurately depict the reality and possibility of escape from the televisual conditions of our modern age (xiii). Specifically, with respect to younger generations, Max claims that Wallace embodied someone who had "defied the corruptions of the adult world" (288). Max provides little evidence for this claim besides to cite the widespread popularity of Wallace's commencement speech "This Is Water." Nowhere in his book does Max reference or even acknowledge the fact that this younger generation was in fact producing many arguments to the contrary.

Feminist critics of Wallace's work in particular explore the ways in which his writing served to reinstate him within the very hierarchies others claim he sought to dismantle. In her essay "No Man's Land: David Foster Wallace and Feminist America," Daniela Franca Joffe seeks to "decouple Wallace's writing from the largely ahistorical, universalist discourse that has surrounded the author since his death,") referring to Max's book explicitly (4). She argues that Wallace's use of irony exerts an authorial control over both the female characters of his fiction and his female audience. As did Holland, Joffe analyzes Wallace's nonfiction to point out his "ironizing impulse" to simultaneously

degrade the very women he claimed to represent and defend in his writing (10). She likewise concludes that such tendencies place Wallace among the same group of ironic postmodernists whose "tyrannical" use of irony he himself criticizes in "E Unibus Pluram." She, like Max, discusses the notion of reformation, but through her lens, Wallace, the "white male protagonist," undergoes a conversion to end up "more sensitive, more emotionally connected, more authentic," while still retaining his prior social privileges and patriarchal dominance (11). Such "conversions" leave the author more credible in his criticisms, and hence more capable of wielding an authorial dominance over his audience.

Perhaps the most obvious manifestation of this retained social privilege is the hagiography of Wallace that persists despite the common knowledge of his emotional and physical abuse of women. In *Every Love Story*, Max pays token attention to Wallace's tumultuous relationship with the author Mary Karr. He details Wallace's infatuation with Karr, his stalking tendencies, and his erratic behavior during arguments: at one point, he tried to push her from a moving car; another time, he threw a coffee table at her. "He suffered beyond what he knew possible for her," sympathizes Max, later noting that "being near the woman he loved made all the difference" (163-164). Unlike Joffe, who sees Wallace's domineering tendencies in his writing as a manifestation of his internalized patriarchal superiority, Max interprets Wallace's physical and emotional domination of women as a demonstration of love.

"Dedicated to Mary Karr," Wallace added at the end of "E Unibus Pluram" when it was first published in *Harpers*. As with Holland's remarks on Wallace's concluding words "Are you immensely pleased.," the final words in the original publication are tinged with an irony that threatens to castrate his entire manifesto on sincerity and virtue. For is there not a disjunction between Wallace's calling out of the pervasive and domineering presence of irony in U.S. media culture and his own pervasive and domineering presence in the life of the woman to whom he dedicates his essay? Something disjoint between his own desires to subsume and submit to television and his simultaneous desires to consume and control others, both through his writing and in person? Between his rallies against our cultural moral stasis and his perpetuated cycles of manipulation and abuse? Wallace, as he posits with television, serves as a hypocritical apologist for the very institutions he from which he nonetheless benefits: ingrained patriarchy, televisual manipulation, and rampant cultural irony.

Thus, we see that the televisual circuit elucidated in "E Unibus Pluram" is made manifest between Wallace himself as an ironic source and his audience of commentators. Some, like Max, will uncritically subscribe to the sentiments within Wallace's literature and go on to claim without anything but credulity that such sentiments instate him as a

moral guide for his fellow Americans. In framing Wallace as a troubled but ultimately heroic mascot of reformation “who never stopped being a purer version of ourselves,” (xv) critics and biographers who demonstrate Max's idolatry are at odds with the wide body of knowledge that Wallace himself undermined his sincerity, both explicitly and through his actions. On the other hand, critics like Holland and Joffe, no matter how justified their criticisms, fail to mention that the ironic tendencies within Wallace's nonfiction are nonetheless emanating from a source that is acutely aware of these tendencies, both within his own work and as a powerful force within the continuum of mass entertainment. In pointing back to Wallace's work to demonstrate his own thesis on the pervasiveness of irony, these critics enjoy the same sense of enlightenment as cynical TV audiences who are afforded a self-mocking and cynicism-endorsing behind-the-scenes peek at and by their ironic, self-aware, self-interested source. In either case, both of these disparate responses to Wallace's work ultimately serve his own status as a commentator on American media culture.

