John Jay's

Finest

A Note from the Editors

Each writer in this issue of *John Jay's Finest*, the thirty-third, brings to the task not only intellectual engagement but a sense of the very real power of words to make meaning. The writers in these pages have crafted precise and often elegant sentences. And while writing is solitary and sometimes lonely work, it doesn't happen in a vacuum. The professors who nominated these pieces have worked closely with their students to guide, to revise, to suggest alternatives of idea and language, to open possibilities for deeper and more discerning expression. This is college; in many ways these are the collaborative efforts that bring ideas into being and move knowledge forward.

Though we don't set out to organize the work in an issue around a general theme or style, we sometimes find the book takes on a unique identity. In past issues, we published top of the line undergraduate practice in research and academic writing. Those issues highlighted John Jay's principal points of focus, classroom and real-life investigations into the many forms of and questions about justice. And strong writing is one of the most effective tools for fierce advocacy.

This issue organized itself in a different way. One thing we've observed at the college in recent years is a cross-discipline movement toward the more personal narrative. While the academic writing here is rigorous, as it should be – and many of the entries in this volume are appropriately formal, research-based, and alert to strict rhetorical forms – more and more we see professors encouraging students to reflect on their own relationships to a range of CJ (and non-CJ) topics. This excites us, not just as teachers of creative writing but as editors of a college-wide publication that speaks from every point on the John Jay arc and showcases the many ways language clarifies experience.

No matter where the muse directs the pen and, eventually, the table of contents, the *John Jay's Finest* publication and launch is a highlight of the academic year. The day would not be possible without the support of many at the college. We want to thank President Karol Mason and Provost Anne Lopes for their commitment to excellent writing, especially as the college refines its liberal arts mission. For the volume itself, we are indebted to Alex DeLeon and the print shop staff, and to Raeanne Davis, Maribel Perez, Erica Mariano, and all involved in planning this day. Again this year we thank Dalyz Aguilar for designing another fine *Finest* cover. And to John Jay College's professors, who inspire, who challenge, and who demand careful, responsible and effective writing, we salute your dedication.

These pages showcase the work of our strongest students, all of whom know the difficulties and rewards of writing and revising, and revising again. Congratulations to the fine writers in this thirty-third issue of *John Jay's Finest*.

Jeffrey Heiman and Adam Berlin, Editors
Department of English
May 2018

CONTENTS

CONTENTS

◆ English 101

EMPATHY & DIVORCE

SAMUEL WIN

LONG BEFORE I WAS A COLLEGE STUDENT commuting to midtown Manhattan, I was an elementary school student raised on a typical block in Long Island. And long before that, I was born 4390 miles away from our fair metropolis in the largest city of Alaska, Anchorage. I was an 8-pound and 3-ounce bubbling infant, red faced but comforted, I can imagine, in my mother's arms and under my father's smiling gaze. For the few months I spent in my winter haven, I'd like to think that the warm embrace of familiar arms and fond laughter was something imperishable. But before I could remember this haven it had already begun to crumble.

By 2007, my parents filed for a divorce, and one of my most vivid childhood memories is of patiently waiting in a playroom to discuss my parents' divorce with a counselor. My sister was there too and we often sat in a corner assembling, agonizing, and adjusting the motley crew of dizzying colors and seemingly nonsensical shapes called Legos. By my third visit to what I would come to dub as The Room, I had an epiphany. The dry, monotonous exercise that was pointlessly building abstract shapes with tiny colored blocks was a surreal metaphor for my life. Each block, whether good or bad, positive or negative, was a fraction of my existence; my parents' divorce was just another block. As I grew older, however, I came to realize that although these events were the bricks of my Lego tower, my responses were the mortar. I chose how each brick fit into my life. I still do.

Then, and years later, I would frequently be obligated to discuss the impact of my parents' divorce. First, a spindly middle-aged woman with long blonde hair and a hawkish nose—my lawyer—asked the question. Later, it would be some of the several therapists and family counselors I would meet, one of whom I remember to be a kindly old Chinese woman with clear spectacles. They always asked how I felt about the divorce, all the while tentatively tiptoeing around the actual word divorce. And from the skeptical undertone woven beneath their responses, I was convinced I never answered the questions in the way they expected.

After my parents' divorce finally became a reality rather than a months' long endeavor, grimly punctuated by the heft and approval of the appropriate legal documents, I had already grasped the beginnings of a concept I would find the word for years later. It goes like this: everyone's life is as complex as one's own, from the inscrutable girl looking out the airport window, tracing every droplet on the panel as it descends and is eventually sucked into a neighboring droplet, to the old man who stands silently in front of the discolored statue in the local park every Monday for an hour. It's a phenomenon called "sonder," and discovering such a concept unraveled my capacity for empathy.

Today, the term "empathy" appears, at least in my reading, to be most often mentioned and used to illustrate social awareness among children. When a child practices that kind of naive cruelty that children sometimes do, an adult may say, "Treat others the way you want to be treated". Ever since the day I stumbled on my epiphany, however, empathy has become the difference between a single mind and a network of dozens. Empathy is not simply about placing yourself in another's shoes, as the saying goes; it's about being of a piece with an emotional community that transcends blood, race, gender, or class. I may be an individual, but I am one connected to many, and that's ultimately what the divorce of my parents taught me.

⬧ Philosophy 102

SUBJECTIVE DISGUST

SHARON BAYANTEMUR

THE ARTICLE "GRIME AND PUNISHMENT: How Disgust Influences Moral, Social and Legal Judgments," by psychologists Yoel Inbar and David Pizarro, examines the topic of disgust in the context of judgment within the legal setting. We are presented with three questions: What is disgust? How does disgust influence judgment? And why should legal scholars, judges and attorneys pay attention to it? Down the road, this line of thought eventually leads to the topic of retributivism. Understanding the implications of disgust can both strengthen and weaken support for the argument of retributivism, depending on context.

Retributivism is the idea that "wrongdoers" deserve to be punished for their deeds. Disgust would strengthen the argument against retributivism because it makes us realize that our judgments are not "fool-proof." Disgust is subjective and a culturally specific element that can change as the culture and/or society evolves. Take food, for example: every culture has distinct foods that are particular to that place or culture, but may not be accepted as a "food source" in other cultures or countries. In certain areas of Mexico, for example, it is common to eat dried grasshoppers, which if you're from America or any other country where eating insects is not commonplace, you might feel very disgusted. What disgusts one culture is a delicacy to another, or is more accepted. Having made that point, the same goes for ethical disgust, or rather disgust in the moral sphere.

Certainly there must be some things that are "disgusting" across all cultures—I would assume that microwaving babies would fall under one such category, as preposterous as it sounds—but what if certain acts were permissible in some countries and cultures but not in others? This is surely the case, as cultures differ from one another in a variety of aspects. One such matter is a method of punishment still utilized in some Middle Eastern countries to date: stoning. In a *Psychology Today* online-article *Death by Stoning: Why Is This Sickening Punishment Legal?* Kathryn Seifert writes, "Stoning is also a legal punishment in Pakistan, northern Nigeria, Saudi Arabia, Somalia, Sudan, the United Arab Emirates, Qatar, Mauritania, and Yemen. Out of these countries, stonings have occurred in Iran, Pakistan and Somalia, although the stonings in Pakistan have been outside the legal system. There are a few other countries in which stonings are not condoned by national legislation, but sentences have been carried out at a regional level or by tribal groups." Seifert and others are viewing this culturally specific form of punishment, which other countries either out-grew or did not engage in, from a western perspective of disgust. I'm not arguing that it isn't disgusting—what I am arguing is that it is evident that many people in those countries who take part in stoning, or are not vehemently opposed to stoning, agree with the practice. Some may even enjoy the "show," just as we are exhilarated when "justice is meted out" and a perpetrator gets "what he deserves," This proves that the idea of disgust is subjective and culturally specific, which can weaken the argument for retributivism by illustrating that when we are making decisions while faced with disgust, we cannot be trusted to make decisions that will be "fair."

This goes right into in-groups and out-groups: a white juror, whose in-group consists of white people, may be more inclined to perceive a Latino or black perpetrator less favorably than, say, if the perpetrator was white. This may also lead them to impose harsher sanctions on this person, not because of their actions, but because the person is perceived as the out-group—because of their ethnic background. This is the equivalent to having an individual from one culture judging the actions of an individual in another, and perceiving those actions as "disgusting" because they are not the norm in their environment, then wanting to enforce harsher restrictions and punishments for those offenders because their actions weren't permissible in their eyes. Disgust brings out the bias within us, whether implicitly or explicitly, and we need to acknowledge these biases in order to be more rational when distributing punishments to those that "deserve it."

