3808

a journal of critical writing

The Critical Writing Program supports and develops young writers. Through our seminars, workshops, and publications, we encourage students to share their understanding of the world through writing.

We are proud to present in this volume a selection of work produced by our undergraduate writers. These essays were chosen by a student and faculty editorial board from an already select pool of essays nominated by the Critical Writing faculty.

The Critical Writing Program is part of the Center for Programs in Contemporary Writing (CPCW) at the University of Pennsylvania.

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From the Editors

In this, the ninth volume of *3808: a journal of critical writing*, we are once again honored and pleased to present truly impressive work by Penn undergraduates. To appear in this journal, an essay must first be nominated by critical writing faculty. Each nominated essay then undergoes multiple rounds of blind review, assessed by the Faculty and Student Editorial Boards. These 20 essays were selected from the more than 2400 students who took the critical writing seminar during the 2013-2014 academic year. The essays presented in this volume are a product of self-directed research exemplifying what's possible when students are introduced to a discourse and encouraged to pursue a line of inquiry.

Please join us in celebrating the work of these promising young writers. We hope that you enjoy this collection and learn as much from them as we do.
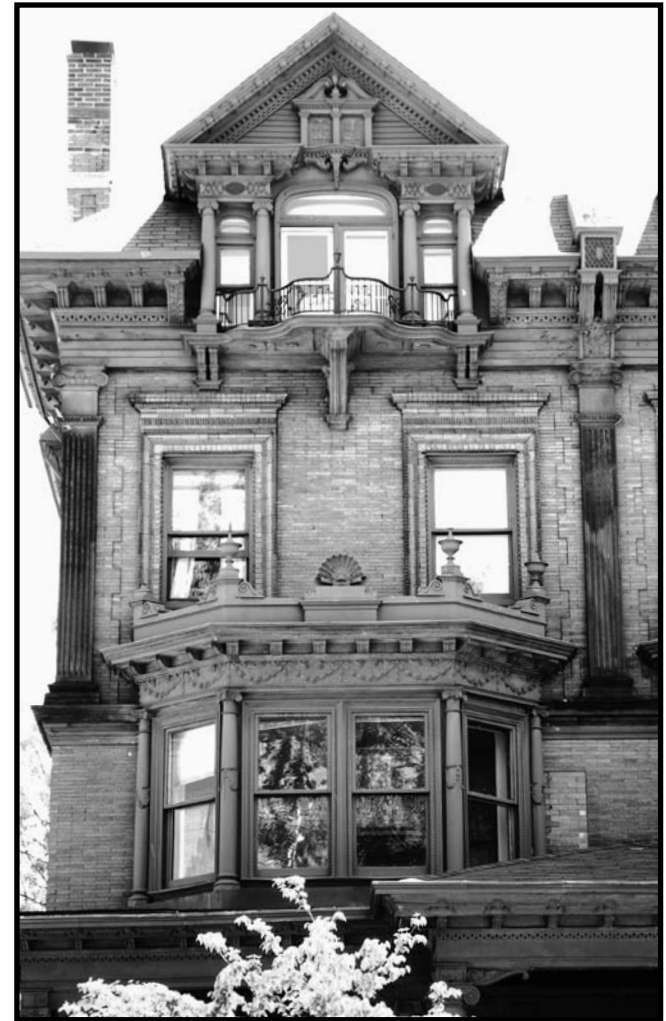
About Our Title:

Penn created the Critical Writing Program in 2003 and, as part of the Center for Programs in Contemporary Writing, gave us splendid residence in an old Victorian at 3808 Walnut Street—from which this journal takes its name.

Container as Content: Contemporary Architecture and Contemporary Art

Molly Collett

As a representation of reality, a social and political commentator and an entire form of culture, art exists in a dynamic relationship with its environment. And what environment is more directly influential in a work's ultimate meaning and impact than the space in which it is displayed? The relationship between art and architecture has had a long and capricious history: the early modern residential palace of art became the ornately furnished Gothic structure became the clinical white cube became the post-modernist monument to contemporary art. This long love story of container and contents has culminated in a current understanding that a museum's architecture is as important as the art it serves to display. Looking at seminal new museum buildings such as Frank Gehry's Bilbao Guggenheim and Renzo Piano's Menil Collection, scholars and cultural critics have commented on the emergence of a new building type that exhibits, and is, artwork.

In recent decades, the trends displayed by museum architecture have shifted dramatically. Initially considered an appropriate display environment for contemporary art, the modernist white cube has been largely usurped by its post-modern successor. Instead of white-washed surfaces in clinical interiors, more recent museum building architecture acknowledges the futility of a neutral viewing environment and seeks instead to furnish gallery spaces with a texture and identity of location. Whereas the open spaces of buildings such as MoMA in New York City and The White Cube Gallery in London represent Modernism's paradigm, later buildings such as Frank Lloyd Wright's spiral Guggenheim present its antithesis. This visible evolution from modernist to post-modernist architecture reflects a wider reconsideration of the function and place of art within society. In his article "When

Museums were White," architectural historian Wim De Wit considers the contemporary museo-architectural trend away from the modernist white cube as emblematic of changing cultural attitudes towards art. The rejection of neutrality is exemplified by the elaborate designs of the Getty and Coop Himme(l)blau museums, which illustrate a "new trend away from the monumentality of the big white space in which each work is seen as a self-sufficient object demanding the viewer's full attention."[1] Rather, contemporary museum architecture indicates the increasing importance of the holistic artistic experience, wherein art is understood with many of the viewer's faculties as opposed to merely one's vision and intellect. This understanding of the contemporary art experience serves to equate art and its environment. Thus a museum's architecture and its art become inextricable.

The re-evaluation of architecture as integral to the experience of art has influenced contemporary art in a physical, as well as ideological, fashion in the emergence of site-specific artwork. Architectural historian Victoria Newhouse explains that "the new museum is intended to show work by artists who are responding to the spaces or existing art that can interact with the spaces in a dialogue that goes beyond the contextualism of classic or post-modern architecture."[2] This occurs when, as critic and curator Germano Celant proposes, "an artist uses space not as a 'bed' for his work, but as an integral part of it." In this way, an artwork and its architectural context are inextricable. Moreover, curator and art historian Miwon Kwon defines site-specific art in its rejection of the contemporary trend for commodified art. She explains that "site-specific art adopts strategies that are either aggressively anti-visual (informational, textual, expositional, didactic) or immaterial altogether (gestures, events, or performances bracketed by temporal boundaries)."[3] As illustrated by Richard Serra's immense steel sculptures which inhabit the Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao, site-specific art is physically bound to a particular location. Serra's "torqued ellipses" were commissioned

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[1]　Wim de Wit, "When the Museums were White: A Study of the Museum as Building Type" in *Open House West: Museum Architecture and Changing Civic Identity* (Los Angeles: USC Architectural Guild Press, 1999), 19.

[2]　Victoria Newhouse, *Towards a New Museum* (NY: The Monacelli Press, 1988), 223.

[3]　Miwon Kwon, *One Place After Another: Site-Specific Art and Locational Identity*, (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2002), 91.

for the museum's largest gallery space, and a symbiotic relationship is immediately established between the curvilinear forms of the sculptures and the sinuous interiors designed by the museum's architect Frank Gehry. The experience of Serra's sculptures as intended by the artist is confined to the space for which they were created. In this way, the unique architecture of an exhibition space precludes the art from existing elsewhere and thus allows certain artwork to fulfil its function of rejecting the commodification of the contemporary art industry. If art can be distilled to its subject matter, site-specific artworks, which take their surroundings as stimulus, further intertwine art and architecture.

For many contemporary museums, the function and goals of the art and architecture have become unified. Putnam explains that the emergence of "monumental" museum buildings, such as the Guggenheim in New York or the Pompidou Center in Paris, is emblematic of the new esteem in which museums are held. He writes that while "established museums of modern art have traditionally conveyed a sense of power through the distinction of their holdings, many of the more recent museums proclaim their status instead through their architecture."[4] Museums are now considered cultural loci, wherein a grand exhibition space for art provides a location for culture and mass tourism; visiting the Dia Beacon Art Foundation in upstate New York last week, I was equally excited to experience the gorgeously renovated factory space as to step inside the titanic sculptures by Donald Judd and look at other such seminal works of contemporary art. De Wit agrees with Putman that "often the [contemporary] museum is designed by a well-known architect… that will attract not only the audiences for art, but also the ever-growing audience for modern architecture."[5] The emergence of "the cult of celebrity architecture," as discussed by Susanna Sirefman in her article "Formed and Forming: Contemporary Museum Architecture," has positive financial implications. With many museums in annual deficit and funding being withdrawn from cultural projects, Sirefman acknowledges that "the building itself has become a marketable project."[6] In this way, art and architecture share a vital aspiration to

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[4]   James Putnam. *Art and Artifact: The Museum as Medium* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2001), 186.

[5]   de Wit, 17.

[6]   Susanna Sirefman, "Form and Forming: Contemporary Museum Architecture," Daedalus 128.3, America's Museums (Summer, 1999), 300.

financially sustain the institution of the museum. Meanwhile, art critic Vicki Goldberg, in her *New York Times* article "Outreach: The Wandering Museum's Specialty," argues that contemporary museum architecture marks the changing definition of art: as primarily conceptual, rather than physical. Her discussion of nomadic museums such as the Contemporary in Baltimore, which has neither a fixed location nor collection, reflects the definitive value of much contemporary art that its corporeal existence is subservient to its conceptual implications.

In considering the ways and whys contemporary museum architecture has become as prominent as contemporary museum art, a symbiotic relationship between the two emerges. Contemporary art influences its architecture; contemporary architecture influences its art. Art appeals directly to the eye and intellect, and a well-designed building or emotive interior serves to expand the aesthetic experience of a single artwork to that of the collective. Contemporary museum architecture creates from an art object an art *environment*.

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Instructor: Kathleen Kramer; Critical Writing Seminar in Cultural Studies and Criticism; Artists, Exhibitions, Museums

Same-Sex Domestic Violence: Never a Fair Fight

Michael Kigawa

Domestic violence happens behind closed doors, but it is not a private issue. Many studies have examined the phenomenon of household abuse in order to better understand it and equip authorities to prevent it. Literature on the subject extends across socioeconomic, geographical, and racial lines. And yet, one demographic that continues to be overlooked is the lesbian, gay and bisexual (LGB) community. Mainstream society assumes that intimate partner violence (IPV) is nonexistent among lesbians and gays for a variety of reasons. Lesbian author Suzanna Walters even proposes that homosexual relationships have the potential to minimize "wife battering" (230). She believes that they foster healthier varieties of family life that are "less mired in the violence [and] inequality" (227). And yet, a 2011 analysis by the Center for American Progress, a nonprofit public policy research corporation, finds that 25% to 33% of LGB relationships experience some form of abuse (par. 4). This high prevalence is often attributed to the inherent barriers encountered by lesbian and gay victims in trying to leave abusive relationships. A growing body of research suggests that domestic violence presents unique complications for same-sex couples.

Some scholars claim that homosexual IPV victims do not seek help for fear of giving a bad name to the queer community. Health counselors Linda Peterman and Charlotte Dixon explain that recipients do not report abuse because they "fear society thinking that the homosexual community is 'sick,' 'violent,' or 'uncontrollable'" (43). Knowing that gays are still struggling to shake off the negative image with which mainstream society views them, victims conflate acknowledging the abuse they are receiving with betrayal of the gay community. Carrie Chan, a senior researcher at the Australian Domestic and Family Violence Clearinghouse, agrees that victims think they will "feed societal homophobia and contribute to prejudice about gay or lesbian relationships" should they report the battering to which they are being subjected (5). University of Kentucky professor Carrie Brown goes even further to suggest that abusers convince their partners of the validity of this phenomenon as a way of preventing them from leaving (458).

In fact, studies show that the prevalent disbelief of lesbian domestic violence by both queer and straight communities inhibits victims from leaving abusive relationships. Some scholars determine that social stereotypes perpetuate the idea that women are nonviolent and therefore cannot be batterers. Traditional feminist theory and empirical data additionally suggest that men are always the aggressors and women the victims in abuse situations (M. Walters 251; Peterman and Dixon 40; Tesch et al. 528). Georgia State University professor Mikel Walters argues that such misguided perceptions entrap lesbian victims. She provides the example of Lynn, who did not even realize that she was in an abusive situation, despite being a counselor at a domestic violence shelter and having worked with many battering victims. According to Lynn, "because there was no male component … it took me longer to accept what was really going on" (qtd. in M. Walters 258). Chan echoes this sentiment in adding that because the victim's friends, community, and family are unlikely to believe that lesbian IPV exists, they will not encourage the individual to escape the abusive relationship (4). Alliant International University professors Jane Younglove et al. add that any form of physical altercation between two women, no matter how vicious, is seen as nothing more than a cat fight, which "preclude[s] true victimization" (764). Brown concludes that when such trivialization of the violence occurs, the abused partner shifts the blame from the perpetrator to herself since societal norms dictate that lesbian conflicts are petty. This mindset prevents the victim from seeking proper assistance (460).

Investigation by researchers also finds that gender and sexuality stereotypes often stop gay male victims from breaking free of abusive relationships. Brown points out that male-on-male domestic violence is justified by society as "boys being boys," so victims feel as though they would not be taken seriously should they tell others about their abusive situation (460). Alliant International University professors Brian Tesch

et al. agree that this misconception about male toughness forces victims either not to seek assistance or else to feel as though they are sacrificing their masculinity (528). In addition, Younglove et al. claim that stereotypes that male homosexual relationships are always "promiscuous and fleeting one-night stands as opposed to 'real' marriages" also undermine victimization since it is believed that whatever domestic violence exists will be short-term (764).

Moreover, closer examination suggests that same-sex abuse victims are less likely to contact law enforcement because of the police's homophobic past. According to Younglove et al., many members of the queer community associate the U.S. justice system with the "years of harassment, bar raids, and abuse" exhibited by the police throughout history (761). As a result, it is common belief among lesbian and gay victims that they cannot turn to the justice system for help. Tesch et al. further maintain that anti-sodomy regulations made it impossible for LGB victims to report domestic violence to the authorities "without first having to confess that they had broken the law with their sexual behaviour" (229). Although many of these statutes have been repealed, lesbian and gay victims still mistrust the institution that—until very recently—sanctioned homophobia.

Even should law enforcement be contacted, many scholars agree that the police are not a viable recourse for LGB victims of domestic violence. Legal authorities tend to believe that same-sex IPV is mutual, since partners are often of the same size and strength. This false impression of reciprocal battering causes police to arrest both partners (Peterman and Dixon 46; Chan 5). Social worker Gregory Merrill and Santa Clara University professor Valerie Wolfe reference numerous occasions that the abused and abuser have been handcuffed to each other and later placed in the same prison cell (7). They also assert that law enforcement frequently buys into the false impression that male-on-male abuse is a "fair fight," citing one officer who told a bleeding male abuse victim to "learn how to defend yourself better" (qtd. in Merrill and Wolfe 7). Journalist Erin Dean similarly upholds that police have been known to arrest the wrong partner "because they look more masculine than [the abusive] partner and are assumed to be the perpetrator" (23). Finally, Tesch et al. claim that the police are often prey to the misconception that lesbians are incapable of aggression. He alludes to a case in which

the police did not press charges on the partner of a lesbian sexual abuse victim because they claimed that "a woman cannot rape or violate another woman because women do not have a penis" (qtd. in Tesch et al. 528). Finally, M. Walters mentions the example of Susan, who contacted the police after being battered by her violent partner. Though Susan was visibly bruised, the authorities failed to arrest her abuser. As M. Walters states, their inaction effectively condoned the battering, communicating to Susan's partner that her abusive actions were acceptable (261).

Scholarly examination also reveals that LGB victims do not have access to battering shelters as a recourse for escape. Brown explains that many shelters either refuse to offer services to open lesbians for fear of losing funding or else turn them away because "their experience did not constitute domestic violence" (461). Gay men are also not granted entry to shelters, which cater almost exclusively to the needs of female victims (Merrill and Wolfe 6; Chan 7). Moreover, because both recipient and perpetrator in lesbian domestic violence are female, abusive women have been able to gain access to their partners inside shelters by posing as friends or sisters (Dean 23; Chan 8).

Though same-sex IPV continues to be a serious issue, given acceptance and awareness, there is hope for change. The struggle for the visibility of heterosexual domestic violence as a public issue was arduous, but the opening up of resources and the education of the general public have dramatically helped. According to the Bureau of Justice Statistics, heterosexual domestic violence fell by 64% between 1994 and 2010 (1). Homosexual domestic abuse should be no different, and yet the National Coalition of Anti-Violence Programs finds that the number of same-sex IPV homicides in 2012 was the highest ever recorded (8). The police must be given proper training to handle violence between same-sex couples, and shelters must be created for the specific accommodation of lesbians and gays. Of equal importance, both mainstream society and the queer community must accept the reality of household abuse within homosexual relationships. With acknowledgment of its existence and the proper reform, it will finally be a fair fight for the victims of same-sex domestic violence.

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Instructor: Gail Shister, Critical Writing Seminar in Cultural Studies and Criticism, Beyond 'Will and Grace'

The Revolution of Disease Eradication through the Smallpox Eradication Program

Jordan Doman

Disease eradication is yet a very new science, even though the concept of vaccination and inoculation are rooted in older medicine and various cultural traditions. The very concept of disease eradication is still being developed and shaped. When the concept of eradicating diseases originated in the 20th century, it was largely unorganized and unsuccessful, as exhibited by the hookworm eradication efforts that began in the early 1900's but ultimately had to be terminated. Compare this to the disease eradication practices mankind has now: millions of dollars are allotted to promising disease eradication campaigns every year, and there is serious talk of creating new eradication campaigns for diseases such as measles, mumps, and rubella. The difference between eradication decades ago and eradication today is striking. In turn, many scholars are investigating how this change happened and what steps led from unsuccessful eradication programs of the past to strong, promising ones in the 21st century. Several turning points facilitated this change, although one in particular stands out. Researchers agree that the innovative eradication tactics used in the Smallpox Eradication Program revolutionized disease eradication practices.

Training global health workers in the Smallpox Eradication Program facilitated disease eradication by improving relationships between local people and expatriate health workers. At the beginning of the Smallpox Eradication Program, global health workers were not trained well, as was characteristic of earlier eradication practices. Before adequate cultural cooperation training was provided, differences pertaining to culture, beliefs about medicine, and the attitude towards the eradication initiative were abundant between global health workers and their local health practitioner counterparts. The subsequent division between

these two groups hindered early eradication campaigns (Greenough 639). However, this practice soon changed in the Smallpox Eradication Program. To improve relations with local workers, well-qualified candidates were hired as global health workers based on their ability to manage and train other, less qualified members of eradication teams (Henderson 542). This attitude revolutionized the training of global health workers because instead of wasting resources on training every global health worker or risking incompetency by not training workers at all, the Smallpox Eradication Program relied on experienced members to train inexperienced members. In addition, less qualified workers would undergo "induction courses lasting a week or less which provided them with the basic awareness, skills and monitoring tools needed to run the programme" (Tarantola D138). Through hiring previously well-trained people and providing a broad overview of essential concepts to untrained workers, the Smallpox Eradication Program was able to successfully train all expatriate workers. Additionally, local people were sometimes trained to help with the initiative in order to further ease cultural tensions between global health workers and people being vaccinated (Renne 21). The positive and long-lasting effects of a diverse, well-trained group of vaccination team members soon became apparent: countries that were once skeptical of eradication "have developed the necessary expertise" to carry on eradication (Foege, Millar, and Henderson 231).

The Smallpox Eradication Program introduced newly developed vaccination technology, which expanded the potency of vaccines. In turn, it is essential to note that the greater the ability of eradication teams to vaccinate, the more powerful the eradication movement became. This was because all eradication techniques at the time involved some sort of targeted vaccination to prevent the contraction of the disease. With this in mind, firstly, the low quality liquid vaccine, which required cold storage, was replaced with the freeze-dried vaccine (Greenough 634). This new type of vaccine featured a chemical that was significantly less sensitive to temperature changes. Thus, it expanded the range vaccination teams were able to travel from freezers, which allowed them to reach more people. Assessments of this technique yielded great praise, with global health assessment teams demanding, "control measures must consistently include the use of freeze-fried vaccine" (Pifer 4). Secondly, the bifurcated needle, which was a new design of

needles used for vaccines, improved vaccination procedures and safety. For example, bifurcated needles used for injections were more sanitary than scratch methods of inoculation, which were used previously (Tarantola D135). Thus, bifurcated needles made vaccination safer, which helped convince parents to vaccinate their children. Thirdly, the jet injector that was introduced during the Smallpox Eradication Program also revolutionized the vaccination process. The jet injector (figure 1) was an apparatus that shot the injection into the arm of the person being

injected. Even untrained workers could now administer vaccines if they were able to pull a trigger on the jet injector. So, the jet injector increased the number of people able to perform vaccination (Foege, Millar, and Henderson 1). Overall, these three inventions were implemented for the first time in the Smallpox Eradication

Fig. 1. *Smallpox Jet Injector Gun*, Pan American Health Organization/World Health

Program, and they solved major problems in disease eradication, such as differences in vaccination technique and ineffective vaccines (Foege, Millar, and Henderson 219). Disease eradication is accomplished by, in part, vaccination, so these new technologies that improved vaccination revolutionized a cornerstone of disease eradication.