The concentric layers of irony that Wallace unfolds in “E Unibus Pluram” do not terminate with his pen. Like the postmodernists and the entertainment industry he criticizes in his nonfiction and satirizes in his fiction, he too remains deliberately ironic in his literature as a means of driving home his point on the pertinence of irony within U.S. culture. He corroborated this through his outspokenness on the ironic facets of his personal life--such as own his addiction to television--and by ironically undercutting his own calls for sincerity during interviews. Wallace's circle of critics and biographers engage with him in the same ways that he claims the mass U.S. audience reacts to television: through either rapt credulity or rapt cynicism, both responses only further entrenching the soundness of his arguments among theirs and Wallace's readership.

And what about me? Have I not, in writing this essay, also done my part to demonstrate Wallace's assertions on the televisual trends of our society by pointing to a microcosm of these trends within the sphere of his own work and the responses he generates? Have I not been watching, rapt, the culture of watching taking place at the site of Wallacian discourse? Perhaps it is true that I too am participating in the same televisual stasis as I claim Wallace's biographers and critics are. All the better, for in reinforcing Wallace's thesis through writing my own essay, I have ultimately only recursively reinforced my own. We remain, after all, a televisual audience. I am immensely pleased.

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The Use of Ginseng in America

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Abstract: Drawing from ethnographic interviews with Traditional Chinese Medical (TCM) practitioners in southern China as well as a review of research literature, I compare the traditional use of ginseng in Asian countries with the use of ginseng in the United States. I discuss the fundamental differences between biomedicine and TCM, what has led to these differences, and the socioeconomic impacts. Finally, I explain why specific regulations for dietary supplements in the US provide insufficient protection for consumers of ginseng, as well as what can be done to better protect American ginseng users. I argue that in the case of TCM, the fundamental differences in etiology, patient-doctor interaction, and the use of medication between biomedicine and TCM have hindered the use of herbal medicines from being integrated into the Western biomedical system. These might be minor differences on their own, but collectively, they have created barriers for TCM to be considered a legitimate alternative medicine.

Introduction

In the spring of 2016, my mother received surgery to remove a tumor in her lungs. The doctor later confirmed the tumor to be benign, and my mother was allowed to return home a few weeks later. By the time my mother was released from the hospital, the surgeon had recommended her to see a Traditional Chinese Medicine (TCM) doctor for some Chinese herbal medicines to help with her recovery and prevent future tumor growth. As someone who grew up with the bitterness of Chinese medicine soup, I have been skeptical about the efficacy of Chinese medicine. Thus, I told my mother that the money she spent on the expensive herbal medicines would not help improve any of her conditions. However, my words could not outweigh the reputation of TCM. My mother made an appointment with a TCM doctor a week after she left the hospital. She was prescribed bags of herbal medicinal mixtures, and ginseng was the most expensive ingredient among them all. Each ginseng slice is close to the size of a thumb and a little bit thicker than ten sheets of paper. To get the most chemicals out, each sundried ginseng slice has to be boiled in a pot for a few hours. I began to wonder, what are those chemicals, and why are millions of people willing to pay so much money for them?

Ginseng species produce a group of chemicals called ginsenosides that make ginseng medically valuable. In the United States, ginseng is considered a Complementary and Alternative Medicine (CAM) and can be purchased by anyone as a dietary supplement. CAM refers to the medical systems that are not currently included in conventional biomedicine. All ethnomedical systems fall under this category. Although biomedicine is predominant in the U.S., ethnomedicines such as TCM have been gaining popularity due to their unconventional practices. Among ethnomedical systems globally, TCM serves a significant role in treating a large proportion of the CAM patient population worldwide. TCM is famous for its unique medical practices, including acupuncture, cupping, and the use of Chinese herbs. Ginseng, one of the most well-known Chinese herbal medicines, is considered a panacea due to its promising ability to improve general well-being. In Asian countries, ginseng is traditionally consumed in soup and tea to treat “debility, anemia, insomnia, neurasthenia, gastritis, and dysentery” (Stewart 1976, 107). However, this taken-for-granted healing ability in Asia has encountered great skepticism in the U.S., while American ginseng production holds a central place in the world.