One way that disgust can support the idea of retributivism, at least within a culture, is that it provides us with what some believe to be reasonable grounds to judge an individual's actions as morally (right or) wrong. If we think an action is wrong because we feel disgusted, and our society believes that action to be wrong, then are we not right? Let me explain what I mean by "reasonable grounds:" when one feels disgust towards something—and by this I don't mean feeling revolted by the idea of seeing a bug on the dinner table or in the bathroom—let us operationalize this "something" as an act that is considered morally wrong, such as incest. Here's a scenario from my social psychology class: a brother and sister decide to have sexual relations, but both use protection in the form of condoms and the birth control pill, making sure that there will be no "accidents" that will follow their decision to have sex. They will both swear to tell no one and all this happens while they are traveling,

so no one they know is around. How do you feel about this scenario? Do you still feel like what they did is wrong?

Many would have objections, as a lot of students did in my class. However, these objections did not stem from any "reasonable" arguments. The most anyone could come up with was that it was "wrong"—yes, people consider incest to be "wrong" because it isn't socially acceptable in our culture—but these two in the scenario had covered all the bases. Never mind, that people break promises and all the other rubbish that people will come up with to back up their claim of "it is wrong." We believe the act to be wrong because that is what we have learned to consider wrong, what we have been taught. To come full circle, when we put people on trial and judge their actions through what we perceive as "disgusting," are we not just policing our environment through what we have been taught is socially acceptable and should be kept that way?

Having "reasonable grounds" to judge an individual's actions as wrong, in the context of my paper, means that we know the expectations and norms of our society; we are taught to feel disgust at certain things and that is what we are then giving back. We are utilizing this knowledge to keep our society in order and how it's "supposed" to be according to the laws we have in place. Thus, disgust can also strengthen the arguments in favor of retributivism, as we know how people in our society should be punished to make sure they learn their lesson.

♦ English 110

HOW RACIAL MOTIVES, THE ILLUSION OF RIGHTS, AND MASS INCARCERATION EQUAL MODERN DAY SLAVERY

JOEWYN DIAZ

"FREEZE, AND PUT YOUR HANDS ON THE WALL." This only applies to minorities. You can put your hands down, white America. Welcome to New York City. I know what you're thinking: "How did I end up being the participant in a stop-and-frisk in the melting pot of America?" It's actually quite simple: you fit the description. Now here you are being questioned by the good ol' NYPD. I'm pretty sure that the only thing that makes sense is your inability to move because the world is well aware of how detrimental any sudden movements can be to your health.

Racial motives in policing are shrouded. In order to unveil racial motives we have to acknowledge that they exist. In reality, racial motives are very conspicuous to inner city minorities. Minorities have grown up with police presence in their communities. This exposure to the NYPD has subjected minorities to frequent stop-and-frisk procedure.

Since the inception of stop-and-frisk, "we the people" have been denied our right to the fourth amendment. This procedure (stop and frisk), was officially addressed in the State of Ohio on December 12, 1967. In the case of John W. Terry versus State of Ohio, the court's ruling gave police officers the right to stop and frisk a civilian as long as they have probable cause, (Terry v. Ohio, 392 U.S.1.). In his dissention of this case Justice Douglas said that probable cause was: "Not technical but practical considerations of everyday life in which reasonable and prudent men, not legal technicians act. To give the police a greater power than a magistrate is to take a long step down the totalitarian path" (Terry v. Ohio, 392 U.S.l.).

In this statement, Justice Douglas understood the power this decision gave police officers in America. By undermining the Fourth Amendment the courts in their ruling created a loop-hole for officers to misuse their authority. The Fourth Amendment ensured that police officers followed proper procedure before searching a civilian. In disregarding this mechanical procedure the courts opened the door for police officers to use and abuse their discretion, under probable cause, to stop and frisk a civilian. The biggest issue here is an officer's discretion.

Anthropologists, sociologists, and psychologists will agree that human perception is flawed and often biased. If this is true, can one say that an officer may be biased in applying probable cause? A big misconception in America is that minorities are criminal minded. This misconception is almost like saying there is a biological difference between races. There is not. Keeping this statement in mind, one must acknowledge the racism that exists in this country. As humans in this society it is normal to pass judgments. We stereotype anything and anyone. We make up one's profile and deem it to be true. I myself am guilty of these practices. I also consider myself a perfectly normal human, with that being said, what stops police officers from racially profiling individuals?

Brian L. Withrow states, "Profiling is the use of a combination of physical, behavioral, or psychological factors" (22). When you add "racial" to the term "profiling" in this context, race then becomes the most dangerous and pertinent characteristic or feature of profiling. Profiling is a tool that law enforcement uses to apprehend criminals. This tool may be effective, but when you incorporate racial motives to this tool you tarnish its efficiency. If you are policing inner cities or urban communities you have automatically labeled those within that community a possible threat. Urban communities generally house minorities. One factor perpetuates the other. Racial profiling is an ineffective way of dealing with crime in these areas.

I myself have been the victim of a stop and frisk because of racial profiling. In "Racial Profiling In New York City." I tell a personal story of having undergone this procedure because I was a Hispanic male walking in a predominately white neighborhood. Years later that incident would inspire me to learn more about racial profiling and stop and frisk.

Minority exposure to police in New York City came in the 1990's. Mayor Rudolph W. Guiliani along with the NYPD applied what was called Aggressive Policing Policies to NYC. The Aggressive Policing Policy was a form of the "Broken Windows" theory, which was grounded in understanding criminal behavior to reduce crime. The application of this theory came through: "Close police surveillance and well-ordered maintenance of high crime urban environments to reduce criminal activity" (Stoudt et al 1332).

The more relevant information in the Stoudt *et al* research was that since 2003 crime rates in New York City have been low and stable, but the amount of stop and frisks nearly tripled. Nearly all of these stop and frisks did not produce arrests nor did it produce summonses (1335). One should understand that the New York Police Department was abusing the authority that was given to them in the Terry case. The impetus for addressing Aggressive Policing Policies is to acknowledge the excessive abuse-of-authority and the unethical practices of the NYPD.

Statistical data proves that minorities are more frequently targeted by the police. America has a history of racism and the innovation of present day racism is clear when looking at enforcement rates. In Racial Profiling: From Rhetoric to Reason, Brian L. Withrow explains how six percent of whites, as opposed to 75 percent of blacks, will experience racial profiling in the United States. Thirty-two million minorities are victims of racial profiling in their lifetime, while 87 million minorities are at risk to be victims (3). This may not seem like a vast amount of people when you consider the population of the United States, but when you take into consideration that minorities only make up about 12 percent of the population, this becomes an overwhelming amount. Minorities make up such a small part of the American population, yet they make up half of the prison population (Withrow 4). These statistics allow us to see the disparity of enforcement rates in America.

In New York City, the enforcement rates of the New York Police Department hit a peak in the year 2011. The total sum of minorities who were victims of enforcement actions in this year was 842,389. The number of whites who experienced enforcement actions in that same year was 106,180 (Travis et al 52). The difference, as a percentage, is an astronomical 793%. Minorities are more likely to experience enforcement action because they live in high crime areas. Bad policing, or "close police surveillance," as the broken windows theory implies, is partially to blame for crime rates because the theory is ineffective and bias. Aggressive Policing Policy is inefficient because inner city communities build negative perceptions about officers and these are the very same officers who are supposed to be protecting them. How does one expect a minority to trust a person who is persecuting them?

Take the use of cocaine, for example. We know that cocaine is illegal and users should be punished by the law. Cocaine is understood to be a predominately "white" drug, so punishment for the use of this drug, among "whites," is scarce. The National Household Survey of Substance Abuse found that among the users of cocaine, in powder form, 81.3 percent are white and 16.2 percent are minorities. The United States Sentencing Commission reports that arrest for powder cocaine are 18.2 percent white and 80.8 minority based (Withrow 24). This country punishes the seller for meeting the demand of the user.

There must be a motive for the racial disparity. Since the beginning of this country blacks have been subjected to mistreatment, slavery, and racism. The inequalities of this country can be dated back to the late 13th century. Since the early settlers arrived, slaves (usually African) have experienced demoralization, hardship, and even death. Although adequate, these words chosen to describe slavery are insufficient. Clearly, words do not exist to describe the atrocities committed against slaves. Here we are, nearly 600 years later, still experiencing slavery. Blacks of the 13th century have evolved into 21st century minorities.