Finally, by changing the role of the surveillance and containment method from a post-eradication practice to the main method of disease eradication, the Smallpox Eradication Program developed an efficient, economic eradication method (Foege 1). The single surveillance/containment technique had two components that worked together: surveillance, tracking local villages with small global health teams to ensure no cases of smallpox originated, and containment, vaccinating everyone in the area of a detected outbreak. Surveillance and containment, although they were two distinct steps, were both part of a single technique. This is because surveillance would not stop the spread of disease without the following containment, and likewise containment could not be carried out if diseases were not first detected via surveillance. So although these two steps can be examined separately, they were used together as one innovative technique.

Surveillance allowed for more efficient, less costly eradication. Surveillance was originally used after completed eradications to ensure that the eradication effort was successful, but its role changed in the Smallpox Eradication Program. Since smallpox spread slowly, surveillance of unvaccinated areas allowed health workers to detect a case of smallpox before it spread uncontrollably (Henderson 536). Thus, global health organizations began to use surveillance during, as opposed to after, eradication. Global health workers emphasized that surveillance was "sensitive enough to pick up even small isolated outbreaks" (Pifer 4). Thus, surveillance was able to accurately detect incidences of smallpox. This made eradication more efficient and economic because it allowed global health workers to focus on areas where the disease existed as opposed to wasting time and resources on areas without smallpox.

In tandem with the improvement in efficiency via surveillance, containment improved the effectiveness of eradications. Like surveillance, containment was not originally the primary strategy of eradication but rather a co-strategy, which meant that it was only used to supplement the mass vaccinations that were common practice. However, during the Smallpox Eradication Program, it became the "primary strategy" of eradication (Foege D11). This change is directly related to the success of surveillance because, as Fenner et al. note, "house-to-house vaccination, roadblocks, and village-by-village searches were carried out in order to contain smallpox once an outbreak was detected" (qtd. in Renne 28). In other words, since surveillance could detect a disease before it became an outbreak, containment could thus be used to vaccinate people in that area and prevent the disease's spread. This was a very effective technique because one hundred percent of the people in a small area were vaccinated during containment (Greenough 635). Thus, this concentrated but thorough vaccination effectively halted the spread of the disease better than wide-reaching but incomplete vaccinations of prior eradication strategies. This contention was expressed when global health officials advocated implementing this technique to countries in which smallpox was still present, mainly Bangladesh, Ethiopia, India, and Pakistan (Foege, Millar, and Henderson 231). It is important to remember that containment worked hand-in-hand with the surveillance method discussed above; together the two form the overall revolutionary "surveillance/containment" method because one is not effective in

eradicating a disease without the other (Foege D10). These two aspects created one revolutionary technique; surveillance increased efficiency while containment increased effectiveness.

Despite the revolutionary effects of the Smallpox Eradication Program, there are several warnings that global health workers should heed before implementing similar practices in other disease eradication initiatives. One reason for this is that some diseases do not lend themselves well to complete eradication. Furthermore, some members of the global health community do not believe it is even possible to eradicate several diseases completely, no matter what the method (Renne 123). Additionally, as Greenough warns, "coercion was justified by containment" in certain circumstances, so global health officials must be careful to ensure that these potent methods introduced are still monitored by the sponsoring organization of the disease eradication initiative (635). The new methods of disease eradication in the Smallpox Eradication Program revolutionized the general approach of disease eradication practices, but it is important to remember that these general guidelines may need to be altered to fit a specific disease and the specific people in the targeted area of eradication.

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Instructor: Adam Mohr, Critical Writing Seminar in Anthropology, Global Health

Walter Cannon: A Century of Influence in the World of Emotion Theory

Brigitte Desnoes

For over a century, researchers and psychologists have heavily debated the relationship between emotions and physiological reactions. Two of the first to address this issue were psychologists William James and Carl Lange, who proposed the James-Lange theory of emotion, essentially stating that a physiological stimulus always precedes the feeling of the emotion itself. Decades later, in 1927, psychologist Walter Cannon refuted this argument by proposing the Cannon theory of emotion, stating that emotions have different neurological patterns which elicit physical responses – the physical responses have no authority themselves. Many years later, the debate about the source of emotions has not subsided. However, Cannon's influence remains quite evident in the works of his successors and in the scientific world. The authors of "The Physiological Differentiation Between Fear and Anger in Humans" (Ax, 1953), *Emotions Revealed* (Ekman, 2003), "Fear and Anxiety as Emotional Phenomena" (Bernston, Cacioppo, Ito, Larsen & Poehlmann, 1993), and "Nervous System Activity Distinguishes among Emotions" (Ekman, Friedman & Levenson, 1992) all root their arguments in Walter Cannon's classic refutation of the James-Lange theory of emotion.

The seeds of the issue of specificity of emotion in the autonomic nervous system (ANS), the part of the nervous system that controls basic bodily functions such as breathing, were truly planted by William James in "What is an Emotion?" (1884). James' career as a professor of physiology at Harvard likely explains how his theory was one of the first scientific attempts to intertwine the physical and psychological components of emotion. As he began to study this field, he compared his ideas to those of Lange – who also shared the premise that physiological responses are causal in emotional experiences (Friedman, 2009).

Essentially, what differentiated James' and Lange's theory from the norm was its counter-intuitive explanation. For example, most assume that when a person sees a bear in the woods, he becomes afraid and then experiences bodily changes due to the fear. In reality, James said, the stimulus of the bear produces an impulsive motor reaction, the consequence of which is the processing of an emotional feeling, presumably fear, after the fact. The second aspect of James' theory, which he presented in *The Principles of Psychology* (1890), was that there are no brain centers needed for emotion other than the cortical and motor areas involved in the physiological reaction. Cannon saw this as a major flaw.

Walter Cannon, in his paper "The James-Lange theory of emotions: A critical examination and an alternative theory" (1927), was the first to significantly question either of James' and Lange's premises. Cannon's criticisms were many, but the most salient (Davidson, Jackson & Kalin, 2000) was that the visceral organs (internal organs particularly in the abdomen responsible for jerk reactions necessary for emotion) are not capable of independently providing the information needed to specify emotions. Cannon, instead, placed emphasis on the functions of the brain, which are able to separately generate bodily responses and dictate visceral organ activity. In his most cited experiment, Cannon severed nerves of the sympathetic branch in cats. This branch of the ANS is involved in mobilizing internal organs in fight-flight responses like increased heart rate. He determined that when provoked, the cats were still able to have a typical fight-flight bodily response; the cats, obviously influenced by emotional stimuli, experienced a spontaneous release of adrenaline into their blood system (Cannon, 1929). According to Cannon, the fact that the cats could respond to emotional stimuli without physiological reactions implied that the reactions do not define emotions, emotions define the reactions. Cannon therefore set the stage for a century long debate about the origin of emotion that has yet to be resolved.

Clearly, Cannon's influence on various researchers and on the inquiry into neurological pathways has been crucial to the development of research. It is important to note, however, that Cannon's influence certainly did not shield him from heavy criticism or validate his argument in any way. For example, some argued that Cannon's attempts

to find a one-to-one correlation between physiology and psychology lacked sufficient neurological grounding and were "doomed to failure" (Newman, Perkins & Wheeler, 1930). But as researcher George Mandler noted, "the historical importance [of Cannon's criticisms] is not so much that they destroyed the James-Lange theory, but rather that they were influential in producing an extensive research tradition in the psychophysiology of emotion" (Friedman, 2010, p. 385). This production of a research norm is clear, whether implicitly or explicitly, in the modern field–many authors have adopted methods incorporating variable emotional stimuli to test physiological reactions to the stimuli. These same researchers also accepted as a premise, in order to design their experiments, Cannon's theory that there would be differentiation among specific emotions.

As Mandler wrote, Cannon was the first to establish a means to instrumentally test the processes of emotion generation, whereas James failed to provide anything more than speculation and theory (Berntson et al., 2008). Though Cannon's removal of visceral organs in rats and his use of anesthesia on humans were quite drastic, he was nevertheless the first to use emotional stimuli in an experimental setting. The authors of all four works utilize Cannon's method of presenting stimuli in an experimental setting to measure visceral emotional responses. In what is clearly the most direct example of experimental influence from Cannon, Ax (1953) performed his experiment in order to further inspect Cannon's proposal of that which "might reveal a differentiation or subtyping of the [fight and flight] excitement states" (p. 441). He tested the visceral effects of stimulating anger and stress by creating an "atmosphere of alarm and confusion" in which the experimenter tried to make himself into a target of hostility. In addition, Ekman, Levenson and Frieson (2008) confirm emotion-differentiated autonomic activity through "quasi-stimuli": they either had a professional direct the participant to physically express certain emotions or asked participants to re-experience devastating, fearful or happy experiences. In this way, Ekman and his colleagues were able to track visceral responses. Ekman also writes about his similar experiments with tasks in reliving emotional experiences in Emotions Revealed (2003) to confirm that emotions generate physiological reactions. At the same time, Larsen, Bernston, Poehlmann, Ito and Cacioppo (1993) tracked the immediate facial and

bodily reactions when participants were presented with a positive or negative word on a screen (also Neumann, Hess, Schulz and Alpers, 2005). Clearly, Cannon shaped the ways in which researchers viewed the world of emotions both in an experimental and real-world setting.

In order to come to the conclusions laid out above, the authors had to make certain assumptions to design and predict the outcomes of their experiments. Specifically, the authors of all four published works share the assumptions of Cannon's proposal of emotion-specificity – the idea that each emotion is accompanied by a unique and distinguishable combination of reactions. Each of the authors assumed as prerequisites that in performing their experiments, there would be some differentiation between every emotion they tested. For example, Ax differentiated between fear and anger through testing of physiology such as heart rate, skin conductance and integrated muscle potential. Similarly, Ekman and colleagues differentiated between anger, fear, sadness, happiness, surprise and disgust by testing multiple physiological reactions. In his book, Ekman dedicates six of his ten chapters to analyzing various external and internal emotion-specific reactions seen in everything from apprehension to feigned happiness. At the same time, Berntson and colleagues (2008) propose that emotions can be conceptualized through both "discrete and dimensional approaches" (p. 181), specific to each emotion. In other words, they developed techniques to track multiple emotions broadly in an environment, and then specify each individual emotion from the larger group. Whether directly or indirectly, Cannon had a weighty influence on each of the authors and the decisions they made throughout their research.

Cannon's methods have extended beyond the basic emotions and are being used to solve real-world problems. For example, Cannon's research on the evolutionary fight-flight responses in cats, and their correspondences to specific parts of the brain, has allowed researchers to make strides in the study of acute and chronic stress in humans. That is, researchers have discovered a particular part of the prefrontal cortex called the vmPFC that is associated with successful suppression of severe affective responses to a negative emotional signal. Suppressed activity in this area has been associated with both post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) and depression (Hänsel & Känel, 2008). In addition, the same researchers generalized their findings, the inspiration for which

they accredited to Cannon, to describe nearly all depressive disorders as a malfunction in the way the autonomic nervous system responds to stimuli.

It is clear from these discoveries that research in the emotional field and the debate about the relationship between emotions and the autonomic nervous system has once again been revived, much like Cannon's revival of the topic. However, the issue of emotional and physiological specificity is far from settled (Levenson, 2009). It is unfortunately still a challenge to produce and test "real" emotional experiences in subjects; researcher Robert Levenson (2003) goes so far as to say that "we often fail in pursuit of this goal." New methods are nevertheless being developed, such as the technique of pattern classification analysis that allows one to understand emotions from both cognitive and physiological points of view in an attempt to overcome the obstacles that come from the one-sided artificiality of emotions in the laboratory (Stephens, Christie, & Friedman, 2010). As interest in the field is revived more and more, Cannon's significant contributions will once again be appreciated.

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Breech Performance and Gender

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In a world where both men and women dominate the stage, it is hard to think of a time when women were legally prohibited from performing publicly. This was the case in England prior to the year 1660. Though female roles abounded in productions before that date, they were always played by male actors. It was not until the middle of the seventeenth century that women began to appear on the stage. Their arrival ushered in a new style of performance known as *breech performance*, in which the female actors would play male parts. The practice became so popular that it spread to the United States in the nineteenth century. Despite its influence however, there is very little academic research on the subject. This essay attempts to highlight the works and claims of authors who have extensively explored breech performance. Overall, these authors agree that breech performance brought gender-related issues to the forefront of societies in which it was enacted.

Authors Jean E. Howard, Tony Howard and Elizabeth Mullenix agree that breech performance was generally received with contempt by most audiences. Each illustrates this point by using quotes that accentuate the scorn most expressed when trying to assimilate the novel practice before them. Jean E. Howard, for example, provides a quote from a pamphlet published in early modern England demanding breech performers to "Remember how [their] Maker made for [their] first Parents coates, not one coat, but a coat for the man, and a coat for the woman… the man's coat fit for his labour, the womans fit for her modestie" (qtd. in J. Howard 422). 19th century Americans also condemned the practice. Tony Howard illustrates this through the words of William Winter, a critic who waged "a campaign against actresses who dared play Hamlet," a character who he identified as "super-eminently distinguished by a characteristic rarely, if ever, distinguished in women: namely, that of 'thinking too precisely on the event'" (qtd. in T. Howard 23). This

contemptuous attitude towards breech performers in the United States did not change significantly in the latter part of the century. Author Elizabeth Mullenix testifies to this by offering a reporter's response to a breech performance of Count Belino in the Devil's Bridge at the Park Theatre in New York. He wrote, "Why...does [Mrs. Sharpe] risk a reputation that is building up on a solid foundation, for such *visionary projects* as attempting to represent Count Belino in the Devil's Bridge? ...Could she expect to make any impression by her voice...when she has no voice at all... and when an artist of Mr. Pearlman's powers is performing the same character at another house?" (qtd. in Mullenix).

The authors explain that this contempt was rooted in the fact that breech performance challenged audience members' gender sureties, and in particular, their expectations of women. But it is important to note that these expectations varied widely according to context. In early modern England, for example, cross-dressing was not well-received because most audience members felt it encouraged women to break sumptuary laws. Jean E. Howard explains that these were laws that dictated the type of clothing individuals could wear based on their social status: "To transgress the codes governing dress," she explains, "was to disrupt an official view of the social order in which one's identity was largely determined by one's station or degree- and where that station was, in theory, providentially determined and immutable" (J. Howard 421). In other words, by dressing like a man, breech performers not only defied apparel expectations for their gender (i.e. wearing dresses) but they also challenged the divinely sanctioned social order of their community. That a woman would attempt to encroach "on the privileges of the advantaged sex" by dressing like a man was equally as preposterous (J. Howard 420).

In contrast, Tony Howard explains that what disturbed most early 19th century Americans was that breech performers suggested that gender was something learned instead of something biologically determined and immutable. A breech performance of *Hamlet* did this, he explains, because "the figure of an actress/prince...[exposed] artifice," making it clear that gender assumptions were being challenged (T. Howard 5). Understandably, men like the aforementioned William Winter felt compelled to launch campaigns against the practice. In Winter's mind, breech performances of *Hamlet* attributed an intellectual

capacity to women that was biologically impossible for them to possess. That breech performers would suggest otherwise was contrary to nature and inherently wrong. A character from the novel *The Coquette* expressed similar sentiments, stating, "To see a woman depart so far from the female character, as to assume the masculine habit and attitudes, and appear entirely indifferent, even to the externals of modesty, is truly disgusting" (qtd. in T. Howard 44).

Later on in the century, the issue became far more political. In her text, *Wearing the Breeches*, Elizabeth Mullenix explains that Americans became more disturbed by the fact that many breech performances inherently possessed a feminist subtext. She says that breech performers "were regarded as suspect by various individuals (critics, managers, or fellow actors) on specific occasions because... they exhibited a subtextual agenda-a feminist message" (Mullenix 11). "This feminist subtext," she adds, was "evidenced by the fact that women who chose to undertake male dramatic characters often did so as a way to compete directly with their male colleagues" (Mullenix 90). This was true for the aforementioned actress Mrs. Sharpe, who chose to play Count Belino in the *Devil's Bridge* at the Park Theatre in New York while it was being played simultaneously at another theater in the city by Mr. Pearlman (who had established his reputation in this character). That Sharpe purposely rejected her "traditional repertoire of feminine parts" and made "a trenchant statement about women's equality" was not well received (Mullenix 91 & 93). The man reporting on her performance remarked, "it would seem that the ladies are, in real earnest, about to assume our nether garments, and we, of the ungentler sex, fast approaching to petticoat government" (qtd. in Mullenix 93). His comment highlights the fear that many Americans faced at the possibility of women possessing a more active role in public life. Breech performers accentuated this possibility by using "their male personas to liberate themselves from the domestic sphere and to brave new territory for American women" (Howe 4).

However, not all breech performance researchers agree that the practice undermined gender norms. Echoing the claim of author David Cressy who said, "The evidence suggests that cross-dressing in practice was [not] the subversive abomination...that some scholars have claimed," author Elizabeth Howe argues instead that the primary effect of breech

performance in early modern England was to, display "the actress as a sexual object" and to "titillate" male audiences (Howe 59). She explains that "the breeches role titillated both by the mere fact of a woman's being boldly and indecorously dressed in male costume and, of course, by the costume suggestively outlining the actress's hips, buttocks and legs, usually concealed by a skirt" (Howe 56). Furthermore, this sexual objectification often encouraged sexual violence against the actresses. Howe explains, "The actress had no effective protection against male advances – as Tom Brown colourfully put it, 'tis as hard a matter for a pretty Woman to keep herself Honest in a Theatre, as 'tis for an Apothecary to keep his Treacle from the Flies in hot Weather; for every Libertine in the Audience will be buzzing about her Hony-Pot'" (qtd. in Howe 33). In other words, the breech performer functioned only as an object of desire, entirely at the disposal of men, with absolutely no voice to oppose their oppressive treatment.

For Howe, therefore, the emergence of the English actress on the stage did not actually challenge gender norms. Instead, it led to further oppression of women. Howe remarks that even "in the most potentially 'feminist' transvestite role of the period – that of Lucia in Southerne's remarkable comedy *Sir Anthony Love* of 1690…the epilogue cheerfully [reinforced] the familiar image of the actress as sexual object. Sir Anthony, it [reassured] spectators, simply constituted another chance to see a good pair of women's legs" (Howe 59 & 61). According to Howe's vision of breech performance, the genre offered nothing more than a means for an already patriarchal society to continue to control and manipulate women.

While breech performance may seem like a thing of the past, it is still practiced in theatre companies today. In 2012, an all-female production of Julius Caesar at London's Donmar Warehouse "captivated critics" ("Critics Hail an All-female Caesar"). According to Michael Billington in *The Guardian*, "Lloyd's production [proved] that female actors can bring a fresh perspective to traditionally male roles" ("Critics Hail an All-female Caesar"). Alexandra Coghlan, a writer for *The Arts Desk*, said that the cast, "certainly [gave] the lie to any weakly girlish image of the female" ("Critics Hail an All-female Caesar"). What these comments demonstrate is that our modern world has progressed not only to accept transvestism, but also to praise and encourage it in the arts.

Still, this does not mean that our world is devoid of prejudice. Rather, what it suggests is that attitudes towards gender are continuing to evolve and change so that we are no longer "waging campaigns against actresses" who choose to play male roles, as William Winter once did, but rather learning to embrace their talent.

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Segregation to Democracy: An Untimely Connection

Jack Fenton

Many people hold the view that Roman society was blunt, cruel, and unforgiving. They frequently believe that the ruling elite acted without taking the needs of the people into consideration. This vision of Roman culture would appear anything but democratic, since democracy entails "a commitment to equality in all spheres of social life."[1] Traditionally, democratic values consist of freedom of expression, equality, and voting, among other things. Contrary to this popular conception, however, some scholars think that Roman society did demonstrate inklings of democracy. In particular, several authors suggest that events that took place in the Roman arena display democratic values.