In the past decade, people across the United States have increasingly used CAM. Data show that six out of ten American adults choose to use CAM at some point in their life (Larsen and Judith 2003, 410). In 2000, U.S. consumers spent over \$16.8 billion on vitamins, minerals, herbal medicines, and other specialty supplements for various needs (Larsen and Judith 2003, 410). Among different kinds of CAM, natural products, such as ginseng and other herbal medicines, are the most frequently used forms of dietary

supplements by U.S. adults and children (Ventola 2010). Although the development of conventional medicine has contributed a lot to improving public health in the U.S., immigrants, ethnic minorities, and patients with untreatable and chronic diseases may be neglected or underserved by the mainstream U.S. health care system (Ventola 2010). Furthermore, whereas biotechnologies have successfully reduced the number of deaths from acute infectious diseases, people with chronic conditions and untreatable diseases are always in the process of waiting for new medications to be developed. When conventional medicine failed to cure these patients, many of them turned to CAM. Previous studies have found that patients with chronic pain, anxiety, and arthritis make up a large group of CAM users (Ventola 2010). Many people with end-stage conditions, such as cancer, also choose CAM to relieve their pain. These patients usually found more hope in CAM because the procedures are less authoritative, and they could understand their complications by fully engaging in the “self-healing” process (Ventola 2010, 465). In terms of immigrants, a lot of them prefer CAM because the practices fit into their personal and religious beliefs. They are also more likely to form close relationships with CAM practitioners because of shared cultural backgrounds, familiar treatments, and common languages (Ventola 2010). Although immigrants in the U.S. have access to CAM products, the forms are usually different from where the ethnomedicine originated.

Ginseng species can be found in many parts of the world. Medically, the most widely used ginseng species are Chinese ginseng (*Panax ginseng*) and American ginseng (*Panax quinuefolius*). Ginsenosides are found in the root of both Chinese ginseng and American ginseng, but the precise chemical mixture is different (Suits *et al.* 2003). In a journal article published in 2000 by Shin *et al.*, Chinese ginseng was found to have cancer-preventative effects. Another group of scientists also found American ginseng extracts can significantly inhibit the growth of bacteria and yeast which give it the potential to treat infections caused by pathogenic microorganisms (Kochan *et al.* 2013). Although most of the ginseng cultivated in the United States has been shipped to Asian countries for sale, some ginseng roots have been processed by American pharmaceutical companies and sold in the U.S. as dietary supplements.

In Asian countries, although ginseng is always in high demand, patients will not have easy access to any herbal medicines without a prescription from TCM doctors. These doctors have a profound understanding of Chinese herbology and toxicology, so they can help their patients avoid dangerous drug interactions. In the United States, on the other hand, people typically do not have the access to TCM clinics for professional advice. In many cases, due to the dietary supplement label, American consumers assume that ginseng can be taken without much advice. However, the misuse of ginseng can lead to detrimental effects. A study conducted in 2015 by Paik and Lee suggests that the misuse and abuse of ginseng can cause serious symptoms, including organ bleeding and

hypertension. This makes me wonder, how can people in America consume ginseng safely if the only source of guidance is from the supplement labeling? What type of regulation is there to protect consumers? And why haven't there been more TCM doctors in the U.S. to provide professional help?

In a diverse country like America, a culturally competent medical system has always been in demand to address various medical needs. To create an inclusive environment for ethnomedicine globally, healthcare professionals in the United States are "frequently encouraged to pay attention to the impact of culture and ethnicity on the knowledge and behavior of their patients" (Lock and Nguyen 2018, 24). This approach, in return, should allow ethnic minorities, immigrants, and everyone who believes in ethnomedicine to have equal access to quality healthcare and to be respected for the choices they make. However, as Lock and Nguyen explain in *An Anthropology of Biomedicine*, "despite the promotion of so-called cultural competence, a widespread tendency to ethnically stereotype 'others' persists amongst certain health care professionals, many members of the public and the media" (p.9). The "others" refers to ethnomedical systems, and the stereotypes were typically created by foreign and, therefore, untrustworthy medical practices.

In this paper, I draw from ethnographic interviews with TCM practitioners in Chengdu, China as well as previous literature to compare the traditional use of ginseng in Asian countries with the use of ginseng in the United States. I will discuss the fundamental difference between biomedicine and TCM, what has led to these differences, and what the socioeconomic impacts are. Finally, I will talk about the specific regulations for dietary supplements in the United States to explain why they provide insufficient protection for consumers of ginseng, as well as what can be done to better protect American ginseng users. I argue that in the case of TCM, the fundamental differences in etiology, patient-doctor interaction, and the use of medication between biomedicine and TCM have hindered the use of herbal medicines from being integrated into the Western biomedical system. These might be minor differences on their own, but collectively, they have created barriers for TCM to be considered a legitimate alternative medicine.