In order to understand present day slavery, assuming it exists, we must address when slavery "ended." Slavery was technically "abolished" in 1862. Abraham Lincoln, the president of the time, signed what was called the Emancipation Proclamation. This doctrine gave freedom to slaves in designated states. This doctrine was the first step towards equality in America. But following the Emancipation Proclamation the Thirteenth Amendment gets adopted in 1865. The Thirteenth Amendment states: "Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as punishment

for a crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist in the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction" (1990 Almanac 622). America takes slavery away then re- establishes slavery with a stipulation. In other words slavery was not abolished; slavery morphed into something more politically correct. In the late 1800s opposition of inequality was apparent in this country, to appease the people who opposed slavery, the government implemented certain doctrines. The problem with the Thirteenth Amendment is that it has never been okay, nor will it ever be okay, to enslave a person for any reason. This contradiction shows how smart the government was at the time, they take slavery away (give a little), then they implement a different form of slavery. To say that this was a genius modification would be an understatement.

Slavery was clearly a profitable business for slave owners. Abolishing slavery must have caused a panic amongst the very rich and powerful slave owners of the 1800s. Money always finds a way to influence politics and politicians. Today we can see the influence that Fortune 500 companies have on our politics and policies. Back in the 1800s the influence was similar, except it wasn't Fortune 500 companies; it was slave owners.

Southern Politicians devised what was called the "Convict Lease System." This system came about after slavery and was used to imprison black males and subject them to harsh and appalling conditions. This system allowed prison owners to lease convicts to local businesses at a very low cost. The convicts, who were being leased, were not being paid for their manual labor. The only people that were benefitting from this "lucrative enterprise" were slave owners, or prison owners and local businesses. The prisoners were being clothed, housed, and fed as if they were in a plantation, except if a prisoner died it was easy to get another without causing the prison owner the monetary strain that would have ensued if he was an actual slave owner. At the time it was easy to give a black male a harsh sentence for a petty crime and to make matters worse politicians promoted the imprisonment of blacks. The Convict Lease System was outlawed in the early 20th century (Hines et al 365). The fact that something like this was done leads one to understand how deeply rooted racism is in American culture. In the Emancipation proclamation the government gave a little and after the Thirteenth Amendment the government took a more, at a cheaper cost.

Currently, we do not have a convict lease system but we still have prisons and cheap labor. In *Prison Profiteers: Who Makes Money from Mass Incarceration*, Tara Herivel and Paul Wright give examples of federal prison industries and how these prisons profit from these industries. UNICOR is the name of the particular federal prison industry they describe. They describe how federal prison industries, use cheap convict labor (between 23 cents to $1.15 for hourly wages) to make huge profits. In 2002 UNICOR sold 1 billion dollars' worth of merchandise to government entities. How far removed from today is the Convict Lease System? Not far at all.

To continue the journey of slavery's evolution, let us take a look at the 1868 establishment of the fourteenth amendment. This amendment gave anyone born in the United States citizenship as well as the right to vote. The Fourteenth Amendment, at the time was a big deal because it allowed blacks, or anyone born in the United States of America the right to vote. We can see the Fourteenth Amendment as giving a little.

But devised by white democratic southerners, disenfranchisement was put into play after the establishment of the fourteenth amendment. Disenfranchisement was a variety of techniques that were used to prevent blacks from voting; these techniques included literacy test, poll taxes, grandfather clause (if your grandfather was a slave), intimidation tactics, and violence. Recently released from slavery, blacks had no money, no education, and likely a grandfather who was a slave, how could they possibly vote with all of these stipulations? Time, and time again, it is being shown how the very rich or slave owners are implementing their influence to either profit from the ex-slave or to reinforce his power over the ex-slave. This was the influential, racist politician taking a little back.

These techniques clearly hindered blacks from voting in the late 19th century. But disenfranchisement is relevant today. Inner cities have small, overcrowded, and uncomfortable voting centers. In certain states, after being convicted of a crime you are unable to vote. Some include life-time bans; others include a ban of several years; some don't ban you at all from voting. The uncomfortable process of voting and the ban of voting for criminals (for a limit of ten years) in New York City are clear forms of present day disenfranchisement. One of the strongest powers given to us by our country is the ability to vote. Through voting we can influence policy and regulation. Voting can change the way this country treats minorities. When it comes to the world of politics minorities are greatly misrepresented. This misrepresentation comes from a lack of understanding on behalf of minorities and the disenfranchisement of minorities by those in power. By taking away the power of voting you can cripple and disable minorities.

For every stride made in the direction of equality it seems as though another was made toward inequality. Free the slaves but keep slavery for convicts. Let everyone vote but make it difficult for them. Reduce crime rates but mass incarcerate minorities.

In The New Jim Crow, Michelle Alexander describes mass incar-ceration as a racial caste system. It is used "To denote a stigmatized racial group locked into an inferior position by law and custom," (Alexander 12). She goes on to compare mass incarceration to slavery but she does not limit the word incarceration to prison but to the "Larger web of laws, rules, policies, and customs that control labeled criminals" (13). This caste system described may seem like it is only targeting those who commit crimes but this system is also keeping the inequalities of this country in place. The more people this country incarcerates, the more people are subjected to slavery, demoralization, and inferiority. Furthermore, those in control, maintain control.

Since the very beginning, racism has plagued this country. What I thought was bad policing was actually a form of racism derived from countless years ago. Trying to understand the psychology of why these inequalities exist becomes mind boggling. The only plausible explanation I can come up with is Capitalism. Capitalism ensures that for there to be a winner there must be a loser. This greedy system enables the disparity between socioeconomic classes. It does not only produce inequality, capitalism ensures inequality. If we do away with capitalism, do we do away with racism? I think not, but our system in its entirety must change. Not only must the economic system change, but our educational and political systems must change as well.

Although the scale is tipped in favor of people who continuously oppress, it would be nice to adapt a global mentality that does not accentuate race or racism. This may seem like wishful thinking, but there is strength in numbers and collectively we can make a difference in this world as long as there is awareness and a common narrative. The goal then must be to stride for equality on all levels and to combat these continuous inequalities, we must influence politics.

Those who have preconceived negative ideologies must demolish and restructure those ideologies. Typical ideologies stem from education, whether formal or informal. This country must teach its children to be colorblind. The change I am speaking of will definitely take time. I do not profess to have all of the answers but it is very clear that something must be done.

Slavery was not abolished; it morphed into something much more complex. The tactics employed, whether it is Stop and Frisk, Racial Profiling, Aggressive Policing Policies, the Broken Windows theory, Convict Lease System, Disenfranchisement, or Mass Incarceration, are all clear indications of systemic racism. It does not matter if these tactics are carried out by the American Government, the New York Police Department, Politicians, Judges, Fortune 500 companies, or anyone with authority, the message is clear: prison is the modern day plantation and convicts are modern day slaves. Careful, white America. These tactics are not exclusive to minorities.

REFERENCES

Alexander, Michelle. The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness. New York: The New Press, 2012.

Herivel, Tara, and Wright, Paul. Prison Profiteers: Who Makes Money From Mass Incarceration. New York: The New Press, 2007.

Stoudt, Brett G, Fine, Michelle, and Fox, Madeline. "Growing Up Policed in the Age of Aggressive Policing Policies." New York: New York Law School, 2011. Terry v. Ohio, 392 U.S. 1 (1968)

Travis, Jeremy, and Chauhan, Preeti. "Tracking Enforcement Rates in New York City." New York: John Jay, 2015.

Withrow, Brian L. Racial Profiling: From Rhetoric to Reason. New Jersey: Pearson Prentice Hall, 2006.

⬥ English 101

KALEIDOSCOPE VIEWS UNDER ONE ROOF

CHAZ ZACHARY

AT THREE YEARS OLD, DURING A VISIT TO MY GRANDPARENT'S HOUSE, my grandmother told me to touch an iron. I asked if it was hot.

I screamed and shook my hand, desperate for cooling wind. I ran to the living room and the comfort of my mother.

"Boy, what's wrong with you?" she asked, looking on anxiously, grabbing for my right hand clutched to my belly.

"Oh my God, Dad!" she yelled. "Look at his hand, Dad! What happened to your hand?" she asked me. I was too caught up crying to answer.

By this time my grandfather had stood up from where he sat in his recliner in the opposite corner of the living room. At the same time my grandmother appeared in the threshold of the living room.

My grandfather was from LaGrange, Texas and spoke with a heavy Southern accent, which was even more pronounced when he was angry.

"Corine, what the fuck happen' ta' dis boy han?" he asked, pointing his finger and gritting his teeth.