In a democratic society, freedom of expression is associated with being able to find a political party or other socioeconomic subgroup of individuals whose societal needs are similarly aligned. Although the common people in ancient Rome had less of a voice in the political process, several scholars have recently argued that the seating arrangements in the arena facilitated subgroup bonding amongst individuals of similar socioeconomic status. For example, Allen Guttmann, a professor in classics at Amherst College, begins his explanation of this process by first defining 'mass horizontal sport' as one in which "large numbers of people from a broad socioeconomic spectrum [are] regularly involved in sport as participants and spectators."[2] Guttman then identifies Roman arena combat as a type of mass horizontal sport and points out that in the arena "the facilitation of the formation of small-scale, tightly bonded horizontal groups literally

enact democratization" through "the cultivation of generalized trusts," "political efficacy," and "self-disciplined individuals."[3] Moreover, Diego Gutierrez and his colleagues point out that arena spectators not only sat together and spent all day together, but also entered and exited the arena through the same entrances. Gutierrez and his co-authors explain that "not only were the seats distributed according to the social classes of the Roman society, but also the entrances…. As it can be seen, the entrance system formed a complex mesh of passages and galleries."[4] In other words, as spectators arrived for the day, they were placed into their subgroups and were not separated until the end of the event. Furthermore, sports sociologists Yuko Minowa and Terrence Witkowski point to the Roman games as an instance of "Consuming as Classification," a phenomenon in which spectators identify with a social group through the consumption of objects like the Roman games.[5] Minowa and Witkowski then connect this term to the Roman arena by saying, "The seating arrangements at amphitheaters were tiered in a hierarchical order. Senators and other leading citizens of status had the best seats, then women, and lastly household slaves who might attend with their masters…. This helped create affiliation and develop distinction"[6] between subgroups. Regardless of whether or not subgroup identification was facilitated by the patrons of the games, spectators at the Roman arena were given the opportunity to bond with individuals of similar socioeconomic status, which is a process associated with democracy.

Although being able to align with a subgroup is somewhat democratic in itself, such identification would mean little if some subgroups were treated much less fairly than others. However, both Guttmann and classics professor Garrett G. Fagan point out how subgroups of all socioeconomic statuses in the arena respected one another and interacted as equals—at least in the arena. Guttmann first

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[1]   Paul Christesen, *Sports and Democracy in the Ancient and Modern Worlds*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012, 15.

[2]   Guttmann, Allen. "Sport and Democracy in the Ancient and Modern Worlds." *International Journal of the History of Sport* 30, no. 8 (2013), 922.

[3]   Ibid.

[4]   Gutierrez, D, B Frischer, E Cerezo, A Gomez, and F Seron. "AI And Virtual Crowds: Populating The Colosseum." *Journal of Cultural Heritage* 8, no. 2 (2007), 182.

[5]   Minowa, Yuko, and Terrence Witkowski. "Spectator consumption practices at the Roman games." *Journal of Historical Research in Marketing* 4, no. 4 (2012), 521.

[6]   Ibid.

brings up this notion when speaking of how mass horizontal sport leads to democratization among the spectators. He says that democratization in the arena led to "either a condition in which the balance between egalitarian and hierarchical relationships in a given situation is tilted strongly toward the former, or the process that brings such a balance into being, maintains it, or extends it further toward egalitarianism"[7]; that is to say, the hierarchical structure that exists in society at large is less present in the arena, leading to heightened equality. Fagan explains this phenomenon further when he references an article by Itesh Sachdev and Richard Bourhis, who concluded that intergroup hatred usually occurs among two very distinct subgroups.[8] Fagan argues that although there are socioeconomic differences among spectators, the criminals fighting on the sand are more of a distinct subgroup than the spectators themselves are.[9] Thus, because the spectator subgroups were not dichotomous, Sachdev and Bourhis's research would indicate that there would be subgroup favoritism among the spectators.[10] Moreover, Fagan uses the ancient historical record to argue in favor of the idea that the spectator subgroups respected each other. Specifically, he says, "The only arena riot on record is that between the Pompeians and the Nucerians, which took place in Pompeii's amphitheater in AD 59."[11] If subgroups in the stands were being persecuted or ridiculed for expressing themselves, then it would be harder to perceive democratic values in the arena; however, Fagan and Guttmann argue the opposite, that spectators treated each other more or less like equals.

Voting is the method that allows for accurate representation of the opinions of the groups mentioned above, a crucial element of democracy. Several scholars discuss how the Roman arena allowed spectators to demonstrate and express their views through voting and voicing of opinion. Both Minowa and Witkowski as well as Fagan point out various manifestations of this phenomenon, while Guttmann talks about how a lack of this practice in sport in other ancient cultures hindered the

development of democratic principles. Minowa and Witkowski first allude to the phenomenon of voting in the arena in their discussion of the way spectators would react in order to spare or end a fighter's life:

> When called upon to evaluate gladiatorial combats, spectating consumers became involved in determining the destiny of the fighters … spectators [would then] decide whether the combatant was to be saved or not … If a gladiator were to be condemned to death, they would stick their thumbs toward the sky, shout "ingula" or "cut his throat" forcing the gladiator to surrender…. if the gladiator were to be left alive, audience members gestured in a way that resembles a closed fist, which was to convey mercy by transmitting goodwill to the falling gladiator.[12]

The spectators' gestures reflected the aggregate desires of the masses, a demonstration similar to voting. Fagan dives a little bit further into the idea that the crowd directed the course of action at the games when he says, "The capacity of the crowd to shape the action directly would also lend them a godlike sensation of power over life and death. They could demand that a particular prisoner be brought out, and then insist on the method of killing to be applied to him or her. And as the prisoners perished, they could be mocked or otherwise derided."[13] In other words, Fagan pointed out how it seemed as if those in charge were acting solely on the desires of the crowd. Interestingly enough, Guttmann illuminates the other side of this observation by pointing to societies in which their arena sport did not facilitate this act of voting by the spectators. He mentions how a disconnect grew between those who put on the games and the attendees.[14] He defines this kind of sport as vertical and says, "Germany's version of 'vertical sport' in the form of hierarchically organized drill and/or mass gymnastic demonstration hindered, if it did not actually prevent, the development of a democratic society."[15] By Guttmann's definition, German sport was not democratic

7   Guttmann, "Sport and Democracy in the Ancient and Modern Worlds," 922.

8   Sachdev and Bourhis, "Status Differentials and Intergroup Behaviour," 285.

9   Fagan, *Lure of the Arena*, 132.

10   Sachdev and Bourhis, "Status Differentials and Intergroup Behaviour," 285.

11   Fagan, *Lure of the Arena*, 149.

12   Minowa and Witkowski,"Spectator consumption practices at the Roman games," 520.

13   Fagan, *Lure of the Arena*, 136.

14   Guttmann, "Sport and Democracy in the Ancient and Modern Worlds," 922.

15   Ibid.

because it did not facilitate spectator participation through voting. Therefore, taken together, the work of Guttmann, Fagan, and Minowa and Witkowski would seem to suggest that the Roman arena must have demonstrated democratic values because it facilitated a kind of voting among spectators.

Although ancient Rome did not have a democratic system of government, the work of Fagan, Guttmann, Gutierrez et al., and Minowa and Witkowski suggest that the Roman arena showed signs of democratic values, such as subgroup bonding, mutual respect between subgroups, and voting. These phenomena might prompt one to consider democratic values in ancient Rome as a larger research avenue, as the arena may not have been the only place where these values were present. Such research could perhaps lead to the discovery that the Romans were responsible for some of the privileges of democracy we get to enjoy in our society today.

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The Deeper Meaning Behind Indian Cinema

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Films have served as an important form of entertainment since the turn of the twentieth century. At the same time, they play an integral role in communicating cultural values, articulating discontent in society, and uniting disparate groups. Indian cinema underwent significant change from the 1970s to 1990s, with films conveying broad social issues, moral ambiguity, and the dynamics of city life. During the 1990s, Bollywood, the Hindi-language film industry based in Mumbai known for its feel-good love stories and song and dance sequences, emerged as a global phenomenon. The nation's changing political landscape and social norms shaped Indian cinema as it evolved over the second half of the twentieth century. Scholars who study Indian cinema suggest that it is an important cultural force that reflects changing societal attitudes.

Indian cinema's ability to draw and unify a diverse audience of Indian viewers makes it an appropriate medium for the expression of society's changing beliefs and norms. India's film industry surpasses Hollywood as the largest in the world, with nearly 1,200 films being produced in 2002.[1] The size of the industry alone suggests that Indian cinema is able to have a profound influence on society. Its influence is facilitated by the neighborhood movie theater, which is an institution that unifies disparate groups by drawing crowds that transcend social hierarchies. Social stratification is attributed to the cast system, which divides people into traditionally sanctioned groups based on their relative purity.[2] According to Rajadhyaksha, "cinema was perhaps the first instance in Indian civilization where the 'national public' could

[1] Ranjani Mazumdar, *Bombay Cinema: An Archive of the City* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007), xviii.

[2] Moti Gokulsing, and Dissanayake Wimal, *Indian Popular Cinema* (Staffordshire: Trentham Books, 2004), 72.

gather in one place that was not divided along caste difference."[3] Cinema houses unified the public by offering people an escape from the hardships that plagued the period following Independence.[4] As a result, approximately 12,000 theaters attracted 70 million audience members each week.[5] Indian popular cinema's broad appeal is also attributed to its dramas, romantic themes, comic elements, and song/dance sequences that captivate audience members.[6] Furthermore, theaters' ability to draw massive crowds that represent a diverse audience led the state to realize that cinema had the potential to propagate a "national culture value."[7] The emergence of low-cost media forms, loosening of state controls, and proliferation of cassettes and makeshift movie theaters made film an even more powerful cultural force that was able to access a broad, national audience.[8] In addition to its domestic significance, Indian cinema unites citizens across national boundaries; from 1975-1977, films were exported to émigré Indians in Africa, Hong Kong, Malaysia, the Arab states, and Indonesia.[9] The popularity of Indian cinema among diasporic audiences was facilitated by the fact that videocassettes were prevalent in most Indian supermarkets overseas and popular Hindi stars made appearances at cultural events.[10]

Moreover, scholars note that Indian cinema lent a voice to the public's growing discontent with the tumultuous politics and conflict that arose during the postcolonial period. A number of contentious political and social developments occurred in India during the late

twentieth century. For example, from 1975 to 1977 Prime Minister Indira Gandhi issued a declaration of "Emergency," citing threats to national security.[11] During the Emergency, the autocratic regime suppressed civil liberties, displaced the poor, arrested opposition activists, and implemented sterilization programs.[12] Several films that were produced in the years leading up to the Emergency capture the negative public sentiment.[13] This is evident in the 1975 crime film Deewar, which alludes to fears of displacement and criticisms of the authoritarian regime.[14] Other important historical events like the rising Hindu nationalism movement and 1992-1993 Bombay Riots played a similar role in shaping postcolonial Indian film.[15] These films demonstrate how the public's aspirations for peace and freedom were replaced by feelings of distrust and a threat of violence. Similarly, violent action films gained popularity in the 1970s-1980s, following India's defeat of Pakistan in 1971.[16] This reflected a shift in sentiment away from the romanticism under Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru towards a growing sense of aggression. In addition to violence, crime films address social fragmentation and use subaltern heroes to represent the discontent of marginalized groups. Social fragmentation is reflected in themes of alienation, isolation, and suffering in cinema during the "angry man" phenomenon of the 1970s/1980s and psychotic films of the 1990s. For example, the protagonist in Baazigar (1993) is portrayed as an isolated figure at odds with the rest of the community.[17] This reflects the lack of cohesion and social integration in the modern city that often resulted in conflict.

3   Ashish Rajadhyakshya, "The 'Bollywoodization' of Indian Cinema: Cultural Nationalism in a Global Arena," *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* 4 (2003), 35.

4   India gained independence from British colonial rule in 1947 (Sundaram 6).

5   Akbar Ahmed, "Bombay Films: The Cinema as Metaphor for Indian Society and Politics," *Modern Asian Studies* 26 (1992), 291.

6   Moti Gokulsing, and Dissanayake Wimal, *Indian Popular Cinema* (Staffordshire: Trentham Books, 2004), 83.

7   Ravi Sundaram, *Pirate Modernity: Delhi's media urbanism* (London: Routledge, 2009), 6.

8   Ibid.

9   Ashish Rajadhyakshya, "The 'Bollywoodization' of Indian Cinema: Cultural Nationalism in a Global Arena," *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* 4 (2003), 29.

10 Anjali Ram, "Framing the Feminine: Diasporic Readings of Gender in Popular Indian Cinema," *Women's Studies in Communication* 25 (2002): 26.

11 Ravi Sundaram, *Pirate Modernity: Delhi's Media Urbanism* (London: Routledge, 2009), 75.

12 Ranjani Mazumdar, *Bombay Cinema: An Archive of the City* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007), 6.

13 Ravi Vasudevan, "Disreputable to Illegal Publics: Cinematic Allegories in Times of Crisis," *Crisis Media* 3 (2004), 74.

14 Ranjani Mazumdar, *Bombay Cinema: An Archive of the City* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007), 22.

15 Ibid., 30.

16 Akbar Ahmed, "Bombay Films: The Cinema as Metaphor for Indian Society and Politics," *Modern Asian Studies* 26 (1992), 72.

17 Ravi Vasudevan, "Disreputable to Illegal Publics: Cinematic Allegories in Times of Crisis," *Crisis Media* 3 (2004), 76.

Similarly, Baazigar and Deewar use the concept of homelessness to express a tension between individualism and community responsibility.[18] Furthermore, crime films capture the angst of marginalized groups who are symbolized by the subaltern hero. The most infamous subaltern hero, actor Amitabh Bachchan, achieved stardom as the leading "angry man" actor of Bollywood. His vigilante character conveys the public's rage and disillusionment.[19] In many of these films, the antihero uses illegal tactics to pursue justice and revenge since the law is impersonal and does not serve the marginalized. Indian cinema mobilized oppressed groups by articulating the public's dissatisfaction with the state's ineffectiveness as an upholder of social justice.

Indian films also present a tension between patriarchal and feminist views, challenging audience members to reconsider traditional conventions of women's role in society. The ideal woman is depicted as a religious, faithful, and disciplined heroine who is frequently contrasted by a promiscuous character.[20] Films emphasize the chastity and purity of women through Sita, a Hindu goddess deemed to be the ideal of womanhood.[21] On one hand, numerous films demonstrate admiration for the role of women in traditional Indian society and criticize those who fail to adhere to traditional norms. For example, in the 1976 drama-thriller Do Anjane, the wife who leaves her husband to pursue a career suffers from indignity.[22] Such films also reinforce patriarchal views and the importance of preserving family honor through virtuous behavior. Conversely, the decadent and modern woman is regarded with contempt. However, several feminist films emerged in the 1980s, representing a progression to serious themes that reconsidered traditional notions of women's social status. For example, the 1982 film Phaniyamma explores

female individuality.[23] Similarly, the 1985 film Parama describes the plight of women who are oppressed and imprisoned by tradition.[24] It is also interesting to consider how female audiences interpret gender roles in Indian cinema, as there seem to be conflicting views. After interviewing fourteen Indian immigrant women who viewed a series of popular films, Anjali Ram determined that while they supported idealistic representations of womanhood, they also agreed it was sometimes acceptable to challenge male authority. In addition, Hindi actress Rekha was very well received by audience members, even though her character often challenges patriarchal order and is not a chaste heroine.[25] Thus, Indian cinema is helping change attitudes towards femininity by encouraging viewers to reevaluate their understanding of gender roles.

Finally, Indian cinema is infused with nationalist rhetoric and a desire to convey Indian nationalism to the rest of the world. Secular nationalism pervaded Indian society until a growing sense of Hindu nationalism[26] emerged as the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) gained political power in the 1990s. As a result, patriotic and nationalist films like Sarfarosh (1999), Mission Kashmir (2000), and Sardar (1993) gained prominence.[27] Throughout history, nationalist movements in India referenced the symbol of Bharat Ma, or Mother India. Many films use the image of Bharat Ma to propagate nationalist sentiments by emphasizing the relationship between mother and nation.[28] Indian cinema also began reflecting society's beliefs that India had emerged as a dominant force in South Asia. For example, after the 1962 Sino-Indian War, people living in Delhi began to feel morally superior to the defeated Chinese. Cinema of the time reflected these sentiments by emphasizing the film hero's self-

[18]   Ranjani Mazumdar, *Bombay Cinema: An Archive of the City* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007), 9.

[19]   Ibid., 14.

[20]   Akbar Ahmed, "Bombay Films: The Cinema as Metaphor for Indian Society and Politics," *Modern Asian Studies* 26 (1992), 307.

[21]   Anjali Ram, "Framing the Feminine: Diasporic Readings of Gender in Popular Indian Cinema," *Women's Studies in Communication* 25 (2002), 33.

[22]   Moti Gokulsing, and Dissanayake Wimal, *Indian Popular Cinema* (Staffordshire: Trentham Books, 2004), 83.

[23]   Ibid., 88.

[24]   Ibid.

[25]   Anjali Ram, "Framing the Feminine: Diasporic Readings of Gender in Popular Indian Cinema," *Women's Studies in Communication* 25 (2002), 42.

[26]   Hindu nationalism is political thought based on cultural traditions of historical India (Mazumdar xxviii)

[27]   Moti Gokulsing, and Dissanayake Wimal, *Indian Popular Cinema* (Staffordshire: Trentham Books, 2004), 113.

[28]   Anjali Ram, "Framing the Feminine: Diasporic Readings of Gender in Popular Indian Cinema," *Women's Studies in Communication* 25 (2002), 35.

righteousness.[29] Globalization fueled a desire to share such nationalist sentiments to the rest of the world and establish Indian culture on a global scale. This was facilitated by Bollywood's growing worldwide prominence in the 1990s since it exported Indian nationalism that was "commodified and globalized into a 'feel good' version of 'our culture'."[30] Indian cinema serves as a cultural force by propagating nationalist sentiments to both domestic and global audiences.

A consequence of Indian cinema's ability to reflect and amplify changing societal attitudes is that it also plays a role in shaping culture. This has occurred when politicians like Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi quoted film heroes and used film titles as slogans.[31] Similarly, film has served as a propaganda vehicle of political organizations.[32] In addition, Indian cinema is a driving force of social progress since it promotes modernization, urbanization, and the emancipation of women's rights.[33] Finally, while popular cinema conveys religious conflict, other films emphasize peace and secularism by presenting harmonious relationships between Hindus and Muslims. Indian cinema is not only a mirror that reflects society, but it also shapes popular beliefs and opinions. It will be interesting to see how the relationship between Indian cinema and society evolves in the future, in light of growing media piracy and globalization, and whether Bollywood will one day influence Western culture.

[29]   Akbar Ahmed, "Bombay Films: The Cinema as Metaphor for Indian Society and Politics," *Modern Asian Studies* 26 (1992): 295.

[30]   Ashish Rajadhyakshya, "The 'Bollywoodization' of Indian Cinema: Cultural Nationalism in a Global Arena," *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* 4 (2003), 37.

[31]   Akbar Ahmed, "Bombay Films: The Cinema as Metaphor for Indian Society and Politics," *Modern Asian Studies* 26 (1992), 316.

[32]   Ravi Vasudevan, "Disreputable to Illegal Publics: Cinematic Allegories in Times of Crisis," *Crisis Media* 3 (2004), 74.

[33]   Moti Gokulsing, and Dissanayake Wimal, *Indian Popular Cinema* (Staffordshire: Trentham Books, 2004), 11.

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Breaking News: How the Media Serves as a Force Multiplier for Terrorists

Corey Stern

In the weeks following the September 11th attacks, Osama bin Laden told a reporter for Pakistan's Daily Ummat that "terror is the most dreaded weapon in modern age [sic] and the Western media is mercilessly using it against its own people. It can add fear and helplessness in the psyche of the people of Europe and the United States. It means that what the enemies of the United States cannot do, its media is doing that" (Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 2004, p. 181). This chilling excerpt exemplifies the importance that bin Laden placed on media attention. Throughout his career, bin Laden was very media-conscious, holding press conferences, granting interviews to Western journalists, and issuing promotional videos and press releases. He even created a media wing within al Qaeda, As-Sahab. According to Pulitzer Prize-nominated journalist Dale Van Atta (1998), bin Laden, like most terrorists, viewed "the inevitable media coverage of terrorist attacks as what the military would call 'force multipliers'" (para. 10). According to the Department of Defense's Dictionary of Military Terms (2010), a force multiplier is "a capability that, when added to and employed by a combat force, significantly increases the combat potential of that force and thus enhances the probability of successful mission accomplishment" (para. 1). Terrorists compensate for their limited resources and manpower by utilizing the "media megaphone, which amplifies their horrific acts and demands with the kind of publicity terrorists would never buy and could never afford" (Van Atta, 1998, para. 10). As the media's influence and its reach are further propelled by the Internet, there is increasing concern over the role journalists play in advancing the goals of terrorists. Researchers Alex Schmid and Janny de Graaf from The Centre for the Study of Social Conflicts in the

Netherlands; Journalist John O'Sullivan; Columbia University professor and terrorism expert Brigitte Nacos; and Ray Surette, Kelly Hansen, and Greg Noble, researchers at the University of Central Florida all examine how the media has served as a force multiplier for terrorists.