The Differences Between TCM and Biomedicine

Lock and Nguyen (2018) have argued that "people everywhere in the world frequently consult with more than one type of medical practitioner" which "provide(s) incontrovertible evidence that biomedicine alone is not sufficient to meet the needs of vast numbers of people" (p. 71). In other words, medical pluralism is the reason that TCM, as an ethnomedicine, has its place in the U.S. However, besides this shifting medical need, TCM has faced tremendous difficulty being accepted by American society. According to Lock and Nguyen (p.67):

social science research has made it starkly apparent that clinical biomedicine targets the isolation and treatment of the material body, based on the assumption of its universality and the associated idea that illness is deviation about a standardized 'norm.' This focus guarantees that biomedicine, scientifically grounded though it is, nevertheless, embraces unexamined moral assumptions. In so doing, the social and political origins of disease and illness are set to one side, and local understandings about health and well-being are minimized or even disregarded.

The creation of the "norm" in the U.S. reflects the absolute authority biomedicine holds in American society. With this authority in place, the use of herbal medicine in TCM has been required to go through clinical trials for its safety and efficacy even though Chinese medicines have been used for a very long time in Asia.

In Johannsen's *Ginseng Dreams: The Secret World of America's Most Valuable Plant*, ginseng is not only considered as herbal medicine but a source of income for many American families. Since the 1870s, ginseng cultivation opened up a lucrative market in central Wisconsin. Top-quality American ginseng can sell for \$1,000 per pound in Hong Kong, one of the busiest ginseng markets in the world (Johannsen 2006). Paul Hsu, one of the biggest ginseng growers in history, explained that the price of American ginseng is due to local specificity: "In Chinese herbology, the locale specificity is very, very important. Just like grapes produced in Champagne, France—that grape transported to Napa Valley in California may look like the same grape, but when you make champagne, it tastes different, and therefore the price is different" (quoted in Johannsen 2006). Therefore, although many still believe wild ginseng has the highest medical value, the geographic location has allowed American ginseng farmers to sell their cultivated ginseng overseas for high prices (Johannsen 2006). This situation might have enhanced the idea that the use of ginseng belongs to a foreign culture and why TCM came to be labeled as an "exotic practice" within the United States (Brown and Closser 2016, 20).

Besides the perception formed during the ginseng trade, the distinction in etiology between biomedicine and TCM might have made many think of TCM as "non-scientific" (p.20). TCM takes a naturalistic view of everything, focusing on the importance of balancing the *yin* and *yang*, the two opposite but complementary forces interacting within the human body (Foster 2016; Heffner 2015). When treating patients, TCM doctors prescribe herbs to restore a patient's bodily equilibrium because they believe this balance is the key to maintaining good health. For example, "in cold conditions, warming medicinals are given. In hot conditions, cooling medicinals are given. In conditions of depletion or excess, dispersing or down-bearing substances are given, and in conditions of weakness or vacuity, nourishing or 'tonifying' substances are given" (Pritzker, 2011, 406). Furthermore, TCM attributes health and illness to people's interaction with the

environment because it believes in the “underlying connection of the bodily, emotional, social, and environmental dimensions in illness experiences and healing” (Zhang 2007, 73). TCM practitioner Dr. Lei, whom I interviewed in Chengdu, China, explained the differences as follows:

The difference between TCM and biomedicine can be found in the study of the energy system. In TCM, the energy system has been studied by looking at *qi* [one of the vital substances TCM identifies in the human body, that strengthens the function of both the spleen and the lungs (Pritzker 2011, 406)]. You cannot see the *qi*, but you can feel it. For example, if you had a good night of sleep, when you wake up in the morning, you’ll find yourself energetic. This indicates that you are full of *qi*. However, if you didn’t sleep well last night, you’ll feel weak. This is a result of insufficient *qi* restoration overnight. The concept of *qi* or energy system has not been touched on by biomedicine...health is determined by if a person can live according to the change of bodily energy and natural energy. [Interviews were conducted in Chinese. All translations of my interviews are my own.]

When interacting with patients, TCM practitioners always give patients advice on their lifestyle, such as drinking more water and eating more vegetables. Although the idea of bodily equilibrium and the acknowledgment of the social and spiritual dimensions to health and illness give TCM a solid theoretical foundation, they are barely recognized in any biomedical practices. According to Erickson (2016, 194), the West “favors mastery over nature rather than harmony with it,” so the medical system tends to focus more on the dominance over pathogens instead of seeking a balance between the human body and its surroundings.