"Nick," she said meekly "he touched the iron." My mother had already jumped into action, grabbed a washcloth from the linen closet, wrapped some ice cubes in it and was now applying it to the bubble that had arisen in the palm of my little hand.

"Woman yous suppose' to watch him!" my grandfather replied angrily.

My grandparents at this time were in their fifties. My grandfather was 6' 1", black as dark matter, with a sinewy athletic build. His father was a Black man and his mother Native American. He had high cheekbones and a raptor's gaze.

The Assignment and the Writer: Chaz's personal essay is nothing short of a lyrical and narrative masterpiece. He carries readers through his childhood, painting vivid, intense portraits of his grandparents and revealing, at the end, how his upbringing shaped him, for better and for worse. Chaz writes with elegance and profound emotional intelligence.   **– Professor Baz Dreisinger**

In stark contrast, my grandmother was what Black people call "piss yellow." She was a stout woman—not fat—heavy hipped, about 5' 5". She would always tell of how her father, "Cocka" was a "slave baby," of how his Black mother was raped by the slave master, leading to his birth. Her mother "Ethel Marie Johnson" was Native American and "Came from the Shawangunk Mountains!"

I came to live with my grandparents in their house on Dubois Street in the City of Newburgh in the summer of 1985; I was four years old. My Mother had succumbed to the allure of crack cocaine and my siblings and I had landed there by default. I was the second oldest of my mother's four children and the oldest boy. My father was a rapper from the Bronx by the name of Cholly Rock. He wasn't in the picture at all.

I never forgot the incident with the iron, so when it came time to live there, I was always skeptical of her motives.

My grandmother was an emotional and psychological wreck. She "drank the juice" and asked for seconds. She disdained dark skinned people. She referred to them as "blackie," "tar babies," and "spooks." Honestly I was confused because my grandfather—her husband—remains one of the darkest people I've ever encountered.

Later in life I came to understand her better. She hated almost everything, even down to herself. She hated her freckles, she hated that growing up she had red hair, she hated that her hair was "kinky." She hated dark people, Southern people, and Mexican people. She spoke of White people only in their power.

One of her favorite sayings to me when I questioned doing something that she asked was: "If the White man told you to do it you'd do it!" My response was usually "Fuck the White man!" I was in direct opposition to them when the issue was raised in this manner.

My friend Jai and I strolled down Robinson Avenue on Route 9w in the City of Newburgh on a humid summer day. We were exiting Downing Park as Summer School let out. We stopped on the corner of 9w and South St., when a slim, blonde haired kid, wearing Nikes, caught our attention. It wasn't the sneakers that caught our attention. It was the handful of cash that he was counting.

I looked to Jai who was about two inches taller than me. Neither of us were giants. If we were dogs, I was a Chihuahua and he was a French bulldog. I was small and slight and he was slightly larger.

"We gettn' that nigga!" I stated, matter-of-factly.

"Whatever," he agreed.

"I hope he go through the park. If he do, dopefiend him, and I'ma dig his pockets."

"Why I gotta dopefiend him?" Jai whined.

"You bigger nigga, shut up!" I stated, disgusted. I continued to observe the blonde kid who started to move toward the park. He had stuffed the wad of bills into his right front pocket, where his hand remained. He continued walking unaware.

Both Jai and I moved forward to flank the kid. Once the flanking maneuver was accomplished, we closed in on our clueless victim. He walked bouncing his head, as if to a tune. I bounced my head along with him, a smile on my face.

In the park now it was as if the sun was hesitant to penetrate the canopy of the trees, as if the birds and the squirrels had become busy elsewhere, and the only movement was that of kids walking through.

I watched as Jai stared at the back of the kid, his fingers continuing to flex, his chest rising rapidly behind the dark blue tank top, as he sped up. He looked left at me and I smiled my assurance. I picked up my pace so that we were both close enough to touch the kid and each other as well. Jai reached out with his right arm and wound it around the neck of the blonde boy, jerking back, using the crook of his left elbow to lock in the move known as the "dopefiend" and applying pressure to the kid's windpipe. Immediately the blonde kid's hands shot up to grab a hold of Jai's arms in an attempt to relieve the pressure from his throat. I slid in front of him, digging into his pockets to relieve him of the wad of bills we had seen him counting. I nodded to Jai who then hip-tossed the kid to the ground. We both turned and ran from the park.

Approximately one week later juvenile crimes detective Tim Toomey was arresting me at my grandparents' house before taking me to the station. I was charged with robbery.

"Nigger, what's wrong with you?" rumbled my grandmother's voice as she sat next to me in the Juvenile Crimes Division of the City of Newburgh Police Department. She was dressed in a brown skirt, and beige blouse, with a brown purse sitting in her lap.

I inhaled deeply, turning to face her with pursed lips, nostrils flaring. I had been interrogated by Detective Toomey about a drug operation he knew me to be close to. The operators of this particular operation were family members of mine, whose drug spot was also the hangout of the kids in my age group. I was thirteen.

"Don't look at me like that, nigger!" she huffed. "You tell them what you know!"

I shook my head at this as I had no intention on telling these White people anything. I was raised partially by the street; true, my grandparents housed me, but there's a difference between being "housed" and being "reared." The streets said "Don't Snitch!" Even my grandfather disdained "tattling." It just wasn't going to happen.

"So, Chaz, you ready to speak to me?" Detective Toomey asked solemnly as he walked back into the small room where I'd been left after the interrogation.

"Yeah," I stated flatly. How Detective Toomey took it must have been positive, for he barreled forward.

"So what can you tell me?" he spread his hands questioningly.

"Suck my dick!" I responded simply, staring at his shocked face without expression.

"Boy, you going to a home!" my grandmother said, hugging her purse to her lap and nodding her lap and nodding her head as if this were a foregone conclusion.

I was placed in Pius 12 residential center where I resided while I went back and forth to family court for the next three months. I arrived at the courthouse with my case worker who allowed me to sit with my grandmother in the waiting room. We spoke about current events in the street. I confided to her that I was going to hurt a co-defendant of mine in another case who had told on me.

My case was called and we shuffled between rows of other people who were seated in the waiting room; mostly women and most of them accompanied by children of varying ages. We entered the courtroom of Judge Andrew P. Bivona, and again it was packed.

It seemed so far from where I stood to the bench where sat a clean-shaven, tired faced man, with a bowl-cut hairdo in black robes.

As I looked up, the ceiling seemed a million miles away. Step after step I trudged until I made it to the front of the courtroom. I took my seat in between my grandmother and caseworker.

The judge called my case and spoke positively about my adjustment in the three months that I had been in "placement," and the fact that I had caught no infractions. This he said all while his gaze locked upon mine. He then addressed my grandmother.

"Mrs. Zachary, if I were to release Chaz to you today would that be okay with you?"

"He said he was gonna kill the boy!" she blurted dumbly.

My head snapped towards her, eyes squinting, nostrils flaring, and eyes watering as I grit my teeth. I had been betrayed! She's a snitch! I'm telling my grandfather! Thoughts shot through my head like a bullet ricocheting in an all cement hallway violently and fast with no definitive direction. I was hurt. I was angry. I was disgusted. And I was remanded. Recess was taken and I was allowed to take lunch with my family. My grandfather waited in his red Ford van in the parking lot. I sped out the door leaving my grandmother and all which disgusted me about her behind, though she called for me to "wait up." I spotted the van and bee-lined in that direction. I made it there well before my grandmother. My granddad took one look at me from where he sat behind the steering wheel the *Times Herald Record* resting upon it.

I sat solemnly looking to my sneakers and the tears began to fall. I watched them roll off my Nikes and disappear into the dark carpet of the van's interior. I recycled snot, I sniffled, felt a lump in my chest, and my head began to pound.

"Boy, what's wrong with you?" he asked gruffly. My grandfather was born in the south in the 1920s. I did not question his love for me but he was uncomfortable with having to deal with a crying thirteen-year-old boy.

"She a snitch!" I sobbed.

"What'chu talkin' 'bout, boy?" he queried over his shoulder, now looking at me as his hands remained busy folding the newspaper.

"Grandma... told... the judge on me!" I managed to sob out, running my hand over my face as my nose began to run.

"What'chu mean she tol' the judge on you?" he asked in his steely baritone.

My grandmother picked this time to make her arrival.

"Nigger…" she began, but never finished as my grandfather cut her off.

"You tol' that white man somethin' 'bout this boy?" My granddad's nostrils flared as he grit his teeth, muscles clenched as he pointed at my grandmother.

"Nick, he said he was gonna kill the boy!" she whined.