All four researchers highlight how terrorists depend on media publicity to help them achieve their goals. Nacos (2012) explains, "Regardless of their grievances, goals, size, and secular or religious convictions, literally all terrorist groups strive to maximize their media impact" (p. 260). O'Sullivan (1986) takes this argument even further as he states, "it is an understatement to say that terrorists seek publicity. They require publicity. It is their lifeblood. If the media were not there to report terrorist acts and to explain their political and social significance, terrorism as such would cease to exist" (p. 70). This strong assertion is echoed by Schmid and De Graaf (1986), who quotes psychologist David Hubbard: "They wouldn't even think of bombing and hijacking, unless you guaranteed them a rostrum. So if the media cut their coverage down to the importance of other minor news, these men wouldn't act" (p. 34). Many critics have called for legal restrictions on how the media can report terrorism. However, this becomes complicated because these limitations on First Amendment rights would mean that terrorists would succeed at threating our freedoms. Nevertheless, as Surette et al. (2009) explain, "through the media, impacts far out of proportion to a terror group's own strength can be achieved" (p. 361). This practice brings a global audience to groups far too small to warrant that kind of widespread attention.

These sources all acknowledge that the media helps terrorists spread panic and fear. In what is considered a "symbiotic relationship," journalists magnify the perceived threat of terrorism because fear sells. At the same time, fear among the public certainly empowers terrorists, who hope to "gain psychological effects through publicity" (Martin & Draznin, 1991, p. 121). As Nacos (2012) explains, after 9/11, bin Laden "did not win the hearts and minds of the people. Instead, he became the evildoer-in-chief. But this played into his hands as well. After all, terrorists do not want to be loved by their targets; they want to be feared" (p. 269). Fear is both an end and a means for terrorists. This is because fear itself is a major goal for terrorists. But, also, fear can bring about the desired political effects. According to Surette et al. (2009), through

media coverage, journalists, in part, provide terrorists with "victim reactions and forced shifts in public opinion toward victim governments and institutions" (p. 361). As a result, terrorists have "become adept at manipulating the news triage process that propels dramatic news with emotional human interest content to the forefront and grants coverage to those groups who successfully create dramatic telegenic events" (p. 361). The media has been extensively criticized for its role in augmenting the anxiety terrorists look to instill in the public. Many question the respectability of journalists who enable terrorists to cause havoc by instilling fear. O'Sullivan (1986) notes "it is not the mere succession of terrorist attacks which when reported arouses public anxiety… Rather, the media heighten tension by reporting not just the terrorists' acts but also their threats of future violence, by describing in often lurid colors the campaign of terror that will ensue if the government does not meet terrorist demands, giving the impression that endless violence and upheaval lie ahead" (p. 70). As part of this "symbiotic relationship" terrorists know that it is mutually advantageous for the media to assist them in spreading fear. Schmid and de Graaf (1982) point to the coverage of the 1972 massacre at Israel's Lod Airport, now Ben Gurion Airport, as a clear example. They claim that had the media responsibly reported the facts of the event, the fear among the public would have been substantially lower. However, they proclaim that "this, the terrorists could be sure, was not the way the Western media work" (p. 29). In what resembles an unspoken agreement, terrorists conduct their business with the expectation that the self-serving media will assist them in creating widespread panic.

Furthermore, all four sources discuss how terrorists use the media as a platform to share their messages. Often, terrorism is not about the actual act committed, but rather the aftermath. In many cases, terrorist acts equate to cries for attention, which are answered by ambitious journalists who are ready and willing to report whatever it is they might have to say. Nacos (2012) explains, "The immediate victims of bombings, hijackings, kidnappings, and other terrorist acts are simply pawns in the plays that terrorists stage in order to engage their domestic and international audiences. But unlike the producers who stage a drama on Broadway or in theaters elsewhere, terrorists cannot reach their intended audiences unless they generate a great deal of news coverage" (p. 262).

This idea is echoed by Schmid and de Graaf (1982) who define terrorism as "a violent communication strategy" (p. 15). They explain, "The immediate victim is merely instrumental, the skin on a drum beaten to achieve a calculated impact on a wider audience. As such, an act of terrorism is in reality an act of communication. For the terrorist the message matters, not the victim" (p. 14). Thus, the media is an important player in the intricate plans of terrorists by granting them special access to an outlet through which the world can hear their message. According to O'Sullivan (1986), "This is an opportunity, which [a terrorist] would not generally enjoy if he were to use the conventional channels of democratic politics, because the support he would generate would not warrant that kind of media attention. But the use of terror gives him a platform" (p. 72). Terrorists know the media will help them roll the ball along. Surette et al. (2009) note that one former terrorist proclaimed, "We give the media what they need: newsworthy events. They cover us, explain our causes and thus, unknowingly, legitimize us" (p. 361). It is clear that terrorists are motivated, in part, by their understanding of the media's willingness and desire to cover their operations. The unapologetic news coverage of terrorism projects the voice of terrorists throughout the world.

Perhaps it was this understanding that led noted historian Walter Lacqueur to conclude that "the media are the terrorist's best friend." According to Lacqueur, "the terrorist's act by itself is nothing, publicity is all…It has become more alluring for the frantic few to appear on the world stage of television than remain obscure guerrillas of the bush" (as cited in Weimann & Winn, 1994, p. 52). Media publicity is a crucial force multiplier for terrorists, who otherwise would not be able to garner the attention and power they seek. Much like any other modern day organization, terrorist groups have branches tasked with maximizing their exposure in print, broadcast, and online journalism. Terrorists can rely on journalists for support, because both groups know the implications of reporting on an augmented terrorist threat are mutually beneficial.

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What a Girl Wants: The Marriage Plot and its Standards of Romance

Rachel Simon

The story of Cinderella and her beloved Prince Charming has been adapted and retold countless times, and a close look at popular culture reveals that nearly 700 variants of the classic "Cinderella" plotline exist (Kelley 87). Underlying this cherished fairytale is the time-tested concept of the "marriage plot," which was popularized by its prominence in novels of the eighteenth century (Brownstein xv). The marriage plot refers to a storyline that focuses primarily on the development of a romantic relationship, culminating in a marriage between the story's hero and heroine (Brownstein xiii). The use of the marriage plot formula has extended far beyond the literature of the 1700s to manifest itself in other art forms, particularly films. The consistent success of these films, despite their reliance on redundant plotlines, has attracted the attention of scholars who seek to understand the appeal of the marriage plot among women. Many scholars agree that women seek to model their own romances on the standards of the marriage plot.

A number of scholars explain that women often pursue the simple, clear-cut formula for finding love that the marriage plot provides. Feminist literary scholar Rachel Brownstein demonstrates that the use of the marriage plot as a blueprint for love is deeply rooted in history; eighteenth-century women turned to romance novels to escape "a confusingly chaotic reality, and … come back with structures they use to organize and interpret their feelings and prospects" (xviii). In discussing more recent chick flicks, film scholar Kim Adelman describes ten steps to romance, highlighting a formula that progresses from "Step One: Meeting Cute" to "Step Ten: The Ultimate Happy Ending" (7). In explaining these steps, Adelman demonstrates the way in which the marriage plot serves as a set of guidelines for women in their

quest for romance, boiling the variation in real relationships down to a straightforward, clear-cut pattern. This procedural outline for finding love appeals to female audiences who seek clarity in their pursuit of a relationship. Adelman explains that, while reality may complicate the path toward romance, the marriage plot at least allows a woman to identify a clear trajectory in developing a successful relationship (8). Film critic and scholar Kimberly Potts agrees with this sentiment; she believes that, as women watch the development of a female protagonist's romance, "when they learn something, so do we" (x). Ultimately, female audiences hope that the marriage plot will map out the methods for achieving success, which, according to cinema scholar Hilary Radner, rests on a woman uniting with the man of her choosing (36). Film critic Gina Bellafante explains that the marriage plot, when applied to chick flicks, provides "fantasies of romantic deliverance" that women can seek to replicate in reality. Thus, in a sense, the marriage plot can be viewed as a "self-help option" for making sense of romance (Parker-Pope).

Brownstein and Radner argue that women also turn to female protagonists in marriage-plot romances to resolve questions about sex. Brownstein explains that for many women, the marriage-plot relationship addresses "questions about how the sexual is bound up with the moral life, about the coexistence of intimacy and identity" (xvii). The reliance on the marriage plot for sexual guidance began with its popularity in the 1700s, when "generations of girls who did not read much of anything else, whose experience was limited by education, opportunity, and convention," turned to the marriage plot for answers regarding sexual expression (Brownstein xviii). In applying this concept to chick flicks, Radner explains that the marriage plot serves a significant purpose: "linking these films to the tradition of romance while exploring anxieties about the role of sexuality in contemporary life" (36). Thus, women perplexed about the role of sexuality in their own relationships often turn to the standards of sexual behavior mapped out by the marriage plot.

Further, Potts and film critic Tara Parker-Pope argue that the marriage plot provides already-married women with guidelines for overcoming conflicts with their spouses. Parker-Pope derives this conclusion from a study that detailed the effectiveness of chick flicks as a marriage intervention; she writes:

> A University of Rochester study found that couples who watched and talked about issues raised in movies like *Steel Magnolias* and *Love Story* were less likely to divorce or separate than couples in a control group. Surprisingly, the Love Story intervention was as effective at keeping couples together as two intensive therapist led methods. (D4)

The study specifically focused on romance films in which the characters experience some form of obstacle in their relationship (such as *Couples Retreat* and *Date Night*), thereby prompting a dialogue between the spouses regarding the issues presented in the films (Parker-Pope). This scientific evidence lends support to the notion that the marriage plot can serve an instructional purpose for women experiencing marital issues. Potts provides an additional example of a marriage plot film that can deliver solutions to marital problems: "*Mr. & Mrs. Smith*. A movie infamous for allegedly breaking up a Hollywood marriage, or one that has a few lessons that could help you enhance yours? I say, both" (ix). These marriage-plot films, due to their presentation of romantic complications, often serve as guidance in overcoming marital conflicts.

According to Bellafante, Radner, and Brownstein, women pursue relationships in which they will experience the validation of self-worth that the heroine achieves in the marriage-plot romance. Radner explains how many chick flicks set this example for female audiences; for instance, despite her lowly job as a prostitute in *Pretty Woman* (Marshall 1990), Vivian's worth as a human being is affirmed when she is chosen by the male protagonist (32). In her description of the film, Radner draws upon a quote from Brownstein's work, reiterating that the marriage plot relies on the notion of "finding validation of one's uniqueness and importance by being singled out among all other women by a man" (Brownstein xv; Radner 36). The concept of self-worth extends into other chick flicks, such as *My Big Fat Greek Wedding* (Zwick 2002) and *Maid in Manhattan* (Wang 2002). In describing these films, Bellafante writes, "The drug disseminated to the audience here, and in every movie like this one, is the precept that no matter what your costume … someone will eventually emerge from the ether to recognize that you are a creature like no other" (par. 14). Through her use of the word "drug," Bellafante

provides an image of female audiences buying into, and actively pursuing, relationships as a measure of self-worth. Thus, the marriage plot plays a role in "strengthening and shaping the female reader's aspirations to matter, to make something special of herself" (Brownstein xix). Women are encouraged by the marriage plot to seek affirmation of their personal value in the form of a relationship.

A large majority of film and novel reviews criticize the marriage plot for being an unoriginal "wholehearted embrace of the happy end" (Miller 154). Yet many scholars recognize the value that the marriage plot holds for women and often staunchly defend the marriage plot against its critics. In her work, Potts argues that chick flicks don't "have to rack up a slew of Oscars to make [them] worthwhile … [chick flicks] are the ones, usually, that give us a little something extra, that let us not only be entertained, but allow us to take away some meaning from our two hours in the dark" (ix). Further, Brownstein supports the belief that the "marriage plot… significantly adumbrates larger themes" (xvii), a perspective that she constantly defended as an English literature major. She argues that the marriage plot sheds light on topics that women struggle to understand on their own, writing that "the marriage plot poses questions… about how very odd it is to choose another so as to choose a self" (xvii). Thus, in the midst of constant criticism targeting the marriage plot, especially regarding its prevalence in the chick flick genre, a number of scholars still contend that the marriage plot holds large significance for its female viewers. This perspective encourages audiences to see beyond the marriage plot as a mere source of entertainment; for those seeking romance, the predictable, time-tested, "Cinderella story" marriage plot holds high value.

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Painting Potentiality

Julie Shanus

François Le Lionnais cofounded the Oulipo, which stands for "Ouvroir de littérature potentielle" or "workshop for potential literature." The group focuses on creating works with literary constraints that in some way confine the writer's work within certain bounds or govern the piece by an established pattern. An example of a popular Oulipian constraint is the lipogram, which restricts one or more letters from a text. Le Lionnais was so intrigued by the limitless possibilities of constraints that he was driven to create "an eventual Universal Institute of Potentiality," where potentiality refers to everything that does not yet exist (Poucel). He achieved this goal by founding many Ou-x-po workshops, potential groups in any given subject "x," where x, for example, may stand for art, music, math, cooking, or history (Poucel). One such Ou-x-po is the Oupeinpo, precisely defined as a potential workshop in painting, although the group does not limit itself to paint. Rather, members explore all media of the visual arts, including pencil, computer-imaging, printing press, and more (Foulc, "Introduction" 277). Thieri Foulc, François Le Lionnais, and Jacques Carelman founded the workshop in 1980 (Foulc, "Introduction" 278). Since the group's creation, there have been many publications about it in French but few in English. However, of the material available in English, there is consensus among scholars. While many people expect the purpose of artistic groups to be to generate an extensive amount of artwork, in this regard the Oupeinpo differs. Becker, Foulc, Le Lionnais, Poucel, and Roubaud all agree that the purpose of the Oupeinpo is not to produce final works of art.[1]

[1]　This paper sites two sources by Foulc. First, he wrote the introduction to the Oupeinpo section of the *Oulipo Compendium*. Second, he wrote a short article called "The Oupeinpo," which appears on *Drunken Boat*. Both sources are synthesized as part of the proposition.

Many scholars state that, instead, the focus of the Oupeinpo is to produce techniques. When giving background context on the Ou-x-pos in general, Poucel asserts that in creating the idea of the Ou-x-po, Le Lionnais was focused on the theory, not the works. In Le Lionnais' opinion, "inventing a form is nearly as good as exhausting it" (Poucel). Consequently, Le Lionnais attempted to eliminate the requirement of having to create at least one work to exemplify each constraint (Roubaud 9). Therefore, the Ou-x-po workshops focus more on the methods than the finished products. Becker directly states that the Oupeinpo "is concerned with generating techniques, not works" (Becker 267). Further, Foulc explains that the Oupeinpo "provides a space to work, not in the ends of completing works, but rather to make tools and, more precisely, methods, perspectives, manipulations… or Oupeinpian constraints" (Foulc, "OuPeinPo"). As such, the structure of the monthly Oupeinpo meetings is centered on sharing ideas. Since "the Oupeinpo itself produces no actual paintings," the morning of each meeting is primarily reserved to the presentation of "documents, ideas, news, deliberations, and correspondence," and the afternoon is solely dedicated to working on the Grand Oeuvre (Foulc, "Introduction" 277-278).

FIG 1: *I was made for Sunny Days* (5/52) by Kelsi Barr, Superimposition,

The famous Grand Oeuvre of the Oupeinpo is a table comprised of horizontal row headings representing explicit scientific elements of pein, such as form, color, and line, and vertical column headings representing simple structural elements, such as combination, intersection, and symmetry (Le Lionnais). Accordingly, each box in the table is an intersection of a scientific element and a structural element, thereby representing a new potential technique.

[2]　For an example of a digrapheur, please visit: http://www.jackvanarsky.com/performance.html

[3]　For an example of metapuncture by Foulc, please visit: http://www.drunkenboat.com/db8/oulipo/feature-oulipo/para/oupeinpo/foulc/fou.html

These Oupeinpian techniques are often classified into two categories of potential Oupeinpian constraints, procedural and formal (Foulc, "OuPeinPo"). As such, some scholars agree that one purpose of the Oupeinpo is to produce procedural constraints. These are sometimes called "means-based rules" because they deal with the specific materials used (Foulc, "OuPeinPo"). Foulc describes procedural constraints as those that "apply to the manipulation of prepared knives and brushes" (Foulc, "OuPeinPo."). Some examples of procedural constraints are painting blindly, digrapheur, and telesymmetry (Mathews and Brotchie 287-288, 300, 312). Painting blindly refers to the limitation of painting with unmarked tubes of paint. A digrapheur is a two-sided pencil used to draw on two surfaces at the same time.[2] Telesymmetry is a procedure requiring two artists, who are each separately connected to a third party by telephone; the third person gives the same set of directions to the other two people, who each create their own painting. Becker describes another procedural constraint called déculottage, which is about the process of scraping away paint from a wooden panel to reveal a desired image underneath (Becker 268). The Oupeinpian selects a painting that another artist composed on a wooden panel using a base, then an undercoat, and finally several layers of paint on top. Next, the Oupeinpian scrapes away layers starting from the back of the wood, so that the first coat stripped is the undercoat. The result of this process is a new artwork that "no one, not even the painter, has seen" (Mathews and Brotchie 286-287). Moreover, these are just a few of the many procedural constraints that the Oupeinpo have established by imaginatively working with available tools and materials.

In addition to creating procedural constraints, some scholars identify that a purpose of the Oupeinpo is to develop formal constraints. Formal constraints are referred to as "ends-based rules" since they "apply to the final appearance, regardless of the means used" (Foulc, "OuPeinPo"). A few examples are superimposition, metapuncture, rotary picture, and transposition (Mathews and Brotchie 294, 308, 310, 313). Superimposition (Figure 1) deals with layering different materials and images. Metapuncture is a type of superimposition in which the artist creates a new image out of two preexisting ones by connecting the overlapping points.[3] A rotary picture is an image with different viewpoints when looked at from different angles (Figure 2). Lastly,
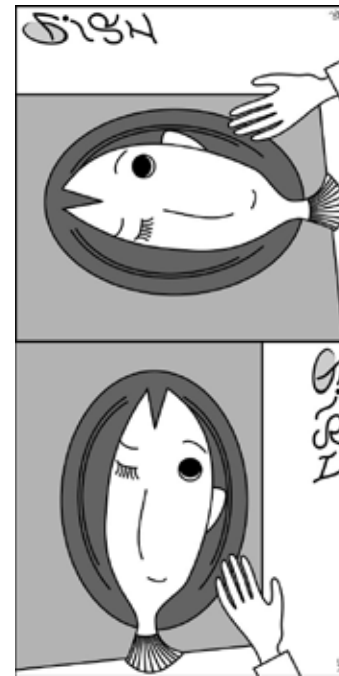

FIG 2: *Fish Girl* by Miwa Miwa, Rotary Image

FIG 3: *Double Folio* from a Kitab-i Hasha'ish, Transposition

transposition (Figure 3) is a technique whereby the artist transfers the elements of a work into another system. For instance, an encyclopedia page may be transformed into images. Again, these are only a handful of the numerous formal Oupeinpian constraints that artists can now use.