The difference in etiology between the two medical systems directly leads to a different approach to patients. In ethnomedical systems, “faith and trust are essential components of healing for both patients and healers” (Erickson 2016, 195). In other words, ethnomedicine practitioners always aim to foster trust and respect through patient-doctor interaction. Dr. Zhen, another TCM doctor whom I interviewed in Chengdu, told me that many patients nowadays have access to the Internet, so they would search for information about the herbal medicines she prescribed. As a result, she was often asked about the function of different herbal medicines, and she would always provide answers patiently. She believes if patients cannot get the answers they want, they are unlikely to adhere to their treatments. Dr. Lei also shared her opinion on doctor-patient interactions:

Usually, when patients come, I first ask, what’s your name, what do you need me for, and what can I do for you? Patients can feel the warmth from TCM doctors... I usually ask patients about their diet and lifestyle. How do you eat,

what do you eat, what do you prefer to eat, when do you go to sleep, what do you wear in the winter and the summer, and do you use air conditioning a lot in the summer? After collecting this information, I'll tell the patients what kinds of problems their bodies have and how are they formed from TCM's perspective. [I always let patients know that] when I'm treating you, I can take care of your sickness, but you have to change your lifestyle... however, lifestyle and mindset are hard to change during the very first visit. So a follow-up visit is always needed.

Both Dr. Zhen and Dr. Lei mentioned that they usually combine life philosophy with minimum use of herbal medicine to heal patients. The follow-up appointments not only allow them to conduct frequent check-ins but also let them maintain positive relationships with their patients. The long-term relationship formed between a patient and a TCM doctor fosters trust and results in steady adherence to treatment regimens. Biomedicine, on the other hand, is based on minimal patient-doctor interaction. Many times, patients are directed to pharmacists and nurses after their initial appointment with a doctor. Although American biomedicine stresses the importance of patient autonomy, in most cases, patients are unaware of their rights to choose the treatments they want.

In TCM, the use of medicine is largely based on *The Compendium of Materia Medical* (*ben cao gang mu* 本草纲目), a book written by a Traditional Chinese physician Shizhen Li from the Ming dynasty (Wulfsberg 2019). The book covers all Chinese herbs used in TCM and their appropriate uses. Li stressed the Chinese herb's role in restoring bodily equilibrium. For example, ginseng is considered a sweet, slightly bitter, and slightly warm medicine (Pritzker 2011). It is always prescribed to help restore *qi*. Li also wrote about the ways that different herbs ought to be processed to maximize their medicinal value. In the case of ginseng, the roots must be either boiled or sun-dried and served either as a powder, slices, or whole. However, from a biomedical perspective, the way Chinese medicine was processed and served is unreliable. Foundational to biomedicine is the requirement for empirical and quantitative evidence. Thus, although ginseng can be prescribed in grams, the weight does not indicate the amount of ginsenosides being prescribed. In Western medicine production, chemicals are extracted and condensed into pills, tablets, capsules, or syrup. These units indicate dosage that helps Western doctors to provide quantifiable and effective treatments. In recent years, due to the increased interest in ginseng products in the United States, ginseng has been processed into a variety of dietary supplements, targeting a large group of patients. However, to maximize profits, some pharmaceutical companies have been found to adulterate and misbrand ginseng products. Thus, the U.S. Food and Drug Administration (FDA) has taken action to strengthen its regulation.

Ginseng Regulation in the U.S.

Western medicine is founded on evidence-based research, so clinical trials are always required before drugs enter the market. Therefore, the overall environment is not designed to give much room for ambiguity. Since medical approval from the FDA is the most official announcement of safety and efficacy, it should set a high standard for all medications, including dietary supplements. To fulfill its responsibility, the FDA has set the goal of eliminating any harmful products and preventing mislabeling to allow consumers to make well-informed decisions (Statement from FDA Commissioner Scott Gottlieb, M.D. February 11, 2019). However, since the FDA regulates dietary supplements under the provision of the Dietary Supplement Health and Education Act (DSHEA), it is difficult for the agency to achieve these goals.

Herbal medicines became categorized as dietary supplements in the United States after the passage of the DSHEA in 1994. According to this act, dietary supplements, such as ginseng, are regulated as foods instead of drugs. This then raises concern over public access to dietary supplements because the DSHEA precludes the FDA from regulating the efficacy and safety of supplement products. Due to the DSHEA, manufacturers do not have to submit lab data to prove the efficacy of dietary supplements. This not only allows unrealistic health claims to be marketed but also means that many dietary supplements were not tested in human subjects. In terms of the ingredients, under the DSHEA, manufacturers are not required to notify the FDA if they want to develop a different product out of the same ingredients that has been approved by the FDA. Although new ingredients are always required to be screened, it is nearly impossible to identify the products that are made from different ingredients or adulterated without the report from manufacturers (Starr 2015).