"Woman, I don't give a shit what he done tol' you! He tol' you, not that White man! That's the problem witchu' ignorant, stupid asses now! Don't know ho to shut yo' godamn mouth!" my granddad continued vehemently.

Some views are deeply rooted. Based upon the deeply rooted fear of the "white man," which my grandmother evinced, I was determined to prove her wrong. Growing up in the 1920s and 1930s in America was traumatic for Black people. I believe that my grandmother's trauma was all encompassing. Growing up a light-skinned black woman with freckles and red hair couldn't have helped any. She learned to hate herself somewhere in her life and later may have found it hard to love easily. She learned to fear the White man in this same manner and was not able to overcome this fear and so allowed it to shape her life. This may have been subconscious and she may never have known from whence these attitudes and behaviors derived. She believed that I feared them as well, which I believe subconsciously caused me to take advantage of any power which I was able to wield over them, whether it was the power to rob the kid in the park or the power to withhold information from Detective Toomey.

My grandfather was a West Point graduate, from Texas, and an only child. He was fearless, a man of few words, who brooked no shorts. Although my grandfather shared my view in not telling the "white man" anything, I believe it had more to do with family and loyalty as opposed to just rebelling against the system as mine was. I was raised in this household where I chose strength over weakness, which is how I now view my grandparents. Within this one household there were many different views based on the same facts. These views were the views of different people from different eras and geographical locations. Me, personally, I couldn't allow myself to fall victim to the subliminal indoctrination, which my grandmother had obviously done. It was bad enough I already questioned her parenting skills, but now her integrity was in question as well. She was one way when dealing with family and yet a whole other way when the white man was involved. My grandfather, on the other hand, had integrity. You could count on him to assess any situation with the same eyes. With him, right was right and wrong was wrong. No matter the color of your skin. You could be blue, green, orange, white, or black and you would be judged the same.

Even at such a young age I was somehow aware that my grandmother's actions were unnatural and that the actions of my grandfather were natural. I aspired to be that. I hope today that I can be viewed as such a person. Hopefully my attitudes and behavior reflect my grandfather's influence in my life more than those of my grandmother.

⬥ International Criminal Justice 101

CORRUPTION IN RUSSIA

ALEKSEI IGUMNOV

ABSTRACT

My paper will address the level and persistence of corruption in Russia from its historical roots to the present day. I will look closely at two cases: first, corruption inside of the country and corruption between IKEA and the Russian government. I will discuss corruption in the educational system in Russia; I will examine how corruption affects ordinary citizens, and the world as a whole. I will examine students' attitudes towards bribery. We will examine how the business relationship evolved between Russia and IKEA, and kinds of obstacles IKEA ran into, in 2009. In the end, I will list some recommendations that can help Russia fight against corruption, but the main one is to change public attitudes towards corruption. Corruption should be considered unethical and shameful activity.

INTRODUCTION

ACCORDING TO CHAPTER 28, "Corruption" in International Crime and Justice, corruption is a comprehensive term that includes several corrupt forms of behavior including bribery, theft, embezzlement, fraud, and extortion by a person in power due to his or her position. It includes "abuse of discretion," as well as having or utilizing

a conflict of interest, favoritism, nepotism, and clientelism (Graycar,2011). Graycar (2011) adds that corruption is unethical, like any criminal behavior. He suggests that corruption can happen in any sphere of activity and any country, including Russia: both in previous and current day governments. Graycar also points out that corruption is part of the criminal justice system in badly corrupt nations, and one of them Russia. Based on lists of "opportunities for corruption" suggested by Graycar (2011), the reader must conclude that the Russian government performs the central role in corruption, and therefore, the government is ultimately accountable for the corrupt behaviors of its citizens. The problem of corruption in Russia has been known from ancient times as a cultural norm, and always occurred under government supervision.

Historically, compensation and a tremendous amount of extortion were formed in Russia during the tenth to the twelfth centuries. In the legal system of ancient Russia, a "promise" as unlawful compensation for the performance of governmental duties was mentioned for the first time in the Dvinsk Statute of 1397–1398. Soon, due to difficulties in collecting taxes, the state could not offer even minimum wages to government workers; instead, they were allowed to support themselves by establishing their own collections. In addition to collecting a "Promise," Russia has a tradition of the voluntary giving of "reverences" to the government. Corruption should be considered an unethical and shameful activity, however, it is instead considered an expression of respect to the recipient. These actions prove Graycar's point on corruption as a historical and cultural phenomenon: "The abuse of position for personal gain has occurred throughout history, and has often been tied into culture and relationships" (Graycar, 2011). Bribery become an informal collection system from citizens and remains today as a primary source of income for government officials of at all levels in Russia today (Cheloukhine & Haberfeld, 2011).

Corruption in Russia turned in a different direction and was given new level of attention only in the twentieth century after the "October Revolution." The newly formed government passed an order "On Bribery" and "On the fight against bribery" in 1921 in attempts to punish corrupt activities. These decrees served as a foundation for the founding of proper measures within the Criminal Code of the Russian Republic (RSFSR) (Cheloukhine & Haberfeld, 2011). The authors of Chapter Corruption in Russia: Past, Present, and Future describe corruption during Soviet times as a universal system and the "root" of contemporary corruption; however, they highlight that there are notable differences that are unique to Russian corruption today. A significant difference between Soviet and today's corruption in Russia was in the limited expansion of straight monetary payments, due to lack of real money in the hands of Soviet citizens. Back then Soviet people were practicing all type of gifting, from scarce goods to services. Contemporary corruption in Russia is unique in that the "benefit from the transaction" has increased dramatically, and in contrast, the chances of being penalized and the degree of negative outcomes have decreased substantially (Cheloukhine & Haberfeld, 2011). Alexander Pavroz (2017) interested in research countries with widespread corruption and "relatively efficient"; that is why he studied Russia. The author highlights the new dictatorial government and its recognition of corruption as one of its key pillars.

CASE 1. CORRUPTION IN THE RUSSIAN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

Cheloukhine and Haberfeld suggests in their work that citizens of Russia potentially can buy positions within the Russian government, which have an impact on Russia's educational systems (2011). For example, the post of deputy ministry can be sold for approximately $50,000 to $500,000. However, this does not mean that all positions are sold for money. On the local and lower levels, one can earn their post by showing experience and through elections (Cheloukhine & Haberfeld, 2011). But it is important to remember that people who take those jobs still become part of the system of a corrupt government and over time they become corrupt too. Most studies ask the question about the connection between the level of salary and level of corruption. In the discussion of the Russian educational system, which is heavily controlled by the government, we can say yes, there is a direct connection. According to the case study of Ararat Osipian in 2012, there is an increasing gap between salaries in private and public areas of the economy. This gap forces government employees to seek other sources of income, such as accepting bribes from students. That increase happened after the collapse of the Soviet Union; the government could not take care of professors' salaries. As a result, some of the professors had to look for an extra job, but some faculty members also characterized in the text as "semi-independent economic agents" started collecting gifts and monetary support from students (Osipian, 2012). The main players in his study, which took place from 2000 to 2012, not only consisted of students, but of also the entirety of educational institutions (EIs), such as professors and even the administration. Osipian also calls EIs "money-making machines." Throughout the case study, Osipian identifies the major types of corrupt behaviors: bribes for enrollment and faculty hiring based on kinship (Osipian, 2012). Faculty hiring based on "blat" or kinship creates an easy way of earning money due to privileged positions that allow controlling final grades, academic workload, graduation, attendance, and other aspects of school life. If the reader takes a closer look at the mentioned situation through the definition of Graycar, one can state that corruption in Russian educational institutions includes almost all of the forms of corrupt behavior; bribery, extortion, and fraud by a person in power, favoritism, and conflict of interest.

In his study, Osipian (2012) refers to a poll conducted in Moscow in the summer of 2010 that explains the level of corruption in public services, as well as, awareness of corruption in everyday school life. He found that 40% of students in public EIs both have bribed a faculty member or were aware of the facts that bribery was possible. A thousand students from the 18 most popular Moscow EIs, were surveyed while the summer classes and exams were in progress. Osipian (2012) quotes Newsru.com: "more than half of the surveyed students consider corruption as the largest problem in higher education." In public universities, 30% of the respondents testified that the faculty members extorted money from them. Also, he mentions that 17% of students in law schools stated that the administration pushes faculty members to collect fees from students, where the price for a final examination in a law school can go up to $2,500 (Osipian, 2012). Rose and Mishler (2010) showed similar statistics in their work Experience versus perception of corruption: Russia as

a test case. According to these authors' study and based on particular question: "To what extent do you see the following institutions as affected by corruption?" 71% of people responded with Education, and the only more corrupt institution according to the Russian public opinion is medical services with 73% of the responses (Rose & Mishler, 2010). Corruption in Russian EIs plays a significant role in the international arena because it undermines the legitimacy of the whole education system in Russia. Consequently, it is no surprise that a Russian diploma has very little value in the global career market. A Russian individual who is planning to continue their education or planing to get a job outside of the county can run into a variety of obstacles, such as, a thorough diploma evaluation, that takes a long time, courses that do not transfer, or even refusal of credits evaluated. Due to these known statistics on Russian corruption, most powerful nations in the world work carefully with documents, paperwork, contracts and even translations from Russia, that creates delays for entrepreneurs, Olympians, professors, diplomats, and researchers and anyone else that is considering doing business with Russia.