Finally, some scholars suggest that another purpose of the Oupeinpo is to draw connections to preexisting Oulipian constraints by translating them from literary to visual form. In this regard, Poucel asserts, "In my view… the current Ou-x-pos rely heavily on translating Oulipian discoveries into a different media, thereby bringing Oulipian language games into the arts" (Poucel). Perhaps there exists a strong connection between the Oupeinpo and the Oulipo because Oulipian writing itself is an expression of artistic freedom; that is, "it proposes an artistic and aesthetic point of view that has its means of justification, its arguments, its illustrations" (Roubaud 8-9). That is to say, the Oulipo can be applied not only to literature but also to art. Specifically, some of the Oupeinpian constraints seem to have direct correlations to preexisting Oulipian constraints. For example, the Oupeinpo's lipopict, which excludes one or more elements, such as one or more colors, from an artwork, seems to parallel the Oulipo's lipogram, which excludes one or more letters from a literary work (Mathews and Brotchie 178, 294; Becker 268). As another example, the "Hundred Flowers of the Oupeinpo," a 10x10 table whereby each box represents a new school of artistic thought, is similar to the Cente Mille Milliards de Poems of the Oulipo, a sequence of ten 14-line sonnets by Raymond Queneau,

whereby the reader can interchange different lines amongst poems to create a total possible 1014 new sonnets (Mathews and Brotchie 14, 292-293). It is plausible that the Oupeinpo's constraints would be visual translations of the Oulipo's literary constraints because both groups see restriction as a gateway to liberation. The Oulipo discuss how constraint has "freed literature from its shackles," and the Oupeinpians refer to restraint as "a support, an aid to invention, an enjoyment of form… and a liberation from the tyranny of the message" (Mathews and Brotchie 130 and 286). All of these scholars suggest that there is a strong connection between the constraints of the Oulipo and the Oupeinpo.

Moving past the development of constraints within the narrow workshop of potential painting, it is fascinating to look at the field of potential art through a broader lens, realizing that artists outside the Oupeinpo also explore artistic constraints. Many artists unknowingly apply techniques similar to Oupeinpian constraints and would thus be considered anticipatory plagiarists of the Oupeinpo. These artists do not purposely "plagiarize" the Oupeinpo's methods, but rather, have probably never even heard of the Oupeinpo. For example, computer graphics researchers focus on the manipulation of brush strokes to create abstract images of natural and synthetic scenes (Haeberli 208). Their focus on the means of creating an image could be classified as a procedural Oupeinpian constraint. On the other hand, my drawing from AP Studio Art of a portrait layered on top of a cutout map can be classified as an example of the formal constraint transposition (Figure 4). When I created this piece I had no idea what the Oupeinpo was, but in hindsight my work perfectly fits the definition of transposition. These two examples illustrate the theory that any artist is capable of using so-called "Oupeinpian techniques." The Oupeinpians accept the fact that others may use similar methods without realizing, for "in reality, all anticipatory plagiarists are accidental" (Mathews and Brotchie 301). Perhaps, it is this bit of intrinsic "Oupeinpo" in each of us that drives our creativity.

FIG 4: *Look Beyond Boundaries,* by Julie Shanus (anticipatory plagiarism)

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A New Look at Privatization

Annie Li

Scholars of current educational issues collectively recognize the present trend of increased privatization in public education. The idea of moving some issues from public (governmental) to private responsibility gained popularity following the economic changes of World War II, as widespread capitalism from war-time production pushed society to "support privatization and oppose giving priority to the public" (Smith, 2000, p. 2). As capitalism grew, individuals more strongly believed that pursuing the interests of private corporations in topics such as education would in turn benefit the society as a whole by encouraging competition and reducing inefficient bureaucratic interventions. Some may go as far as to assess the well-being of the community by the degree and effects of privatization in the community, meaning that a stellar school district well supported by private institutions would positively reflect on the entire community (Demerath, 2009, p. 3). However, many researchers have found that this trend towards privatization may be "both ineffective and detrimental to the integrity of state education" because, by acting in favor of their own financial interests, privately owned institutions distort the mission of education in the interest of profit maximization (Wilkinson, 2007, p. 269). According to Demerath (2009), Graue (1993), Smith (2000), and Rose (1992), modern parental behavior is a response to the effects of this economic privatization of public education.

While the term "privatization" is most commonly framed economically to describe the transition of certain topics from the public sector to the private sector, the connections that these authors draw to parental behavior suggest a second interpretation of privatization—the internalization of public problems as private issues. Smith (2000) asserts, "The drive for [economic] privatization unloads what had been taken for granted as proper functions of the state on to an idealized version of the family" (pp. 17-18). In this ideal family of the contemporary society, parents take responsibility for remedying social problems that previously belonged to the government—a phenomenon which Rose (1992) coins as "familialization," or the adoption of social concerns as family responsibility (p. 156). From a more individualistic perspective, Rose proposes that "contemporary individuals are incited to live as if making a project of themselves," turning inwards to pursue their personal goals because individuals believe that they alone have the full power and ability to improve their own well-being (p. 149). For example in Demerath's (2009) study, "parents and students often express meritocratic beliefs, ascribing success or failure more or less entirely to individual talent or effort" (p. 29). Coupled with America's inveterate support of parental rights, the more aggressive and controlling behaviors of parents are accepted, sustained, and reproduced. In the controversial In *re Rachel L. rehearing*, the Supreme Court asserted, "home education's validity in America is unquestionable" and thereby reaffirmed parental powers in educating children (Olsen, 2009, p. 400). It is clearly evident, then, that modern parental rights will remain uncontested, rendering parents considerable control over their children's education, reinforcing this social interpretation of the privatization of public education.

All four authors illustrate parental responses to address the lack of adequate educational support from privatization efforts. For instance, Rose (1992) asserts that parents create a more "autonomous family, committed to maximizing its quality of life and to the success of family members" almost as a self-defense mechanism to shelter their children from the vices of privatization (p. 157). That is, parents today are more focused on what they can do and what they can provide for their children if they believe that the state is not giving sufficient educational support. In particular, Demerath (2009) observes a wide range of parental involvement in the middle-class school environment including "parents' support of their children, interventions with teachers, and manipulation of cultural know-how and social and professional networks" which he argues is an essential characteristic of "a class cultural system oriented toward personal advancement" (p. 62). Other activities such as "preparing the student for school in the morning, volunteering in the classroom, helping the teacher with secretarial or crafting tasks, and tutoring the student outside of school" are further examples of parents' efforts to actively supplement public education (Smith, 2000, p. 2).

Furthermore, in Graue's (1993) study on parental behavior, one mother insists on holding back her child for one year to enter kindergarten in defiance of the school's recommendations because she personally felt that entering the school system a year late would give her son considerable comparative advantage in athletics in his future high school (p. 479). These types of parental behavior allow parents to take personal control over their children's schooling to ensure that their children receive the best resources possible, compensating for the inadequacies on broader educational or social levels.

However, not all parents are able to mobilize to the same extent, particularly in lower socioeconomic communities with fewer concentrated privatized interests and scarcer economic capital. For example, in a comparison of parental behavior of lower class and middle class neighborhoods, Graue (1993) observes that "unlike the Fulton [lower class] parents who came to the kindergarten experience on their own, Norwood [middle class] mothers were part of an active and persuasive information system focused on the kindergarten program and the characteristics needed by students to succeed in school" (p. 178). While middle class parents benefitted from an abundance of information within their social network of similarly positioned and knowledgeable parents, lower income parents were clearly disadvantaged by this lack of social capital, and as a direct effect of their acceptance of disadvantage, lower class parents responded to privatization by entrusting the school, which they believed to be a more knowledgeable and resourceful reference than they themselves, to guide their children. Graue reasons that since the perception of parenthood is largely construed by the community, middle class parents who are surrounded by an active network will sensibly develop a more assertive parenting style which involves taking personal steps to promote their children's performance, whereas lower class parents who lack an engaged parent community will engage in a more passive parenting style, giving power back to the school.

Furthermore, Smith (2000) agrees with Graue (1993) that a social gap does exist, and she takes the discussion to a deeper level by focusing on how parental involvement is already integrated as a crucial part of the public school system. Smith emphasizes that the degree of parent involvement is contingent upon financial capital, which suggests that

because lower class parents have less money, resources, and time, they are not able to devote as much attention to their children as middle class parents devote to their middle class children. In her research, working class mother volunteers are rare and sporadic in the classroom, whereas middle and upper class mother volunteers are abundant, "making services available [in the middle class community] that schools could otherwise not provide (field trips, for example)" (p. 19). In other words, students from a wealthier background tend to enjoy a more robust educational experience. Even though working class parents make efforts to spend more time with their children, there is still a long way to go to match middle class norms.

Although the trend towards the economic privatization is ongoing, educators acknowledge some of the social problems that it poses to public education. To better understand the relationship to parental behavior, researchers should look further into the social impacts of privatization and how parents react to counter these effects, especially how some parents internalize public education as a personal concern. Luckily, this issue has sparked the attention of the scholarly community. Recognizing that socioeconomic status heavily influences parental behavior, teachers in Nistler's (1999) study enacted a two-year project for increasing the literacy of lower class parents with the goal of increasing involvement with their children's education. The program was a tremendous success, helping establish close rapport among students, parents, and teachers, but more importantly, proving that lower class parents with these additional resources react similarly to middle class parents in following trend of "social privatization," internalizing public education as a private obligation. The success of this program is encouraging in the face of the apparent detriment posed by the privatization of public education—it is an optimistic sign that public education can once again re-establish its role as a remedy for social inequality.

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The Historical Path of PTSD

Ivy Gregory Jr.

Post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) is a crippling mental illness affecting approximately 7.7 million Americans, according to the National Institute of Mental Health.[1] The afflicted individuals can experience a multitude of symptoms ranging from flashbacks, nightmares, and emotional numbness to guilt, depression, and loss of life interests.[2] Luckily, doctors and therapists have the medicinal technology and anxiety-combatant psychological exercises to help fight PTSD today. However, this was not the case before post-traumatic stress was deemed an official disorder in 1980. Before 1980, countless people faced PTSD but were not able to get today's proper treatment. Recently, various scientists have tracked patient cases and syndromes leading up to the eventual classification of PTSD in the American Psychological Association's Diagnostic and Statistical Manual. The analysis of the statistical and anecdotal evidence shows how PTSD was not properly understood, and as a consequence, not properly addressed throughout history. As a result, researchers can track how early cases of unnoticed PTSD left afflicted people incapable of properly functioning.

Scholars trace early medicine's misidentification of many syndromes that should have been grouped under PTSD. Psychiatrists Kinzie and Goetz track various post-traumatic stress syndromes starting from pre-Civil War to World War I. The first syndrome that the authors address is Railroad Spine Syndrome. This syndrome was described by a surgeon in 1867 following accidents involving steam-powered trains. Symptoms exhibited by patients included anxiety, memory problems, irritability,

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[1]   "Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder," National Institute of Mental Health. http://www.nimh.nih.gov/health/topics/post-traumatic-stress-disorder-ptsd/index.shtml, (Accessed 16 April 2014).

[2]   Ibid., Section 2

disturbed sleep, sudden alarm, and distressing dreams.[3] Surgeon John Ericksen believed that the etiological basis for these symptoms was physical damage to the spinal cord and not psychological damage.[4] Doctors Hyams et al. and Kinzie and Goetz both explain how this syndrome is just one of many that were not correctly diagnosed. The next syndrome occurred during and after the Civil War, known as Da Costa's Syndrome. Hyams et al. note how Jacob Mendes Da Costa evaluated 300 soldiers referred to him for a syndrome physically characterized by shortness of breath, palpitations, diarrhea, and chest pain on exertion, with psychological symptoms including fatigability, headache, dizziness, and disturbed sleep.[5] Da Costa would later formally coin "irritable heart," a syndrome with predominantly similar symptoms to post-traumatic stress disorder. However, Da Costa thought "effort syndrome" was due to the heart becoming irritated by fevers or harsh conditions. He placed no emphasis to explain the emotional symptoms, a mistake that many scientists made during this time.[6]

Additionally, both Kinzie and Goetz and Hyams et al. continue to trace pre-PTSD beyond World War I. Shell shock and "effort syndrome" were both noted as major combat stress reactions during this time, with symptoms including detachedness, exaggerated startle response, anxiety, and breakdown in battle.[7] Hyams et al. classify shell shock and "effort syndrome" as nearly identical to "irritable heart," while Kinzie and Goetz identify them as the same as "irritable heart." Hyams et al. also include drugs that worked for some syndromes but not for others in order to show the ineffectiveness of research at the time. For example, people who had "irritable heart" during the Civil War were prescribed Digitalis. This medicine was used to strengthen the heart muscle. Doctors also thought this syndrome was caused by physical exertion of the heart so

they prescribed Digitalis.[8] However, the drug did not do what the doctors intended. The false attribution of physical causes of "irritable heart" and "effort syndrome", two syndromes now considered psychological disorders, is something that occurred often before advancements in medical research.[9] World War II saw many forms of neurosis and symptoms experienced by Nazi concentration camp POWs. The average prisoner had symptoms that seemed very similar to the current symptoms list of PTSD, like impairment of memory and concentration, indifference, irritability, depression, restlessness, and difficulty making social contact.[10] These were clear signs of PTSD, but scientists attributed these symptoms to shell shock and other combat stress reactions. PTSD would not be officially addressed for another forty years after WWII.

After scholars traced the PTSD-like symptoms over time, they identified the effects of these untreated post-traumatic syndromes from thousands of years of reports. Records ranging as far back as 2000 B.C. tell of the Sumerian people lamenting over the destruction of their sacred city Nippur. A large portion of the population suffered long term anguish and suffering, leaving the remnants of Nippur un-populated for over 300 years.[11] PT syndromes were not restricted to catastrophic natural disasters either. Doctor Bentley notes how the Greek historian Herodotus cited an Athenian warrior who went permanently blind after witnessing a comrade standing next to him get killed in the Battle of Marathon in 490 B.C.[12] The once capable soldier was now useless for battle. The strange thing was the blinded soldier was never wounded. Reports of untreated PTSD were also traced in the Bible. Through a biblical case study, Psychologist Aiton Birnbaum showed how Jacob, a Hebrew Patriarch,

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3　　Kinzie, J. David, and Rupert R. Goetz. "A Century of Controversy Surrounding Posttraumatic Stress-Spectrum Syndromes: The Impact on DSM-I11 and DSM-IV," *Journal of Traumatic Stress*. no. 9 (1996), 160

4　　Ibid., 160

5　　Hyams, K.C. S. Wignall, and R. Roswell, "War Syndromes and Their Evaluation: From the US Civil War to the Persian Gulf War," *Annals of Internal Medicine* no.125 (1996), 398

6　　Ibid., 398

7　　Ibid., 399-400

8　　Hyams, K.C. S. Wignall, and R. Roswell, "War Syndromes and Their Evaluation: From the US Civil War to the Persian Gulf War," 399

9　　Kinzie, J. David, and Rupert R. Goetz. "A Century of Controversy Surrounding Posttraumatic Stress-Spectrum Syndromes: The Impact on DSM-I11 and DSM-IV," 171-173

10　　Ibid., 169

11　　Ibid., 160

12　　Bentley, Steve, "A short history of PTSD: From Thermopylae to Hue, Soldiers have always had a disturbing reaction to war," The Official Voice of Vietnam Veterans of America, Inc. http://www.vva.org/archive/TheVeteran/2005_03/feature_HistoryPTSD.htm, (Accessed 16 April 2014).

had unnoticed PTSD symptoms that altered his decision making. When Jacob heard of Joseph's, his son, disappearance, he showed various signs of helplessness, irritability, and avoidance that lasted for decades.[13] For example, Birnbaum notes how Jacob's helplessness "is obvious when we consider his inadequate response to the event, as he fails both to interrogate the coat-bearers and, amazingly, to organize a search party."[14] Jacob's avoidance of the traumatic event also put his family in jeopardy of starvation. He did not want to send Benjamin, his brother, to go buy corn from Egypt in fear of repeating the past.[15] All of the untreated post-traumatic symptoms led Jacob to make rash decisions. With better medical recording techniques and new technologies, modern times saw an increase in post-traumatic syndromes.

The researchers agree the effects of untreated PTSD were most prominent between the 19th and 20th Centuries. Following a 1911 earthquake, as many as 25 percent of the survivors suffered from sleep disorders, fear, and heart palpitations three months after the event.[16] Some of those cases even developed into more substantial cases of neurosis. Soon, the advent of new war technologies sparked a dramatic increase in traumatic-based mental illnesses. World War I saw a noticeable increase in post-traumatic syndrome reports, with an estimated 80,000 men discharged from the military due to "effort syndrome."[17] Those 80,000 men, both foot soldiers and ranking officers, were useless due to the debilitating effects of the trauma based syndrome. A research program was soon created to determine the causes and treatments of this syndrome. 44,000 soldiers were eventually given veterans compensation as a result.[18] However, Hyams et al. states mystery still loomed over "what symptoms constituted effort syndrome, whether it was primarily a physiologic or psychological illness, and even what the official name of the condition should be."[19] By 1943, 68,000

[13] Birnbaum, A. "Jacob and Joseph: A Biblical Study of PTSD. *Journal of Aggression, Maltreatment, and Trauma*, (2008): 75-86

[14] Ibid., 79

[15] Ibid., 79-81

[16] Kinzie, J. David, and Rupert R. Goetz. "A Century of Controversy Surrounding Posttraumatic Stress-Spectrum Syndromes: The Impact on DSM-I11 and DSM-IV," 163

[17] Ibid., 163

soldiers were considered psychiatric casualties from World War I.[20] These men, mostly officers, were plagued with "effort syndrome" and neurasthenia, a psychological disorder characterized by fatigability and lack of motivation. As a result, these officers could not be trusted to lead soldiers into battle due to their lack of motivational qualities and shaky decision-making.[21] After some time, scientists began to find ways to prevent diagnosing soldiers with mental disorders. They soon began screening in an attempt to weed out weak soldiers. Bentley agrees that the advancement of research allowed psychiatrists to comprehend that "emotions and not physiological brain damage was most often causing soldiers to collapse under a wide range of symptoms."[22] Unfortunately, scientists continued to believe soldiers' mental problems came from men who had weak character.

As a result of this misattribution, modern, logical thinking about the psychological damage caused by stress did not begin until 1972. In his book on the 1972 Buffalo Creek Dam incident, Kai Erikson, distinguished sociologist and researcher, articulated criteria for diagnosing PTSD in the third edition of the American Psychiatric Association's Diagnostic and Statistical Manual.[23] Erikson retold the story of survivors of the Buffalo Creek Dam collapse and the various symptoms the survivors experienced years after the incident.[24] The American Psychological Association finally recognized post-traumatic stress disorder in the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual-III in 1980. Soon

[18] Hyams, K.C. S. Wignall, and R. Roswell, "War Syndromes and Their Evaluation: From the US Civil War to the Persian Gulf War," 399

[19] Ibid., 400

[20] Kinzie, J. David, and Rupert R. Goetz. "A Century of Controversy Surrounding Posttraumatic Stress-Spectrum Syndromes: The Impact on DSM-I11 and DSM-IV," 164

[21] Bentley, Steve, "A short history of PTSD: From Thermopylae to Hue, Soldiers have always had a disturbing reaction to war," The Official Voice of Vietnam Veterans of America, Inc. http://www.vva.org/archive/TheVeteran/2005_03/feature_HistoryPTSD.htm, (Accessed 16 April 2014).

[22] Ibid., Section 4

[23] Seligman, Martin. *Flourish: A visionary new approach to understanding happiness and well-being* (New York: Atria Paperback, 2012), 153

[24] Ibid., 153-155

after, the previous diagnoses of various mental health syndromes were replaced by only PTSD diagnoses. Treatment for PTSD was immediately applied to veterans of the Vietnam War. World War II and Korean Conflict veterans were also treated once modern medicine identified PTSD as a hidden problem during those times.[25] The realization of Post-traumatic stress as a disorder allowed for millions of affected individuals to get the proper treatment. Now, effective treatments include anxiety medicine, exposure therapy, cognitive restructuring, and stress inoculation training.[26]

What makes medicinal research so compelling is that someone always thinks of new ways to approach problems. Erikson's documentation of the Buffalo Creek Dam survivors gave the necessary push for researchers to place more emphasis on correctly addressing post-traumatic stress. Soon, a joint therapeutic effort followed in an attempt to better understand psychological illness. Eight years of medical research improvements would eventually lead to the correct causation and diagnosis for post-traumatic stress. However, the same problem medical researchers faced thirty years ago has arrived again today. Many scientists are starting to realize the current criteria for PTSD in DSM-V does not encompass all of the current cases of post-traumatic stress. They argue that the most effective way to address this is to create a new stress disorder. Currently, they do not have the correct research technology or techniques to adequately identify this new disorder. It will take the coaxing and inventiveness from another Erikson-type individual to solve such a problem.

[25]   Hyams, K.C. S. Wignall, and R. Roswell, "War Syndromes and Their Evaluation: From the US Civil War to the Persian Gulf War," 400

[26]   "Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder," National Institute of Mental Health. http://www.nimh.nih.gov/health/topics/post-traumatic-stress-disorder-ptsd/index.shtml, (Accessed 16 April 2014).