The Center for Food Safety and Applied Nutrition AE Reporting System (CAERS) was established by the FDA Center for Food Safety and Applied Nutrition to monitor the safety of dietary supplements (Starr 2015). However, since this system relies on the consumer's voluntary report, a lot of adverse effects might have been missed. For example, in 2008, the number of expected adverse effects was around 50,000, but the FDA only received 948 reports (Starr 2015, 480). Since the adverse effect data will not be available to consumers unless the number of reports hits specific baseline goals, many consumers are not aware of the risks and might take dietary supplements that can potentially compromise their health.

Following the DSHEA, dietary supplements cannot claim to treat a condition or a disease. However, the language suggesting an effect on the "structure or function of the body is allowed" (Ventola 2010, 514). This, then, created room for ambiguous and misleading language to be used on product labels. People without extensive knowledge

of medicine usually fail to recognize the differences between, for example, “supporting immune health” and “preventing a cold” (Ventola 2010, 514). Moreover, many people are attracted to the words “natural product” or “clinically tested” on dietary supplements and become less careful with the potential risk associated with the product (Starr 2015, 481). Since a prescription is not required for dietary supplement purchases, many have considered dietary supplements as low-cost, safe, and effective products that can be easily self-administered.

Summary

Despite ginseng's reputation and rich history in Asian countries, the medical use of ginseng faced skepticism from many scientists in the United States and other parts of the world. A paper published in 1999 by Vogler *et al.* claimed that ginseng should be subjected to more rigorous investigations for its efficacy and safety before medical implementation. In the following year, Shin *et al.* reported that although ginseng extract has decreased the incidence of cancer in animal models, it was difficult to determine the effective ginseng dosage and the time it should be administered to demonstrate the cancer-preventive effect (2000). They also mentioned that adverse effects, such as hypertension and sleepiness, were observed among ginseng abusers (Shin *et al.* 2000). Furthermore, in the case of breast cancer, pharmacists, nurses, and doctors were not recommended to use ginseng-combined therapy (Shin *et al.* 2000). A more recent systematic review conducted by Choi *et al.* (2013) in South Korea showed that ginseng scored poorly in randomized clinical trials, which means that there were not any significant health improvements found in the study subjects. However, the negativity from these study results has not prevented ginseng from being used more frequently in America in recent years. Due to this increased use of ginseng but the unclear clinical impact, more studies were conducted to understand ginseng's clinical capacity and potential adverse effects, even though many of the studies were not conclusive enough to confirm ginseng's medicinal value.

With the difference in etiology, patient-doctor interaction, and the use of medicine between TCM and biomedicine, it is almost impossible for TCM to integrate into American society without any compromises. These compromises might lead to a loss of integrity in TCM and prevent it from serving TCM users with its full capacity. In a country such as the U.S., where the understanding of herbal medicine is still developing, an intact ethnomedicine should be incorporated into the current medical practice to provide quality health care for everyone who needs it. Although from biomedicine's perspective, the use of ginseng might not be the most scientific medical practice, it does not mean the medical value of ginseng should be totally denied. If a society allows the existence of medical pluralism, it should also allow different standards of health.

As stated above, the creation of the new “norm” is the representation of biomedical authority, and cannot be easily changed due to current regulation and the power dynamic between medical facilities and the government. However, current debates over quality vs. quantity of treatment (Kaufman 2015), especially on the topic of end-of-life care, can potentially be mitigated by a broader use of ethnomedicine. During my interviews with TCM doctors, I also learned about these doctors’ views on death. It is interesting that all of them told me that minimum treatments should be given if someone has an end-stage condition. Dr. Zhen said, “aging is a natural process, and people should understand this.” Dr. Ye shared a very similar idea that “if we follow the change of the seasons, we’ll eventually have some sickness and pain. Youth can never be restored.” The TCM doctors I interviewed took the opposite approach from many Western biomedical doctors. They believe patients should be prepared for sickness and death because nothing can stop these two from happening. In short, while biomedicine might have done a better job preventing death from acute disease and infection, TCM could potentially provide a better health philosophy for a diverse society.

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