CASE 2. IKEA AND RUSSIAN GOVERNMENT

The level of corruption increased after 2000, when Vladimir Putin came to power; during that time, the model of the government became more corruption-oriented and this further impacted international business relationships for Russia. According to the United States Congress (2017) all major aspects of doing business like an opening of the company, getting permits and licenses ,privatization of capital, corporate restructuring and others could not be carried without legislators' and public officials' approval and support. Therefore, businesses have to pay bribes to get permission for their activity and speed up the bureaucratic process. Cheloukhine and Haberfeld (2011) consider nonrestrictive business integrity principles in spheres of economic activity as a significant factor that promotes corruption, similarly, weak regulations of the property rights system (Cheloukhine & Haberfeld, 2011). Biegelman and Martin (2011) in Worldwide Hotspots for Corruption: UK, Russia, Africa, the Middle East, and Latin America discuss "a new and sophisticated form of organized crime that poses a serious threat to foreign investors." The authors cite the sensational case between IKEA, the world's largest furniture retailer and local government in Russia. According to IKEA's management, after investing $4 billion into business in Russia since 2000, announced in 2009 that it was stopping on further investments "due to the unpredictability of the administrative process in some regions." During that time, IKEA postponed construction of 30 new locations throughout the country. The authors believe that the real reason for turnover is obstacles in the form of corruption and bribery. IKEA ran into numerous delays in their expansion plans when local authorities required "ever-changing building code standards" and referred the company to evaluations of untold safety regulations.

The authors supported above statement with the example of when IKEA was given a requirement that the mall they were developing in Samara "be able to withstand near-hurricane force winds, even though there's no history of such weather conditions there" (Biegelman & Martin, 2011). A regional authority responsible for building permits referred IKEA to particular constructions firm, and this would

resolve the issue. Biegelman and Martin (2011) conclude such precedent by saying "doing business in countries where corruption abounds is like navigating land mines." In other words, companies have to be prepared to take high risks, as well as to play a game according to local rules and not afraid to lose everything. United States Congress (2017) mention that the law that was passed by President Dmitry Medvedev in 2008 against corruption will make no difference because its only criminalizes accomplished acts of corruption, but not demand or offer of a bribe. Moreover, Biegelman and Martin conclude that the law is government's tool to eliminate political opposition, to seize private property and business to sell it to close ally of ruling party and to put activists in jail.

RECOMMENDATIONS

According to above information, Russia has a long history of corruption with unspoken support from the government officials. The current Russian government has tools to fight corruption, but unfortunately, they are part of it. Therefore, Russia has to start from the top to the bottom; high profile politicians, who responsible for corruption and fight against it need to be replaced with new honest and ethical professional, selected during transparent elections or contest. All possible ways to build integrity of public that listed in Graycar's chapter can be applied and should be utilized by the new Russian government. The Graycar list includes a "strong civic culture," outspoken advocacy groups, "civic education," "information, and education campaigns aimed at young children," a free and open media, and "mobilization of the public" (Graycar, 2011). Vocal advocacy groups that Graycar talks about in his work should be supported and financed by ordinary citizens and not by the "big pockets" like the oil industry. In addition to implementing Graycar's list of policies, the salaries of government employees should be standardized and published for the public and should be based on the level of responsibilities. Equally important, there should be regulation so that salaries provide a good level of financial security to eliminate work on the side or receiving a gift to survive. In addition to regulating salary, the relationship between government and private business should be created not on a personalized basis, and access to government projects should be available to every qualified company. There should be strong regulation of the property rights system. All the government positions should have terms and must be frequently updated to new people for the opportunity to be elected. No appointed posts should be permanent, even by the president. Moreover, law enforcement agencies should rebuild itself and should be able to earn the trust of its citizens. No corrupt behavior should be tolerated and must be immediately reported to the police without any hesitation. People should be taught to pay taxes and report bribes from a young age because offering a gift or accepting it in the workplace should be unethical and shameful. There should be tools in place to prevent payment off the books in all spheres of economy. The difficulty of implementation of above reforms in Russia rests not on any technical problems or lack of resources; the problem is that such changes will unavoidably weaken the authoritarian leader (Pavroz, 2017). Ultimately, that list can go on and on but the most important aspect consists of people changing their attitude towards corrupt behaviors, and then the country will change.

CONCLUSION

As described, corruption in Russia took place since the tenth century; such a long history of this phenomena and its roots in Russian culture make it difficult to fight corruption in our days. Traditionally, the old way of recognizing and thanking someone was acceptable. Today it is redefined as bribery, as well as supporting yourself by collecting money from citizens, which we now define as corruption. One can conclude that corruption is one of the major elements of governance in Russia in current times. As depicted in the cases, corruption affects all spheres of life, education, business, medicine, military, elections, and law enforcement. The case of corruption in educational institutes shows the reader that, there is a connection between the level of salary and level of corruption. It shows that such problem is significant and known among students. Also, the reader learned how corruption effects ordinary people. Especially people who have plans to continue their activity outside of the country. The second case shows that corrupt networks between state authorities and businesses exist at every level throughout the society, it also affects the economical prosperity of the country as well as its citizens. There are many ways to stop corruption in Russia, like change government officials from top to bottom, teach people of honesty and importance of collecting the taxes, change members of law enforcement, but the most important one is to change public opinion on corruption. Finally, the reader should remember that problem of employing all of this reforms, not technical difficulties but the authoritarian ruling.

REFERENCES

Adam Graycar. (2011). Chapter 28. Corruption. In Natarajan, M (Ed.), *International Crime and Justice* [Kindle Edition.]. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Biegelman, Martin T., & Biegelman, Daniel R. (2011).Worldwide Hotspots for Corruption: UK, Russia, Africa, the Middle East, and Latin America. In *Foreign Corrupt Practices Act Compliance Guidebook* (pp. 143-170). Hoboken, NJ, USA: John Wiley & Sons.

Cheloukhine, S., & Haberfeld, M. (2011). Russian Organized Corruption Networks and their International Trajectories. New York, NY: Springer New York. Osipian, A. (2012). Loyalty as rent: Corruption and politicization of Russian universities.Discourse: *International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy*, 32(3/4), 153-167.

Pavroz, A. (2017). Corruption-oriented model of governance in contemporary Russia. *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, 50(2), 145-155.

Rose, R., & Mishler, W. (2010). Experience versus perception of corruption: Russia as a test case. *Global Crime*, 11(2), 145-163. *Kleptocrats of the Kremlin: Ties between business and power in Russia. Commission on Security Cooperation in Europe*, briefing of the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe. (United States Congress). July 20, 2017.

Webster, W., De Borchgrave, Arnaud, Cilluffo, Frank J, & CSIS Global Organized Crime Project. (2000). *Russian organized crime and corruption: Putin's challenge: Global Organized Crime Project*. Washington, D.C.: Center for Strategic and International Studies

⬥Anthropology 101

SPLINTERED TREES: THE CREATIVE ART OF FAMILY TREE GRAFTING

ELIZABETH STREAT

GENEALOGY IS NO LONGER THE SOLE DEFINER OF FAMILY. The erstwhile biological delineation of shared DNA with another person is now being blurred. The nuclear family paradigm of a male father married to a female mother with one or more children cannot solely encompass the shifting understanding of what constitutes a family. For those whose biological families are geographically or emotionally distant, kin reinterpretation, the act of transforming an existing kinship into a more intimate one, and fictive kinships can be the refuge that most seek in their traditional families. Fictive kin are those persons whom you gather to yourself as your support system and with whom you feel a familial bond. I put myself forward as one who has grafted many new branches onto my family tree through fictive kinships. Each new leaf on these branches is an opportunity to perform a new role – one that is not defined simply by accident of birth, but by personal volition. While not all grafts survive a lifetime, each is important and fills their own roles in their time.