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South Asian Racial Identity in America

Ria Desai

The word "Asian-American" typically brings to mind a person of East Asian descent. Rarely would the term evoke the likeness of a South Asian. The term South Asian includes those with heritage from India, Pakistan, Nepal, Bhutan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, and the Maldives. They share racial identities based upon common "history and culture and political and economic interdependency" (Shankar and Srikanth 2). It is important to note that South Asians are very diverse in skin color, ranging from very pale to very dark. Although these countries are all part of Asia, South Asian immigrants are rarely considered Asian by the American public (Kibria 78). In the context of U.S. racial hierarchy, South Asians historically have been found to be neither black nor white, so the government has deemed them to be Asian. However, the term "Asian-American" is so heavily associated with East and Southeast Asians that South Asians are erased from a collective Asian-American identity. This is in spite of the fact that South Asians are a growing Asian-American constituency (Shankar and Srikanth 2). After the relaxation of immigration laws in 1965, South Asian immigration increased dramatically, leading to a boom in the 1980s. At 14%, South Asians constitute a larger share of the Asian American community than either Japanese or Korean Americans (Shankar and Srikanth 1). Why is it, then, that South Asians do not fit perfectly within the label of Asian-American? Does the government's classification of South Asians as Asian matter in light of the public opinion that South Asians are not Asian? Multiple scholars agree that there is no consensus upon the racial identity of South Asian-Americans.

South Asians are racially ambiguous because they do not fit well into a pure racial scheme such as black, white, or Asian. Historically, Asian was a label ascribed to Chinese and Japanese immigrants. Other nonwhite groups, like Mexicans and Armenians, were classified as white

for citizenship purposes. According to Princeton University sociologist Ann Morning, the racial categorization of South Asians is still in flux (61). Her contention is supported by the work of sociologist Nazli Kibria. Kibria finds that Americans perceive South Asians to be racially separate from whites, but are unsure of how to group them racially (78). This confusion is historically accurate, as over time South Asians have been perceived to be either white or nonwhite. Susan Koshy, an Asian American studies scholar, highlights the Bhagat Singh case and the 1970 census as key examples of racial fluctuation. In 1923, Bhagat Singh Thind, an immigrant from the Indian state of Punjab, sought naturalization as a white citizen before the Supreme Court on the basis of his Aryan heritage (Koshy 286). Although South Asians are scientifically classified as Caucasian, the Supreme Court judged him to be nonwhite, denying all South Asians the privileges afforded to whites. The only time South Asians were ever considered white by the U.S. Government was in the 1970 Census (Koshy 286). According to Koshy, "the passage of civil rights legislation and the implementation of affirmative action programs… raised anew the question of what race South Asians were" (304). Some South Asian groups lobbied for identification as nonwhite on behalf of lower and middle class South Asians who needed these programs, while upper class South Asians considered the lobbying a threat to their racial status. The lobbying successfully returned South Asians to nonwhite status. However, as nonwhites, South Asians were also not universally perceived to be black. For example, marriage license officials in New York recorded "brown," "black," or "white" depending upon the applicants' skin color and local county (Koshy 289). The inconsistency in racial designation reflects the notion that South Asians are ambiguous. South Asians should expectedly fall within the racial designation the U.S. Government has assigned them: Asian. However, in reality, they do not find acceptance as Asian Americans either.

South Asians are marginalized within the pan-Asian American community. South Asians tend to feel like outsiders within Asian American circles. This dismissal reflects both the facts that South Asians are more recent immigrants to America than most Asians, and also have a "shorter history of involvement with the Asian American [rights] movement" (Kibria 82). Koshy asserts that the distinction between South Asians and other Asians in America dates back as far as America's

Chinese exclusionist past: "the virulent anti-Chinese exclusion movement identified [being Asian] with [being Chinese] so powerfully to the public that the residues of those associations… still shape US identification of Asia with East Asia" (Koshy 302). The Chinese were present in America far before South Asians were, and this has affected how Americans today decide who is Asian and who is not. Being Asian was always so strongly associated with East Asia that there is no place for South Asians in the American perception of race. This lack of a solid presence in the Asian community contributes to South Asians' tendency to feel like outsiders in Asian American communities, as there is a "perceived racial difference" between South Asians and other Asian Americans (Kibria 82). In 1991, California's government debated including South Asians as Asians in the city's minority programs. Some Chinese-Americans felt that it would be wrong to group together people with very different physical characteristics. These beliefs represent the perceived racial divide between South Asians and East Asians. This divide can even be felt in academia, as South Asians can often feel like token members of Asian American Studies programs (Kibria 83). Within academia "South Asians remain largely at the margins rather than the center of scholarship and writing on Asian America" as courses and faculty tend to be East Asian dominated (Kibria 83). However, the confusion as to which racial group South Asians belong to can partially be attributed to South Asians themselves.

South Asians perpetuate racial ambiguity by disagreeing on an appropriate racial designation. According to one theory, they reject racial labels because accepting a nonwhite designation would deny them racial privileges (Morning 64). However, Sucheta Mazumdar, a women's studies and history professor at Duke University, poses the alternative view that South Asians do not choose a race because "in India racial labels do not hinder their social mobility" (49). In South Asia, race is not a part of the social hierarchy, so unlike class position or skin color, it is not a factor heavily considered by South Asians (Koshy 306). Class position is particularly relevant in South Asian American racial identity because the initial wave of South Asians in America were middle to upper class. When immigration quotas were raised in 1965, there was marked increase in the number of South Asians in America. These immigrants complicated traditional U.S. race and class relations, as they were almost

exclusively highly educated, fluent English speakers (Koshy 303). That wave of educated, wealthy immigrants has shaped how South Asians view themselves in America; South Asians Americans are more likely to emphasize their class over their race in order to place themselves higher in U.S. social standing. On the other hand, rather than considering race in terms of black and white, South Asians that ascribe to caste theory are instead very color-conscious, distinguishing varying shades of brown (Mazumdar 25). Maxine Fisher, a sociologist who conducted a study on South Asian immigrants in New York in 1970s, found that South Asians think about identity differently, emphasizing a diversity of skin color within the South Asian community (128). Shadeism is not the perfect equivalent of race hierarchy in America, contributing to the overall confusion categorizing South Asians racially. Kibria finds that South Asians intentionally choose to be ambiguous by self-selecting racial labels like Aryan, Dravidian, and Indo-Aryan that would not be accepted by the U.S. public (81). Those racial labels have a basis in Aryan race theory, a South Asian based theory that has no meaning in a U.S. context. Essentially, by self-selecting labels like Dravidian or Aryan, South Asians claim no racial status in the United States. Because South Asians refuse to make a choice about their racial identity, it only contributes to the obfuscation of South Asian racial identity in America.

Ultimately, South Asian ethnic identity in the U.S. is so polarizing because of the disparate opinions of society, the pan-Asian community, and South Asians themselves. Newer generations of South Asians seek inclusion within the Asian-American label. Having been raised in American "with an awareness of the history of racial discrimination in the United States," they attempt "to move outward, to associate with other minority groups," (Shankar Srikanth 2-3). This association is particularly important in light of South Asian concerns, as some South Asians want South Asian specific issues to be recognized and discussed within the Asian American community. South Asians seek a sense of belonging and recognition of their shared Asian heritage, but feel ignored by the Asian-American community. The contributions they could potentially be making to the Asian-American community are being overlooked, as South Asian voices are not being heard (Shankar and Srikanth ix). South Asians are a part of the Asian community, yet apart from other Asians, "admitted, but not acknowledged" (Shankar and Srikanth ix).

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Research Methods in Educational Equity and Educational Policy

Sean Cohen

In an age where someone's financial success increasingly depends on the quality of their education, one of today's central debates is how best to improve the American education system. While many areas of study are involved in the debate, two of the most prominent fields are educational equity and educational policy. Educational equity, a rather new area of research, seeks to shrink the gap in education quality through broadly and quantitatively assessing the extent and nature of educational inequality across the US. Educational policy, however, seeks to reform US governmental policy by narrowly and qualitatively assessing teaching methods in a single area or set of schools. There is no doubt that each field's research has led to meaningful change in education. Yet, unfortunately, the research methods used by each field largely hinder their field's own goals.

For one, the broad and quantitative research methods used in educational equity leave the field largely incapable of determining how to reduce inequality in education. This is shown in the simple fact that most educational equity studies fail to determine the specific causes behind educational inequality. The studies "Change and Stability in Educational Stratification" by Robert Mare (2003), "Education Policy and Equality of Opportunity" Schutz et al. (2008), and *Equality of Educational Opportunity* by James Coleman (1966) are such examples. These highly quantitative studies used correlational linear modeling to assess the level of educational inequity in the United States, yet did not investigate the potential factors causing this inequity. Mare, for example, compiled 20 years of statistics from US occupational and educational surveys to positively correlate annual changes in salary and homeownership of the average parent with annual changes in test scores of the average student (82). Similarly, Schutz, et al. administered a cognition test to students in 54 countries, determining that family income level was positively correlated with student performance (292). Finally, Coleman combined data from previous studies to determine different levels of educational equity in the US based on three measures: student status attainment, student academic performance, and school organization and processes (14). In the end, all three studies thoroughly investigated the extent of educational inequity in the US, showing that the quality of education someone receives is greatly correlated with their family's income level. Yet, surprisingly, none of them touched on the actual factors that cause this inequity.

As it turns out, the principal reason why educational equity studies do not address the specific factors that cause inequity is because of their research methods. As is clear in the three sources discussed above, studies into educational equity rely almost exclusively on correlation, taking in large amounts of data from hundreds or thousands of schools and using linear modeling techniques to determine levels of equity based on a variety of different measures. Yet, with so many variables to take into account in these educational studies and so few uniformities across schools, investigating the causation behind the correlation is extremely difficult, if not impossible from a purely quantitative approach. This trend held true in every educational equity study considered in this paper. Indeed, as a result of their broad and quantitative research methods, studies in educational equity could not determine the causes behind the very inequity they seek to uproot.

Similarly, the narrow and qualitative research methods used in educational policy often heed conclusions that result in flawed educational reform. Many educational policy studies come to conclusions about education that, while true in the areas studied, do not hold true in the aggregate national or state population. A particularly powerful example of this phenomenon is the famous educational policy study, "Changes in Self-concept and Academic Skills during a Multimodal Summer Camp Program" by Van Westervelt, which investigated dyslexic students in 15 schools in the North East DC that had recently instituted subsidized summer programs (189). After interviewing many of the teachers at these schools, researchers found that the students who attended these summer camps on average tended to do better in class

than the students who stayed at home over the summer (Van Westervelt 210). As a result of this study, in 1988, the state legislature in Wyoming passed the Wyoming Education Code of 1988, instituting mandatory summer education programs across all public state schools (Wyoming Statutes 248). Shockingly, however, the new law did not improve state test scores, but greatly lowered them, dropping the average score nearly 10% (Wyoming Statutes 249). After only a year and a half, the law was repealed, and the summer programs were terminated. In an effort to discover why the law had failed, the state government interviewed teachers, parents and students from across the state. In the vast majority of cases, parents and teachers alike stated that the summer programs kept students in school for such a large part of the year that most students visibly lost motivation and interest in school. Instead of working outside over the summer, as most students did in that area, they continued to go to school, resulting in a mental "burn-out" for many students (Wyoming Statutes 251). While in the city of DC, where schools were often plagued by gang violence and drug use, summer programs helped keep kids off the streets and out of drugs, in the rural areas of Wyoming these programs only cut out crucial time away from school, resulting in a loss of focus for many students. The focus group study, "Books in Home as Important as Parents' Education in Determining Children's Education Level" by the University of Nevada (2010), had had similar negative results when applied to actual educational policy. Researchers interviewed students from 13 elementary schools in California and found that students who owned books at their reading level on average scored higher on reading tests (University of Nevada). On the basis of this study, county legislators provided funding for free and subsidized books at all elementary schools in the area for students to take home. Yet, even after five years, no substantial change in reading scores resulted (California Education Code 342). The reason was simply that the study did not account for schools in areas with a great number of immigrants. In these areas, the number of books at home did not matter nearly as much for the simple reason that the parents themselves could not read with their children (California Education Code 345). As these examples clearly demonstrate, studies in educational policy can often come to conclusions that, while true in the area studied, do not hold true in all cases where such policy is being applied.

This blind spot in educational policy studies is again due to the research methods being used. These studies, unlike those in educational equity, take a more narrow and qualitative approach to their research. Indeed, the educational policy studies discussed above – as well as all those considered in this paper – focused on only a small set of schools (always less than 20) and based their findings off of qualitative data gathered through focus groups, interviews, or simple observations. As a result of this narrow but deep focus, educational policy studies are able to delve more into causational, as opposed to correlational analysis, yet risk making inaccurate conclusions if the set of schools analyzed happens to be a bad representation of schools at large. Unfortunately, this risk proved fatal for both education laws discussed above, which, due to the misrepresentative set of schools considered in both educational policy studies, were based on faulty information.

But what is the significance of these findings? Surely the research methods used by both educational equity and educational policy studies are useful. The broad, quantitative research methods of educational equity, while unable to provide very extensive conclusions, are more applicable in the aggregate. And the narrow, qualitative research methods of educational policy, while at times misrepresentative of schools at large, allow for deeper analysis and more extensive conclusions. Yet, ironically, the strengths of each type of research method seem to be better suited for the other field's goals. Indeed, since the field of educational equity is dedicated to narrowing the gap in educational quality, the specific factors behind this inequality first need to be known. Through purely broad and quantitative methods – like those being used today – these factors can never be determined because causation is nearly impossible to determine with such large data sets. On the other hand, if these studies used the narrow and qualitative methods characteristic of educational policy studies, then the potential causes of educational inequity could more easily be explored, even if it considered a smaller set of schools. Contrastingly, the field of educational policy is dedicated to bettering education through legislative reform, meaning that these studies should consider the interests of the entire population affected by a certain law. Through current narrow and qualitative methods, the interests of the population at large cannot be fully considered due to the limited scope of schools considered. However,

this extensive reach can be achieved with the broad and quantitative methods characteristic of educational equity studies. This is not to say that the research methods used by each field do not all serve the field's goals, but simply that, ironically, each field's research methods seem to better serve the other field's goals. As a result, both educational equity and educational policy could more effectively reach their goals by simply expanding their research methods.

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The Daring Duchamp

Nancy Huang

Art now seems arbitrary. Even canned soup has been put on the same pedestal as works that required hours of study, ground pigments, and a nimble hand. One might trace this shift to the early twentieth century, when anti-artist Marcel Duchamp engineered what are now called his "Readymades," compositions of pre-manufactured commercial goods. Duchampian scholars and art historians have analyzed the content and context of his groundbreaking portfolio. Their findings converge regarding how Duchamp used visual disorientation to repurpose the role of art.

One may better understand Duchamp by beginning with his historical context of Duchamp's career. *In The Popular Culture of Modern Art*, art historian Jeffrey Weiss describes an avant-garde rampant with painting theories and elitism that bamboozled the general public so much that movements such as Futilism arose to caricaturize groups like the Analytical Cubists (Weiss 200). Science historian Arthur I. Miller reports on how judgment of an artist's work came down to group politics — when a peer of Pablo Picasso first viewed *Les Demoiselles D'Avignon*, he only praised when he saw the piece diverged from the Fauve tradition of the old guard (Miller 128). Duchamp himself declared his disassociation from the painting community when a supposedly independent exhibition jury rejected Duchamp's painting *The Nude Descending a Staircase* (No. 2) because it too closely brushed upon the style of the rival Italian Futurist painters (Weiss 156). Duchamp even denied monetary commissions for his Cubist-style pieces because he took continued development of his Cubist style as a threat to his free thinking (Girst 38), Instead, Duchamp began a period of exploration into the recently unearthed sciences of X-rays, subatomic particles, and transportation technologies. Friends recall how Duchamp walked among the inventions of a science museum and suddenly declared, "Painting is

finished. Who can do better than this propeller?" (qtd. in Girst 135). By 1912, Duchamp had separated himself from the avant-garde.

In his isolation, Duchamp began to broaden the purpose of art from its role as an imitator of the physical world. The research of Duchampian scholars Linda Dalrymple Henderson, Anja Mohn and Thomas Girst highlight Duchamp's tendency to make minute distortions in familiar images. For example, Henderson's analysis of *Chocolate Grinder* (No. 1) explains how what appears to be a realistic diagram suited for equipment manufacturers is really missing essential structures like a spillover-catcher. The machine is impractical in real life and reduced to nothing more than an imaginary structure (Henderson 45). Mohn shows how Duchamp distorts reality again in *Chess Poster*, a depiction of a scattered pile of cubes. Mohn compares his illustration with an actual photograph of cubes to show that parallel lines that usually indicate perspective and depth are just warped so that it is impossible to tell where cubes overlap (Mohn). Girst's research takes Duchamp's mischief to another level: the artist not only played with visual images, but toyed with principles and social conventions. Girst confirms that to subvert the traditional idea of originality in art, Duchamp apparently went to great lengths to find an official notary to properly classify his garage-sale purchase of a painting of trees as an "original." Henderson also discusses several examples where Duchamp, the "playful physicist," punned on scientific concepts. For instance, the "nudes" in *The King and Queen Surrounded by Swift Nudes*, were named after the "nakedness" of electrons, which were understood at the time to be unsheathed balls of energy (Henderson 62). Mohn explains that Duchamp believed that half the experience of viewing a piece of art came from audience participation. Duchamp forced his viewers to interact with the piece by creating contradictory images that needed systematic inspection to be fully appreciated.

Duchampian scholar Rhonda Shearer, Dada art historian Séverine Gossart, Henderson, and Weiss simultaneously interpret Duchamp's non-traditional techniques as attempts to have pieces appreciated for their innovativeness rather than their visual appeal. By purposefully disguising cracks and lines along his gigantic piece, *The Large Glass*, as simple metal wires, Duchamp took extra care to separate the artist's persona from his artwork (Henderson 65). Weiss and Henderson both describe how Duchamp used random chance in

3 Standard Stoppages, which was created by dropping three meter-long strings from a height of one meter above the ground and taking their lengths as standard metric units. Both scholars find the piece to be a declaration of aversion to traditional beauty: Henderson notes that standards of measurement lead to rules in aesthetics, while Girst emphasizes Duchamp's attempt to remove personality from the creative process (Henderson 189, Girst 12). Weiss also explores the role of Duchamp's random whimsy in creating *Bicycle Wheel*. Weiss explains that Duchamp insisted that the impulse to screw a bicycle to a kitchen stool came not from trying to make an artistic statement, but from indifferent distraction (Weiss 48), and Gossart notes that the piece was even discarded after Duchamp arrived in the United States in 1915 (Gossart). Shearer's extensive analysis of photographs of Duchamp's pieces show that *Coat Rack, The Fountain*, and *Hat Rack* must have existed throughout history. *Hat Rack*, for example, has prongs that have been angled differently in ways that can only be detected by setting the figure on its side or looking at it straight-on (Shearer). Additionally, although Duchamp claimed to have ordered the urinal for *The Fountain* from a general catalogue, no record of such a model as Duchamp's piece exists (Mohn). Since there was no one original piece, Duchamp's audience must put together all the different suggestions of the same object into one idea. Instead of appreciating each piece for its surface appearance, the audience needed to experience what Mohn calls "the second shock of the ready-made," when the viewer realizes the limits of his own ability to grasp meaning and purpose.

Finally, scholars explain how Duchamp used optical illusion to present his ideas about audience perception. Miller and Shearer both link modern art with Poincare's insights on geometry. Axioms, or statements that were taken for granted to be true based on logic, were really simply conveniences for interpreting space. Mohn postulates that Duchamp realized that what might be taken as an "object" may really be "a stack of information," and that what the audience might trust as perspective was truly a singular and limited slice of its true nature (Mohn). Henderson echoes the same theory as she describes *The Large Glass* not as a still object, but as snapshot of a fantastical machine currently in mid-motion (33). Each scholar finds their own example of how Duchamp wanted to challenge the complacency of a mind that

relies on first glances. Mohn cites how Duchamp delighted in the eye's inability to perceive scale without context and often made miniatures of his full-size objects (Mohn). Shearer notes that Duchamp mimicked the technology stereovision cameras, where each eye is shown a different angle of an image to give a three-dimensional effect. Instead of just exploring space, Duchamp's showed different versions of objects over a longer time period, a more subtle visual effect where the audience at first does not realize the trick (Mohn). Rather than pleasing the eye with his artwork, Duchamp used his art to mock the audience's inability to detect their own blind spots in interpreting reality.

By the end of his career, Duchamp's provocations resulted in the formation of new criteria by which to judge works of art. No longer would quality of a piece be based on such an arbitrary idea as taste or standards of beauty, but on the depth of thought and spectacle placed into its presentation. In Girst's compilation of essays and interviews featuring Duchamp, art historians write about being forced to procure new vocabularies and "other criteria" by which to evaluate the works of Duchamp (Girst 17). Duchamp not only exposed unseen truths about our own relationship with our universe, but freed us to do more exploring for ourselves. Due to Duchamp's precedent, new mediums such as print art, pixel illustrations, and fractal geometries have all been classified as artwork. Art itself has now taken on a role as a creator, rather than a capturer, of an artist's viewpoint. Finally, today, taking after Duchamp's freedom with the physical world, we find art open to an infinite possibilities and materials from which to choose for expression of our ideas.

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The Tale of the Plain Brain: Examining Cognitive Patterns in Humans

Lyle Wistar

The classic mantra taught in elementary schools these days is that everyone is unique. Of course, on a physical level, everyone is unique; no two people are made up of the same arrangement of molecules in the same way. No two people have their eyes in the same place or two pinky fingers of the same size. But the question is: do these differences extend to our brains and how we process information? Many psychologists and biologists have conducted studies attempting to answer this question. To the dismay of many elementary school teachers, these scientists agree that humans exhibit very similar cognitive patterns.

Scientists have converged upon one of the similar cognitive patterns, that everyone is subject to experiential bias. This is not to say that everyone is biased in the same way, but rather that everyone displays bias, and this bias is affected by a person's individual experience. A group of scientists led by Emily Pronin, a social psychologist conducting research at Princeton University, state in their study on self-evaluation that there are known biases that affect "inference and judgment" (Pronin, Lin, & Ross, 2002, p. 369). Pronin et al. (2002) claim the thought processes of their test subjects were affected by some internal factors, factors that Marilynn Brewer (1991), a leading social psychologist from Ohio State University, describes to be derived from "recent experience" (p. 478). Pronin et al. (2002) summarize these biases in the conclusion of their study on self-evaluation: "We find that our adversaries, and at times even our peers, see events and issues through the distorting prism of their political ideology, their particular individual or group history and interests" (p. 369). This same experiential bias affects psychiatrists' judgments on custody and access cases. In the event of divorced parents, custody and access cases determine which parent gains custody and

which parent is granted access to said children. Bonita Freidman (1994), a professor from the University of Western Ontario conducting research on the matter, reports that leading psychiatrists account for experiential bias, diminishing its effects through multiple decision-making methods (p. 463). However, the average person is neither aware of nor qualified to counteract experiential bias. Harvard psychology professor Daniel Gilbert (2006) reiterates in his book, *Stumbling on Happiness*, how such experiential biases affect human judgment:

> Our experiences instantly become part of the lens through which we view our entire past, present, and future, and like any lens, they shape and distort what we see. This lens is not like a pair of spectacles that we can set on the nightstand when we find it convenient to do so but like a pair of contacts that are forever affixed to our eyeballs with superglue. (p. 53)

Gilbert (2006) concludes, along with many other psychologists, that human cognition does not differentiate in the affliction of experiential biases; that is, everyone is affected by experiential bias. However, this is not the only instance where cognitive behavior is uniform.

Scientists have found another common trend: humans prefer to join groups of people whose members are the most similar to themselves. Charles Snyder, a professor of psychology at the University of Kansas, and Howard Fromkin (1977) conducted a study on unique behavior. Snyder and Fromkin (1977) found that people exhibit less enthusiasm when joining large, dissimilar groups, compared to smaller, more unique groups. For example, Latino women would rather join a group of exclusively Latino women than a group of women of all races, because the Latino group is more specifically tailored to those group members than the general women's group (Snyder & Fromkin, 1977). Snyder and Fromkin (1977) analyze this finding, explaining that people prefer groups which display qualities most similar to their own, so that they can preserve their own interests (p. 519). Furthermore, Marilynn Brewer (1991) concluded her study on group affiliation by stating that people will actually exhibit resistance against larger, heterogeneous groups so as to preserve their own, smaller, more homogeneous groups (p. 475). Brewer's (1991) conclusion rests on the assumption that people would

rather join smaller groups with specifically similar aspects than larger amorphous groups with generally similar aspects. This is very close to the conclusion made by Snyder and Fromkin (1977), mentioned earlier. Together, these claims point to the notion that humans prefer to join groups with interests or aspects resembling their own.

A third similar cognitive pattern scientists have found among humans is the desire to distinguish oneself from one's peers. As elegantly described by Gilbert (2006) in the final chapter of *Stumbling on Happiness*, "Science has given us a lot of facts about the average person, and one of the most reliable of these facts is that the average person doesn't see herself as average" (p. 252). Pronin et al.'s (2002) study on self-evaluation reveals that many individuals believe they are less susceptible to bias than the average person (p. 371). The results obtained by Pronin et al. (2002) show that nearly everybody thinks they are unique in that they perceive events and occurrences more objectively than most others. Snyder and Fromkin (1977) found the same process of self-distinction to be true and that many circumstances prompt people to "desire a sense of uniqueness relative to others" (p. 519). This desire for uniqueness can manifest itself in various ways, one of which Brewer (1991) describes in her study on group affiliation. Brewer's (1991) results show that humans display the strongest associations with groups that make the members feel distinct from others outside the group (p. 476). This is simply the result of the innate human desire to maintain distinction from others.

Morphogenic biologists use similarities among cognitive trends to analyze cognitive behavior in humans. Leading scientists in this field agree that all human thought processes can be described through general universal cognitive trends. A renowned American psychologist and the founding figure of personality psychology and morphogenic biology, Gordon Allport (1962), states in his essay on cognitive trends that "it does no good to argue that every individual system in nature is unique, every rat, every porpoise, every worm, and that it is only the general laws of their functioning that lead to comprehension" (p. 406). Allport (1962) argues that the best way to understand the psychology of animals, including humans, is to examine the known similarities in cognitive function. He describes these similarities as "horizontal dimensions that run through all individuals" (Allport, 1962, p. 409). Another figurehead

in the field of morphogenic psychology, Murray Straus (2006)—professor of sociology and founder and co-director of the Family Research Laboratory at the University of New Hampshire—has conducted a study of violence among family members in American households. His findings can "be best understood from the perspective of general systems theory" (Straus, 2006, p. 718). The "general systems theory" coined by Straus (2006) are the same theories on universal psychological trends that Allport explained in his 1962 essay, the conclusion of which confirms his stance on morphogenic biology—that there are many similarities among cognitive trends of humans (p. 406).

Many prominent psychologists agree that humans possess common cognitive trends. Unbeknownst to the nursery school rhymes of yesteryear, we are not so different after all. Scientists agree that this theory of common cognition can encompass nearly all of the human population. As it turns out, our brains are actually pretty plain. But, as with all valid theories and large populations, there are outliers and exceptions. No matter how foolproof, there are always some, however few, uniquely unsystematic people who will lie outside the boundaries of this theory of common cognition. These unique exceptions do exhibit absolutely unique behavior, thinking, perceiving, and reacting like no other humans. This existence of unique cognitive behavior begs questions: Where is the line drawn between unique and similar cognitive behavior? What causes this exceptionally unique behavior? If we understand this last missing piece of the common cognition theory, then can we predict the path of human nature?

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Psycho in Context

Sivleng Ly

In the early 1960s, there was an emergence of new cultural beliefs in the United States such as the ideal of the nuclear family consisting of a parent unit and children, the influence of mothers on their children known as "Momism," and a fear of "the other," or deviant individuals that shift away from the norms. These new beliefs were in large part motivated by the changing role of mothers in American society. Mothers had become more independent in American culture as they shifted away from the traditional housewife template, entering the workplace and gaining influence in the marketplace as viable consumers (Baldwin 27). Hitchcock's *Psycho* exemplified these new cultural beliefs and anxieties around mothers' changing roles and thus gives scholars the opportunity to study the connection between the film and its surrounding cultural influences (P. Cohen 144). Scholars agree that *Psycho* expressed a contemporary anxiety about the role of mothers in society.

Psycho expressed contemporary anxieties, as scholars have noted, through the negative portrayal of mothers in the film. Authors Paula Cohen, Robert Kolker, and Barbara Klinger observe that negative portrayals of mothers were manifested in *Psycho*. Mother used to be synonymous with housewife, and this was changing. The shift from a housewife mother to a different type of mother was mysterious and scary at this time in American culture, and was thus portrayed negatively in *Psycho*. Mothers in the film were overprotective, nagging, belittling, and even destructive to their children (P. Cohen 143). Of course, there was Mother Bates, who played a role in turning her son, Norman, into a psychopathic killer (Baldwin 58; P. Cohen 144). But some scholars have noted that there are other instances of negatively-portrayed mothers in *Psycho*. For example, Marion is also subject to a judgmental mother. Kolker notes Marion's mother's overarching look of disapproval over Marion as she packs (76). Also, Caroline, a woman who works with

Marion, is represented as a catty, vulgar, and manipulative motherly figure (P. Cohen 147).

Scholars agree that anxieties about the mother's place within the American nuclear family were central to the plot of *Psycho* (P. Cohen 144; Baldwin 51; Corber 189; Hendershot 21). In the years immediately preceding *Psycho*, there was a collective fear that communists would attack America from within the family. In turn, it was believed that establishing strong nuclear families offered the best defense against communism. As a result, the role of mothers within the nuclear family became increasingly important. Divorce was frowned upon, and the annual divorce rate fell from 18 percent in 1940 to just above 8 percent in 1960 and single mothers were not expected to raise good sons by themselves (Baldwin 34). Scholars also agree that this struggle subsequently played out in *Psycho* (Baldwin 144; P. Cohen 51; Corber 16; Hendershot 21). In *Psycho*, these scholars argue, the effects of an unconventional family are demonstrated. For example, Cyndy Hendershot and Ian Baldwin agree that Mother Bates had rebelled against the healthy nuclear family model by attempting to raise her son, Norman, on her own (29; 61). Without a husband and the traditional structure of the nuclear family, she failed to successfully raise a healthy male child.

Scholars maintain that the strong focus on the nuclear family made it so that any blatant sexuality outside of the nuclear family was frowned upon (P. Cohen 144; Baldwin 80; Klinger 338; Corber 16). Americans were anxious about mothers' sexual promiscuity, especially since mothers were expected to focus on raising and rearing their children. In *Psycho*, Mother Bates has an illicit, unlawful, out-of-wedlock affair for which she is punished (Klinger 338). Additionally, Marion's forfeiture of the possibility of being a respectable, society-approved mother brought out tensions about mother's roles in American society concerning young women and their place as future mothers. Robert Corber states that although she is not a mother herself, Marion represents potential to be a mother. This is shown through her expressed desire of a respectable nuclear family with Sam in the beginning scene (211). Through her blatant out-of-the-family sexual affair, however, she posed a threat to the nuclear family, making it harder for a healthy nuclear family to form. For example, though Marion had expressed a longing for a family with Sam, her sexual relations with Sam out of wedlock deemed her unfit to raise a family and be a mother (Corber 211).

Marion is also a problematic mother figure because her affair could have produced a child out of wedlock. This would certainly devastate the nuclear family model, and since strong nuclear families were thought to protect the future of America, the breakdown of such families was thought to jeopardize national security (Corber 213). Thus, blatant female sexuality ultimately necessitates punishment. Many scholars have pointed out that Marion is punished by eradication in *Psycho* and consequently denied the respectable nuclear family she longed for. Scholars agree that Marion's narrative was repressed as a result of her blatant sexuality. Barbara Klinger argues Marion's narrative is "suddenly and irrevocably eclipsed" (332) and Keith Cohen states that Marion and her narrative literally and figuratively go down the drain as all traces of her are removed (155). Marion is thus barred from becoming a mother and replaced by Lila, a primmer, asexual, nonromantic version of Marion that is associated with the law rather than opposed to it (Klinger 337). Robert Kolker states that the narrative of *Psycho* can be seen to present the problem of straying from the nuclear family model, to repress it by the switch in narratives, and to contain and "solve it in the name of the family and the law" in which her family and the law work together to solve (151). In the end, the stronger nuclear family containing a respectable mother figure, Lila, prevails by finding the missing family member (Marion/Mother) and solving the mystery and crime. Both Marion and Mother Bates suffered dire consequences for their unlawfully sexual actions. This highlighted Americans' anxieties around the idea of mothers straying from the nuclear family.

Scholars hold the belief that *Psycho* portrays the prevalence of Momism in contemporary American culture (P. Cohen 144, Baldwin 51; Corber 212). Momism was a commonly held idea that stems from anxieties around mothers in contemporary American society. This idea states that American mothers were weakening their sons by smothering and emasculating them, thus turning them into deviants collectively termed the other, which included bisexuals, homosexuals, awkward fragile ninnies, perverts, and criminals (P. Cohen 144). So-called sexual deviance was connected with vulnerability to "communism, immorality, and un-Americanism" because they were "already attracted

to depraved systems" (Baldwin 13). Thus, sexual deviants were thought to be detrimental to society and a threat to national security (Baldwin 37). Thus, mothers had the ability to shape their sons' sexuality, moral development, and, it seemed, their capitalist mentalities. Central to *Psycho*'s message was this idea of Momism, with Mother Bates as the oppressive, smothering mother who crippled her son through domineering actions and sexual repression, causing him to become "the other" (Baldwin 58). For example, Mother Bates emasculated Norman constantly, calling him "boy" even though he was an adult, barking orders, and making him do chores that were meant for women, such as cleaning and other housework. Baldwin and Barbara Creed agree that she also "castrated" Norman's desire of women and stifled his sexual appetite by forbidding Norman from thinking about sexual acts, refusing to allow him to develop into an adult with a healthy sexual appetite (60; 166).

Scholars note that these unfit mothers such as Mother Bates caused their sons to become deviant. Norman was the portrayal of the other, a possibly bisexual "sexual deviant" (Baldwin 13). Scholars believed that Mother Bates caused bisexuality in her son, Norman. Many scholars agree on the effect of Norman's portrayal as bisexual, constituting the central horror of the film. His bisexuality is shown through Mother Bates' mind taking over Norman's body, making him both male and female (Klinger 339). Also, Norman signifies a normal man torn between his identification with his mother and his father. Thus, every time Norman has a masculine desire, the mother in his conscience reacts against it, highlighting his bisexual and divided nature (Kolker 161). Scholars also believed Norman's mother caused him to become emasculated and sexually inadequate. He failed to ascend to any type of acceptable adult masculinity, as he has the diet of a young boy (sandwiches and milk) and sleeps in a child's room with a child-sized bed, stuffed animals, and toys. However, he also had Beethoven's "Eroica" on the record and abnormal literature that frightened Lila. This shows that he was sexually underdeveloped and had not successfully moved on from childhood to adulthood (Baldwin 70).

Psycho's connection to mothers in the 1960's speaks as a footprint in time of some of the nation's concerns during this period in history. It continues to be an iconic film today in American cinema that retains a quality beyond pure entertainment value. *Psycho* carries with it an idea of the social construction of America during the 1960's, especially surrounding mothers and changing gender roles. The idea of Momism may seem archaic, but elements of it still pervade our society today. For example, overly assertive women are frowned upon whereas for men assertiveness is expected or advantageous. Also, there are demonizations of women in obsessions with "welfare mothers" who are said to breed social dependency in their children. Lastly, many people still believe that how mothers treat their sons has a direct influence on how the child turns out. It is a part of our culture that mothers are more criticized than fathers in the upbringing and raising of children. The ideas presented in *Psycho* concerning contemporary beliefs were prominent in 1960's culture and undertones of them continue to exist today. Momism, to an extent, is still prevalent in society.

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The Indeterminate Origins of the First World War

Jeremiah Keenan

On July 31, 1914 – the last day of European peace before the First World War – Kaiser Wilhelm II sent an urgent telegram to Tsar Nicholas II demanding that he reverse his order for Russian mobilization against Austria. With an eye on history, the Kaiser declared, "It is not I who will bear the responsibility for the terrible disaster which now threatens the civilized world. You and you alone can still avert it." The next day Germany was "forced" to declare war on Russia, beginning 100 years of controversy over who was responsible for initiating the First World War (qtd in Massie 270-71). Scholars such as Fritz Fischer and Robert K. Massie place the guilt of the war squarely on the Germans, while others like Sean McMeekin point exclusively at Russia. Still others such as John Keegan claim that the war was essentially the fault of militarism and aggressive diplomacy practiced by all the great powers. But on both sides of the issue, modern scholars link the cause of the war to German and Russian obsession with the balance of power in Europe.

Scholars assert that both Germany and Russia were actively working to expand their influence and power – and thus tip the balance of power in their favor – in the opening decades of the twentieth century. Sean McMeekin, in *The Russian Origins of the First World War*, places extensive emphasis on Russian ambitions in the Balkans, especially with regard to access to the Mediterranean Sea. "Something approaching half" of Russia's exports had to pass through the Bosphorus (Constantinople) and the Dardanelles before unloading (McMeekin 28). McMeekin records much of the scheming in the Russian high command over how to obtain more control over the Straits. He states that a February 1914 meeting the Russian high command concluded that, "a crisis would 'force' Russia to seize Constantinople"; McMeekin claims about the

meeting that "Sazonov and the service chiefs were preparing for a war with Turkey *right [then]*" (35). John Keegan, the author of *The First World War*, does not appear to consider Russia's imperialistic ambitions over the Straits as particularly relevant to the origins of the war. Instead, he focuses on Russian, French, and especially German abstract war plans for a large-scale conflict between the great powers. He argues that this military obsession with the balance of power led to the Great War: "The weakness of that hope [for maintaining peace in 1914] was the ignorance and misunderstanding among politicians and diplomats of how the mechanism of abstract war plans, once instigated, would operate" (Keegan 58-9).

Fritz Fischer in *Germany's Aims in the First World War* argues that Germany, and not Russia, was pursuing an aggressive policy around the time of 1914. He quotes Jagow, the German foreign minister, as stating that war against Serbia was necessary for Austrian "political rehabilitation." Austria was a close German ally, but as things stood it "hardly counted any more as a great power." Since the German-Austrian power block must be sustained, it was essential that Austria show some power in the Balkans. Therefore, Germany "did not want, under any circumstances, to stop Austria from acting" – that is, attacking Serbia (Fischer 59). Fischer explicitly argues against the idea that Russia was at fault for the war, claiming that the German government conspired to throw the "guilt" of the war on Russia in order to keep Britain neutral (72-8).

While scholars indicate that Russia and Germany were each pursuing an expansionist strategy to tip the European balance of power in their favor, they also indicate that both countries felt they were victim to aggressive diplomacy from opposing powers. Robert K. Massie in *Nicholas and Alexandra* points to Austria's annexation of Bosnia in 1907 as Russia's motivation for going to war in 1914. Bosnia's annexation "in violation of general European treaties signed by all the great powers" led Russia to start concentrating troops on the Austrian frontier. But Germany intervened and forced Russia to back down. According to Massie, "Russia's humiliation in the Bosnia crisis was spectacular." It was because of this humiliation that the government "formed their resolve never to withdraw again from a similar challenge" (Massie 263-264). Fischer tells a similar story of Germany. In mid-August of 1911

as negotiations over German colonies in Africa ground to a halt, Fischer quotes the Chief of the German General Staff as saying: "If we slink out of this affair *again*, as in 1906… if we cannot pluck up the courage to make an energetic demand which we are prepared to *enforce with the sword*, then I despair of the future of the German Reich." Fischer claims that Moltke's opinion "shows how feeling was running in Germany" at the time (Fischer 25).

Scholars indicate that in the last few days of European peace, both Germany and Russia were actively preparing for war lest the opposing side get a head start – and consequent upper hand – in potential ensuing conflict. Keegan and McMeekin both refer to the Tsar's "Period Preparatory to War" announced on July 25 as a partial mobilization against Austria (Keegan 61; McMeekin 59). At the time, the Austrian ultimatum to Serbia was still under Serbian consideration, and Austria had not violated Serbian frontiers. McMeekin suggests that this "*secret, large-scale mobilization of Russia's army – and its navy*" proves Russia was not seriously concerned about Serbia but had its eyes set on a much bigger war (59). McMeekin further claims that Russia began "still more secretly" mobilizing in districts adjoining Germany (67). He also points to the transfer of Russian Treasury funds out of Berlin prior to July 24 as proof of Russian intent to war (57). Similarly, Fischer finds Germany guilty of concentrating the German fleet and warning their major ship companies as early as July 20 to move their ships in foreign waters (64). Fischer further claims that the fact that the Chief of the German General Staff drafted a demand to Belgium to allow German troops to pass through their territory as early as July 26 proves "plainly that Germany knew that war between Austria and Russia would immediately produce a continental war" (68).