The Assignment and the Writer: In their final paper, Introduction to Cultural Anthropology (ANT 101-11) students were asked to explore ways that their families have been affected by world systems or international "flows" (such as migration, transnationalism, etc.). Elizabeth asked if she could do something a little different, however. She drew on her own childhood experiences of belonging within a "family" held together largely with bonds of affiliation, rather than those of descent, to explore the ways that "fictive kinship" can serve as a refuge for those whose traditional families are scattered, estranged, or non-existent. This essay effectively explores kinship as a potentially flexible and creative practice, as well its relationship with heteronormativity.   **– Professor Pedro De La Torre**

Humans have always been aware of the strength in numbers and that an individual's survival increases with the number of people who can assist you in times of need. Large family networks create more possibilities for emotional and tangible (material / financial) support. In the United States, the model for family networks has been the heteronormative, nuclear family. "Heteronormativity is a term coined by French philosopher Michel Foucault to refer to the often-unnoticed system of rights and privileges that accompany normative sexual choices and family formation." (Mukhopadhyay, Blumenfield, Harper, & Gondek, 2017, p. 33) This heteronormative, nuclear family brings with it its own set of in/formal rules, statuses and roles which are cisgender-specific. The term "cisgender" indicates a person who identifies with both the gender and biologic sex with which they were born. "For anthropologists, a status is any culturally-designated position a person occupies in a particular setting. Within the setting of a family, many statuses can exist such as "father," "mother," "maternal grandparent," and "younger brother."" (Gilliland, 2017, p. 2) With each status comes an often gender-defined role. "Role is the set of behaviors expected of an individual who occupies a particular status." (Gilliland, 2017, p. 2) Father is a biological male who provides the financial backbone for the family. Mother is a biological female whose main function is the care and nurturing of her family. Sisters assist mother and brothers help protect the females and younger siblings. But what happens when the nuclear family splinters? From whom do we seek our comfort and succor? For many, it is our relatives outside our immediate, nuclear family, or, the close friends with whom we have developed familial bonds, our fictive kin, whose familial statuses have been promoted by "kin reinterpretation."

> Kin reinterpretation is an important skill now that the broader kin network, once a safety net for families in hard times, is stretched thin (Arber, 2004; Johnson, 1999; Newman, 2003; Roberto et al., 2001). Increasingly, individuals are required to construct their own networks, using the people at hand, whether they are biolegal relatives or not. (Allen, Blieszner, Roberto, 2011, p. 1173-1174)

As a child whose parents separated when I was five years old, I was often left in the care of my maternal grandparents for long periods of time. This is a prime example of "kin promotion", in which my grandparents were elevated to the status of parents. "As the most common form of kin reinterpretation, the practice of kin promotion suggests the embeddedness of nuclear family ties in the popular imagination." (Allen, et al., 2011, p. 1164) There was a "mother" and a "father" and I was treated as their child. Under my grandparents' care, I was provided with love and nurturing and economic stability, which was not present in my mother's home at all times. Rather than the less ardent sentiments generally reserved for parents of parents, my deep and abiding love for my grandparents is closer to what most children feel for their parents and can be ascribed to the reinterpretation of their kinship ties to me.

Another immediate result of the dissolution of my nuclear family was my mother's increased involvement with our town's community theater, a safe haven for those whose lives with their biological family leave much to be desired. In the theater community, I found brothers and sisters in the other theater urchins whose parents

were cast and crew. Many of the adults in my mother's age range became like aunts and uncles to me, which is fitting, as they felt like brothers and sisters to her. As in all families, there are cousins who only make sporadic appearances. These would be the theater members who did not spend as much time revolving in its orbit, though family functions probably wouldn't be the same without them.

Most treasured of these theater affiliations, I found substitute mothers in the gay men who were my babysitters. As a mother should, these men sang lullabies to me as they tucked me in to bed, felt my forehead for the least sign of fever, fed me, and loved me as if I were their own. Not only had they become my fictive kin, but I had become theirs. These endearing relationships can be referred to as "nonkin conversion", which is "the process of creating fictive kin by turning friends, students, or work colleagues into kin. Nonkin are elevated to kin status in recognition of their perceived closeness and value in a person's social network." (Allen, et al., 2011, p. 1167) In traditional Western gender roles, men are not the caregivers. Yet, men played the role of my surrogate mother. By defying their biological male gender roles and fulfilling the role of a biological female / mother, we had each found new branches to graft onto our splintered trees.

In fact, nonkin conversion has been at the core of LGBTQ (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer) fictive kin relationships and familial / social support. Often ousted from their own biological families for their sexual orientation and long denied the right to the creation of a nuclear family through marriage, LGBTQ community members have made friends, both queer and straight, into sisters and brothers and older members of the LGBTQ community into ersatz mothers and fathers.

> Chosen family networks are important for gay men and lesbians who, historically, have had compromised access to families of origin because of rejection or geographical distance resulting from a move to live in lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) communities. (Muraco, 2006, p. 1314)

As one tends to do as one ages, I began exerting my independence in my teen years and pulling away from my mothers, biological and fictive. It was in middle school that I remodeled female friendships into sisterhoods. Sharing both the minutiae and important milestones, loving one another even while fighting, these sister-friends became more "family" to me than my nuclear family of origin. Many of their siblings and parents also became like family to me as I spent time under their roof, giggling and eating their food. A few of us, at varying times, were "kicked out" of our own homes and lived in one or another of these sister-friend's homes for short periods of time, where their families absorbed us and the financial burden of another teenager in the house. These have been the hardiest branches added to my family tree, as I have retained a strong bond with my five best friends from middle school and feel as though their children are nieces and nephews to me and lovingly refer to their mothers as "mom."

Having firmly established a sisterhood, I, once again, turned to gay men for companionship and further family-gathering in my college years and beyond. Gay

men also found a safe harbor with me, someone to claim as their family. "Similar to gay men and lesbians, however, both straight individuals who are alienated or geographically distant from their families of origin and lifelong straight singles sometimes turn friends into chosen families." (Muraco, 2006, p. 1314-1315) For people who feel untethered from their biological family, finding a kindred spirit with a similar background is the equivalent of a shared family history.

As someone who flourished in the verdure of my family of grafted, chosen kin, I now find myself in the position of having created my own heteronormative, nuclear family. I am a straight female, married to a straight male and have given birth to a biological child of my own. I have been a stay-at-home mom for over six years while my husband has been the sole financial provider for our family. Having married into a Jewish family, I've learned there's a Yiddish word for the beautiful mélange of biological family and fictive kin – mishpocha. So, you see, even your Bubbe, your Jewish grandmother, knows that family isn't only genealogy and that, regardless of our last name and the last name of the person serving it, we all need love and homemade chicken soup.

> While there is nothing in biology that dictates that a family group be organized in a particular way, our cultural expectations leads to ideas about families that seem "natural" to us. As cultures change over time, ideas about family also adapt to new circumstances. (Gilliland, 2017, p. 18)

I have been a daughter, a granddaughter, a sister, aunt, niece, cousin, and a mother in my lifetime. While many of these statuses and roles were provided through conventional means, they have all over-lapped and been inter-woven with my statuses and roles in my family of chosen kin.

> Family life is the social arena for garnering support and comfort during major life transitions; it is also the location for learning to make meaning out of those changes. By incorporating new perceptions and interpretations of myriad relationships, both families of origin and families created through marriage, choice, adoption, or necessity provide opportunities for experiencing new ways of relating that resonate with lived experience in a dynamic society. (Allen, et al., 2011, p. 1175)

I am grateful for each and every one of the statuses I've obtained and roles I've played and am gladdened to know that, as heteronormative, nuclear families continue to falter, many will take the same refuge I have in rebuilding splintered family trees through means of fictive kin and choosing as family people who love and support you because they do, not because they must.

REFERENCES

Allen, K. R., Blieszner, R., & Roberto, K. A. (2011). Perspectives on Extended Family and Fictive Kin in the Later Years: Strategies and Meanings of Kin Reinterpretation. *Journal of Family Issues, 32*(9), 1156-1177.

Gilliland, M.K. (2017). Family and Marriage. In N. Brown, L. Tubelle de Gonzalez, T. McIlwraith (Eds.), Perspectives: An Open Invitation to Cultural Anthropology. American Anthropological Association.

Mukhopadhyay, C. C., Blumenfield, T., Harper, S., Gondek, S., (2017). Gender and Sexuality. In N. Brown, L. Tubelle de Gonzalez, T. McIlwraith (Eds.), Perspectives: An Open Invitation to Cultural Anthropology. American Anthropological Association.