The scholarly response to the Russian and German poles of the argument over the origins of WWI is almost as varied as the works of the original authors. Laurie Stoff comments: "McMeekin's originality lies in his thesis that Russia's aggression assumed primacy in sparking international conflict, but unfortunately, it is not sufficiently proven" (721). She complains that McMeekin indulges in selective use of documents primarily written after the fact, marshaling very few statements from the diplomatic record to his cause (720). John Shosky, on the other hand, claims that McMeekin "makes a very convincing

case" (132). On the Fischer side, Jordan Michael Smith writes in 2013 that Fischer's ideas are now the scholarly "consensus" on the origins of WWI, presenting other views as minority factions (94-5). Annika Mombauer, also writing in 2013, records the proceedings of a conference about "the Fischer controversy 50 years on." Mombauer points to a diversity of views including "emergent postmodern doubts … about the nature of evidence and the ability of historians to establish 'the truth' about the past" (234). The contradictory evidence surrounding the "guilt question" of WWI is so baffling that some are even beginning to question whether any kind of truth can be established about the matter!

And so the argument over blame started by the Kaiser and the Tsar has still not come to a conclusion. However, the supporters of the Fischer thesis hold the upper hand from the standpoint of documentary evidence. McMeekin's argument is crippled by multiple lacunae in French and Russian diplomatic records, including "records relating to the crucial four-day French presidential summit with the tsar" in July (McMeekin 45). As Laurie Stoff complains, he concludes that these documents were incriminating based on an array of secondary evidence – some of which is remarkably lame.[1] Keegan's general assignment of blame, while much in harmony with a post-modern view of history, ultimately constitutes an observation too obvious to be interesting. No one, leastwise Fischer himself, would argue that any of the great powers in Europe were entirely free of "war guilt" (Fischer 87-88). Only Fischer mines up abundant documentary evidence that German schemes to obtain world power tipped a nervous Europe into the First World War.

[1]   A flagrant example: "At a banquet given the previous night by Grand Duke Nicholas, Paleologue recalled being told by the grand duke's wife, Grand Duchess Anastasia Nicolaievna Romanova: 'There's going to be war… Our armies will meet in Berlin. Germany will be destroyed!'" Even McMeekin must admit that this "Montenegrin [Serbian] princess… could hardly be said to speak for the Russian government." But he concludes without evidence that her husband must have said something similar and goes even farther in a footnote declaring that because the Duchess and her sister introduced Rasputin (a religious quack) to the Empress, the sisters doubtless had "considerable" influence over the Tsar (McMeekin 54). This brand of tenuous conjectures is supposed to convince us in the place of official documentation.

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The Physical Ramifications of the Great Pyramid's Construction

Marina Tsikouras

Considered some of the world's greatest wonders, pyramids remain the lasting legacy of many civilizations, immortalized in stone. Built without the technological skill of modern machinery, pyramids attract attention for their grand size and architectural ingenuity. Particularly, the pyramids of Ancient Egypt receive attention today when scholars consider the construction methods of ancient people. Specifically, the Great Pyramid of Khufu, intended as a burial monument for its namesake and standing 150 meters with a volume of 2.6 million cubic meters, highlights the engineering ability of the Egyptians, yet leaves many questions about its creation.[1] Many archaeologists, including Kenneth Feder, Stuart Kirkland-Weir, Bob Brier, Gerard Fonte, and Jean-Pierre Houdin, investigate the origins of the burial monument of Khufu in their writings. These archaeologists, however, do not rely on just artifacts or construction remains to undercover the building plan of the Great Pyramid. Instead, these authors all advocate tying archaeology and physics principles together to explain aspects of the Great Pyramid's construction.

Certain archaeological facts about the Great Pyramid inform the theories about its construction. The Great Pyramid is a large, pyramid-shaped structure made of limestone.[2] Workers quarried the limestone from a site only 300 meters away, thus exhibiting the well-planned building methods of the Egyptians.[3] These stone blocks were dragged from the quarry to the site of the structure using wood sleds.[4] Altogether,

[1]   Feder 2014, 268.

[2]   Brier 2007, 23.

[3]   Feder 2014, 267.

[4]   Weir 1996, 150.

the pyramid of Khufu contains about two million limestone blocks, each weighing about 2.5 tons.[5] Such facts about the pyramid allow scholars to establish theories about the major construction processes of the structure.

The five authors use certain physics concepts to explain construction specifics. Measures of gravity inform the method of microgravimetry, which detects areas of lower density of the interior of a structure to essentially reveal the presence of passageways.[6] Gravitational slope, the grade required for an incline, informs the dimensions and size of a ramp, as stated by Brier.[7] Kirkland-Weir and Fonte mention potential energy and work, physics formulas used to determine energy used in a process.[8] Work, or amount of energy, is expressed in terms of how many hours of labor a human can provide of this energy.[9] Brier and Houdin reference angle measure and efficiency, which help evaluate shapes of structures or ramps, in their analysis of pyramid construction.[10] Such information is used to analyze certain construction theories presented about the pyramid.

Using archaeology, Brier, Feder, and Brier and Houdin describe certain ramp theories that answer how stones potentially were moved up the Great Pyramid. Brier specifically mentions the possibility of an external ramp that "was built on one side of the pyramid and as the pyramid grew, the ramp was raised so that…blocks could be moved right up to the top."[11] Similarly, Brier and Houdin also reference a long ramp that served as "a highway on which blocks moved to top," despite little archaeological evidence.[12] Other such theories about the use of ramps exist, as seen with the corkscrewing ramp theory. As Feder states, a ramp corkscrewing continuously around the pyramid could have been used to

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5   Brier & Houdin 2008, 67.

6   Feder 2014, 271.

7   Brier 2007, 24.

8   Kirkland-Weir 1996, 154.

9   Fonte 2011, 1196.

10   Brier & Houdin 2008, 133.

11   Brier 2007, 23.

12   Brier & Houdin 2008, 122.

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raise blocks all the way to the uppermost level.[13] The ramp would have become part of the face of the pyramid, thus leaving little corresponding archaeological evidence. These theories, however, prove faulty due to a lack of physical corroboration.

Feder and Brier use the previously mentioned physics concepts to discredit the theoretical and archaeological components of these ramp construction theories. For example, Feder asserts the need to limit gravitational slope when making the external ramp. To be physically possible for workers to haul blocks up the ramp, a straight ramp would have required a slope no greater than eight degrees; otherwise, the ramp's steepness would have hindered workers from hauling blocks.[14] Smith also points out that constructing a ramp with this limited slope would have required as much material and labor as the actual pyramid, thus rendering this theory ineffective.[15] Similarly, Brier rejects the corkscrewing ramp theory. For example, if a corkscrewing ramp existed, it would have hindered the ability of surveyors to observe how the sight lines of the pyramid affected the angle of the structure, which could have made the structure crooked.[16] Thus, using this physics analysis, scholars eliminate and develop possible methods of bringing blocks to the pyramid.

To determine the construction methods used, Brier and Brier and Houdin propose the existence of an internal ramp, supported by archaeological remains, that brought blocks to the very top of the Pyramid. Brier, for example, asserts that the builders made an internal ramp for the top two-thirds of the pyramid for use after the external ramp hauled the heaviest blocks into the pyramid.[17] Brier and Houdin, based on the results of computer modeling, propose that an internal ramp existed with platforms at the corners to allow the blocks to turn.[18] A corner of this sort is visible about two-thirds of the way up the

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13   Feder 2014, 269.

14   Feder 2014, 269.

15   Smith 2004, 50.

16   Brier 2007, 24.

17   Brier 2007, 25.

18   Brier and Houdin 2008, 130.

pyramid, in the same location mentioned by Houdin.[19] Additionally, a microgravimetric survey detected an area of decreased mass that matched Houdin's ramp.[20] Several authors support this theory by applying physical concepts.

Certain scholars apply physics principles to justify the reasoning behind the theory of the pyramid's internal ramp. For example, Brier and Houdin calculate the dimensions of the internal ramp by assuring through gravitational measure that the weight of the ceiling would not crush the ramp.[21] They also consider efficiency when determining the shape of the internal ramp: to ease the efficiency of pulling blocks, the ramp had to have 90 degree corners.[22] The underlying measures of gravity and density used in the microgravimetric survey also support the existence of a passageway that could be an internal ramp.[23] In addition to discovering methods of block transport, other authors computed the number of workers needed for construction.

Kirkland-Weir, Fonte, and Smith's work measures the number of workers needed to construct the Great Pyramid. Kirkland-Weir determine that, given a set amount of working days, the necessary workforce size amounted to about 10,000 workers, or about one percent of the Egyptian population of the time.[24] This measure closely matches the estimated size of two hypothesized workers' villages. Fonte's energy management analysis yields a number of about 4000 workers taking six years for completion.[25] Similarly, Smith computes the workforce size with labor-hours, arriving at about 4000 to 5000 workers, also corroborated by archaeological estimations of the size of workers' settlements.[26] Despite arriving at different results, these sources employ similar physical principles to reach these conclusions.

Physical equations of work and energy help support estimates of worker size. For example, Kirkland-Weir uses the work formula (g x mCf x D) for block transport and the measure of potential energy of block lifting of all stone added per day to determine the number of workers needed to build, given assumptions about the average worker size and the number of construction years (23). He also considers the coefficient of friction with the work formula, using a number of about .1 to .07 to account for the lubrication of the wooden sleds that pulled the blocks.[27] Fonte, similarly to Kirkland-Weir, compares the energy needed for each process of construction (quarrying, lifting, pulling) with the amount of energy a human could provide, in terms of labor or possible worker-hours needed, to arrive at his worker estimate (around 4000) for six years.[28] In "Unraveling the Mystery," Smith similarly determines labor hours needed for each part of building using the work formula to reach a figure of 4000-5000 workers whilst considering the pyramid as only a construction project.[29] Using different assumptions in these respective formulas leads to the varying answers. To explain the amount of construction labor needed, scholars utilize these various work and energy physics principles.

Through analysis of physics as seen in construction, it is apparent that the Great Pyramid of Khufu was constructed by at least 4000 people (by some estimates, 10,000) using an internal ramp. Application of physical concepts also reveals that some theories of construction, like the external and corkscrewing ramp ideas, are inaccurate. Although most accounts of the construction of the Great Pyramid only consider archaeological or historical records, the main methods of building are based on engineering and physical concepts. While discovering archaeological remains may provide clues to the planning of Ancient Egyptians, these finds cannot be the main body of reasoning to determine how the pyramids were built. Instead, one must use and apply scientific concepts like work, energy, and efficiency, in conjunction with archaeology, to discover how Khufu's tomb was made. Thus,

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[19] Brier 2007, 25.

[20] Feder 2014, 271.

[21] Brier and Houdin 2008, 132.

[22] Brier and Houdin 2008, 130.

[23] Feder 2014, 271.

[24] Kirkland-Weir 1996, 155.

[25] Fonte 2011, 1202.

[26] "Unraveling the Mystery" 2002, 79.

[27] Kirkland-Weir 1996, 156.

[28] Fonte 2011, 1206.

[29] "Unraveling the Mystery" 2002, 78.

archaeologists must work in conjunction with experts in other disciplines to solve mysteries of the past; in another Egyptian mystery, doctors and archaeologists jointly investigate the death of King Tut using his remains with success. By collaborating, archaeologists and people of all specialties gain a new perspective that not only addresses certain research interests but also leads to more acceptance of the opinions of others, thus engendering diversity in today's society.

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Not in a Vacuum: The Gay Liberation's Radical Critique against Marriage

Thomas Lee

Marriage is today's gay issue. Indeed, contemporary LGBT activism in the USA places paramount importance on legal marriage equality; this issue dominates the public imagination through social media and mainstream news sources. Yet, only recently did homosexual marriage rights become such a central focus. In fact, activists in the gay liberation movement, which started after the Stonewall riots in 1969 and lasted until the mid-1970s, deliberately excluded marriage from its agenda. For example, in July 1969 the Gay Liberation Front publicized its position: "We expose the institution of marriage as one of the most insidious and basic sustainers of the system" (Eskridge 53). Similarly strong views against marriage were espoused by two seminal gay liberation pamphlets published in 1970, one by Carl Wittman and the other by the Red Butterfly Collective. These sources reveal a blatant incongruity between two generations of gay activists, separated by only a few decades. Whether one supports or opposes gay marriage, understanding this incongruity is imperative to making any truly informed judgment about the present issue. In addressing the gay liberation's historical aversion to marriage, Urvashi Vaid, Paula Ettelbrick, William Eskridge, and Michael Warner all agree on two significant factors leading to the movement's radical critique of marriage: the activists' broader vision of equality and the influence from other social movements.

Unlike that of modern mainstream LGBT activism, the liberation movement's agenda encompassed equality for everyone in society. Specifically, Vaid explains that the gay liberation movement viewed "gay, lesbian, and bisexual people" as "an integral part of the broad demand for social change" (57). This wide-ranging concern for all people is evident in the liberation-era primary sources. For example,

in his pamphlet, Wittman harshly criticized traditional family roles, which he viewed as inherently oppressive against all people—these relational structures unnecessarily restricted everyone's autonomy, regardless of sexuality and marital status. Specifically, Wittman cited three sources of oppression: "1. Exclusiveness . . . against the rest of the world; 2. promises about the future, which . . . prevent us from . . . growing; [and] 3. inflexible roles [which] are inherited through mimicry and inability to define equalitarian relationships" (383). In exactly the same way, the Red Butterfly pamphlet thoroughly lambasted the nuclear family, defined as "man, woman, and children," because such structures "seal[ed] off little groups of people from the rest of humanity . . . , resulting [in] authoritarianism, ignorance, and hostility towards other people" (9). Taken together, these two liberation-era pamphlets shared the same concern for "not only gay people, but perhaps the majority of the people," who "are kept down by pressures to conform to the present family structure" (The Red Butterfly 9). This vision of equality amongst every person regardless of sexuality was a centrally defining characteristic of the liberation movement. Conversely, Vaid contrasts this holistic liberation mentality with today's "single-issue politics," where gay and lesbian organizations are relegated to "only legitimately gay and lesbian issues," i.e. issues that only relate to gay sexuality, without concern for other aspects of society (59). Thus, by deliberately avoiding this single-issue compartmentalization, the gay liberation movement did not allow itself to exist in a social vacuum.

Ultimately, this society-wide attention to equality, beyond the single dimension of homosexual-versus-heterosexual, directly translated to criticism against marriage's discriminatory implications. While activists now focus on the anti-homosexual discrimination that exist within the arena of exclusively heterosexual marriage, liberation-era activists did not neglect the inherent discrimination generated by the marriage institution itself. For example, liberation activists "especially resisted the notion" of the state's authority to "accord legitimacy to some kinds of consensual sex but not others, or to confer respectability on some people's sexuality but not others" (Warner 88). In other words, the liberation movement committed itself to protect the legitimacy of not only gay couples, but all gays and non-gays whether or not they were in a coupled relationship. To the liberation activists, marriage represented

the selective privileging of a certain class in society, at the expense of all others outside this framework. Thus, Ettelbrick elaborates that "marriage runs contrary to two of the primary goals of the lesbian and gay movement," namely "the affirmation of gay identity and culture" as well as "the validation of many forms of relationships" (758). Therefore, since liberation activists perceived marriage to be fundamentally discriminatory to the unmarried, the movement developed vehement critiques of the institution.

In the same way that it incorporated other social justice issues, the liberation movement also incorporated other social movements' perspectives. Particularly, the liberationists' disdain for monogamous family structures was significantly influenced by 19th-century radical socialism. More than a century before the gay liberationists, socialists Charles Fourier and Robert Owen criticized traditional family relationships, including marriage, because they thought these institutions reinforced capitalist modes of production (Weikart). Influenced by these two predecessors, Marx's *Communist Manifesto* similarly attacked "the bourgeois family" because it existed only to benefit "capital" and "private gain." In other words, these radical theorists rejected marriage on the grounds that it perpetuated the most oppressive and alienating aspects of capitalism. In the context of this historical backdrop, Eskridge makes the connection that gay liberation activists drew "from Marxist theory" in order to argue "that marriage is an extension of the capitalist system," resulting from marriage's marketplace structures of "competition and exclusive possession" (54). This influence is evident, for example, in the Red Butterfly pamphlet's usage of Marxist concepts like "economic base" and the "materialist position" that "change in the family structure correlates historically with a change in the forces of production" (9). This indicates that the gay liberation movement had incorporated the socialist stance that capitalism and marriage perpetuate each other in a cycle of oppression. In this sense, the historical gay refusal to campaign for marriage was both inspired and made possible by socialist philosophy.

Besides radical socialism, the gay liberationists were profoundly impacted by second-wave feminism, which started in the 1960s (before Stonewall) and lasted until the early 1980s (outliving the liberationists). Vaid documents this development of "the second wave

of the women's movement," specifically citing "the founding of the National Organization for Women (NOW) in 1965 and the arrival of radical feminism in 1968" (56). Within second-wave feminism, radical feminists in particular viewed marriage as a fundamental source of oppression. Clare Chambers outlines their main criticisms: first, marriage leads to "practical" harms against women, like domestic violence or financial discrimination at the workplace; second, since marriage's main value is symbolic, its patriarchal history permanently taints the institution. Ettelbrick agrees that "the institution of marriage has long been the focus of radical feminist revulsion" because it remains "steeped in a patriarchal system that looks to ownership, property, and dominance of men over women as its basis" (757). In other words, the radical feminists believed that even if modern legal reforms eroded the practical manifestations of gender inequality within marriage, the symbolic act of participating in the system would still inherently support the system's patriarchal past. At the point in history, lesbians in the gay liberation movement extended the radical feminist argument about marriage's irreparability, i.e. even if the traditional heterosexuality of marriage were challenged by gay marriage rights, the deeply-ingrained symbolism of marriage's discriminatory history would still persist. As a perfect illustration, the Radicalesbians, a group within the gay liberation community, "denounced marriage because it has traditionally been deployed to enslave and brutalize women" (Eskridge 54). Moreover, Warner further explains how at that time "[liberation] lesbian resistance derived from the feminist critique of marriage" percolated through to the wider gay liberation movement through social osmosis (88). These anti-marriage criticisms were thus able to be incorporated into the gay liberation platform. Clearly, second-wave feminism had tremendous influence on the positions of the liberation-era activists.

Through their historical analysis, Vaid, Ettelbrick, Eskridge, and Warner demonstrate that there were legitimate and deeply rooted factors affecting the gay liberation movement's decision to not pursue marriage. Specifically, the activists rejected marriage because it perpetuated oppressive family structures, capitalism, and patriarchy. The movement adopted these stances because it carefully situated itself within a wider social context, including other issues and movements. In contrast, the mainstream LGBT movement today deviates drastically from the

liberationists' approach: the gay movement now focuses only on single-issue politics, and activists do not readily incorporate other movements' viewpoints. Most poignantly, activists today have completely abandoned the anti-marriage stance of the previous generation's activists. Whether one believes this abandonment is justified, or whether one is a supporter or detractor of gay marriage, every single person should be aware of the gay liberation's different approach to the issue. This understanding would shatter the illusion that LGBT rights—and society in general—exist in a social-historical vacuum.

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Ria Desai, born and raised in Silicon Valley, is a sophomore in the College of Arts & Sciences pursuing a course of study in biological basis of behavior. Although her studies are concentrated in the sciences, she has a vested interest in the humanities, especially with regards to Asian American Studies and Gender Studies. She is a passionate activist for women's rights, working with the group SPARK Movement. Recently, she spoke at the United Nations, presenting on girls' political empowerment. In her free time, she dances and choreographs on Penn Masti and researches skin cancer at the Ridky Lab at the Perelman School of Medicine. Ria would like to thank her professor, Jacqui Sadashige, for encouraging her to challenge herself as a writer.

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appreciates the ENCOURAGEMENT AND INSIGHT of Professor Caplin, which never failed to be thorough, meticulously, or typed out in all-caps.

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Lyle Wistar recently finished his freshman year at Penn and is pursuing a degree in material science engineering. He is from a suburb of Philadelphia, a small town named Ambler just a few miles north of the city, and graduated from Germantown Friends School, a small Quaker school in Philadelphia. He has been a competitive runner since high school, a hobby that he continue to enjoy at Penn as a member of the cross country and track and field teams, competing in long distance events, 1,500m and up. Outside of the classroom and off the track, he loves to watch hockey and football, especially the Philadelphia Flyers and Eagles.