Muraco, A. (2006). Intentional Families: Fictive Kin Ties between Cross-Gender, Different Sexual Orientation Friends. *Journal of Marriage and Family, 68*(5), 1313-1325.

♦ Anthropology 101

偷渡：THE HISTORY OF ILLEGAL BORDER CROSSINGS IN MY FAMILY

JESSICA LU

MY FAVORITE READING FROM ANTHROPOLOGY 101 is <u>The Land of Open Graves: Living and Dying on the Migrant Trail</u> by Jason De León. It's not just about how the book presents anthropological research, incorporating archaeological, ethnographic, and forensic methods (fields that have always intrigued me) in relatable, captivating language. The bleak images of death and violence of Mexican migrants crossing perilous landscapes also brought back memories of the stories my mother told me about her distant youth in Communist China.

My mother embarked on her own failed expedition as a teenage girl in 1972, "illegally" treading dangerous mountain trails and swimming in freezing waters while desperately trying to flee to Hong Kong. It was then a British colony and considered a land of freedom by neighboring Cantonese under Communist Party rule. She was discovered by border-patrolling militia, sent to a detention center, and was soon sent
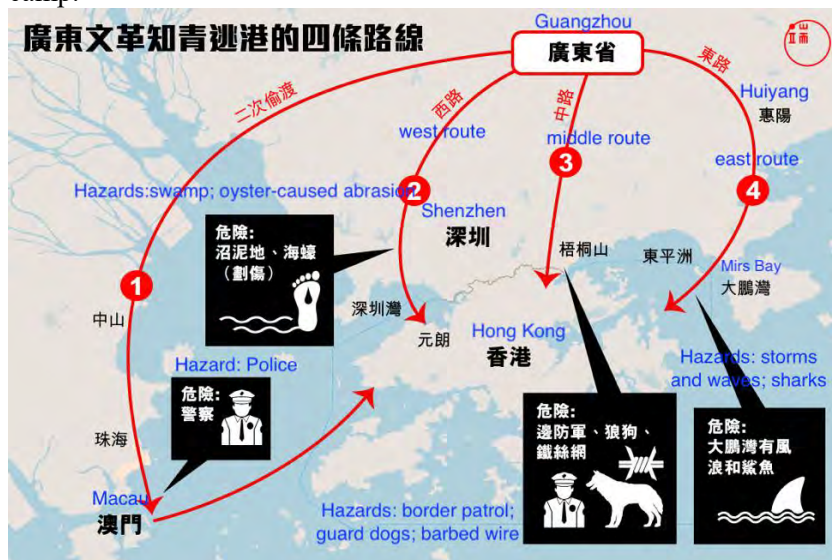
back to her post in a countryside labor camp far away from home. As one of the "Sent-down Youth," she did not receive any harsh punishment because there were simply too many young people trying to do the same thing every day. This kind of illegal border crossing experience, called 偷渡("illegal immigration"), 逃港("escape to Hong Kong") and 督卒(from chess terminology, which literally means "No Way Back"), was shared by many of her friends and family, as well as by millions of other mainland Chinese trying to escape the horrors of the Cultural Revolution (Phillips, "The Cultural Revolution"). Many were killed during the escapes, including one of my mom's half-sisters. Among the lucky million who reached Hong Kong between 1949 and 1978 was the eldest son of my mom's eldest half-brother, Cousin Kwong, who later made it to the United States on refugee status during the 1980s. He later applied for his parents' legal immigration to the U.S from Guangzhou of Mainland China. His father, my mom's eldest half-brother, in turn applied for legal immigration of his siblings, half-siblings and their families (the Trump administration and other nativists are now trying to drastically limit this kind of family reunification, which they have termed "chain migration," as part of the immigration reform). In short, my legal immigration to the United States in the twenty-first century is an after-effect of a hazardous and illegal border crossing in 1969. My existence in this world at all owes luck to my mom not being killed during her dangerous escape in 1972. My life is a legacy of the historical "illegal" border crossing phenomenon that is barely known outside of Cantonese-speaking communities.

I have become particularly curious about my mom's life-hanging-by-a-thread journey to the Guangdong-Hong Kong border forty-five years ago, since I've come to realize how my life is fortuitously connected with it. The following essay is based on a December 2017 interview I conducted with my mother about this journey.[1] Before retelling my mom's story, a historical background about the turmoil and despair in mainland China during the Cultural Revolution, and how it drove hundreds of thousands of desperate young people risking their lives to cross the border, needs to be explained. Different from the Mexican migrants who crossed borders for economic opportunities in the north after NAFTA devastated the livelihood of many Mexicans[2] (De León 6), most Chinese who tried to escape to the south were driven by famine, deprivation of basic human rights, and extreme poverty, as well as senseless political and physical horrors during the Cultural Revolution. My mom's father, a renowned scholar and practitioner of Traditional Chinese Medicine in Guangzhou and a descendant of a moderate country landlord, was subjected to public humiliation and torture in 批鬥大會("Struggle Sessions")[3] and soon died of fear and physical exhaustion (Hayoun, "Photos"). My mom's mother, a housewife, was nonetheless subjected to the same mental and physical tortures of "Struggle Sessions" and forced to sweep public streets after her husband died. Family properties were confiscated, and all my grandpa's books and writings, including precious medical records, were destroyed by the Red Guards (Dikötter 14-15). Their children were branded with the political untouchability that came with belonging to one of 黑五類("Five Black Categories").[4]

Starting from the early 1960s, at least 17 million middle-school-aged urban youths were forced to leave home and school and sent to the countryside labor camps, to be "educated" or "rusticated" by peasants. They were coerced into harsh manual labor without sufficient nutrition and medical care. It's called " 上山下鄉運動" ("Up to

the Mountains and Down to the Countryside Movement") (Hille, "China's 'Sent-down' Youth"). My mom was sent away to the countryside and had her formal education terminated at the age of twelve. She had such limited rations of food that she fainted several times because of low blood sugar. Then came the chaos and terrors of Cultural Revolution that threatened almost everyone's sanity and life. The "Sent-down Youth" in the countryside had no idea when all that madness would ever come to an end, nor whether they would be free and go home one day. Most saw no future in mainland China. Since Guangdong is so close to Hong Kong, the then-British colony was known as the land of freedom and prosperity to many Cantonese people, many "sent-down youth" in the Guangdong countryside started to plan escapes to Hong Kong. Americans would be surprised that in the opinions of many Chinese, especially those who had witnessed the darkest days of the Chinese Communist regime, terms such as 殖民(colonialization) and 殖民地(colony) do not have the same kind of negative connotations in Chinese as they do in English. While exploitation and genocide are usually associated with colonialism in American discourse, places such as Hong Kong and Taiwan (a former Japanese colony) are often positively associated with law, order, modernity, and prosperity.

My mom's first and only unsuccessful attempt to cross the border to Hong Kong happened in November 1972, when she was still a teenaged girl. She took the "East Route" with five other "sent-down youths" from her labor camp in the Pearl River Delta area of Guangdong Province. The "East Route" (Route 4 in fig. 1) was one of the most popular southbound routes, starting from 惠阳(Huiyang). She took the bus to Huiyang, then walked twelve days to the seaside at大鵬灣(Mirs Bay) only to be captured by patrolling militia. Fortunately, all six of them made it safely to the labor camp.

(Fig. 1. 彭嘉林. "逃港知青舊地重逢：通往彼岸的夜路有懸崖、鯊魚和軍警｜端傳媒 Initium Media." 端傳媒 *Initium Media*, https://theinitium.com/article/20160519-mainland-crrunaway/.)

My mother's major source of food was pan-fried flour with added animal fat and sugar. She drank ground water from the rice paddies along the way. She hid in the shade during daytime and walked stealthily during the nights to avoid being caught. Because it was winter, she had to swim in freezing cold water.

When she explained why she would take such risks to flee to Hong Kong, she pointed to more than family tragedies and persecution. As a city-born and city-raised girl, she was miserable and desperate with her hopeless circumstances in the countryside, and angry that she was deprived of her right to a formal education at such a young age. Despite doing dirty, harsh manual work, she earned only 18 Yuan a month.[5] She saw no way out, unless she could flee to Hong Kong. She was aware the way to the South would be filled with uncertainties and hazards. An acquaintance from the same labor camp—a teenage boy—had died on the road, and one of my mom's half-sisters was killed during the earlier 1962 偷渡朝 ("Wave of Escape") to Hong Kong, which was mostly driven by famine. Yet, there were lucky ones who successfully made it to Hong Kong, even in her family. My Uncle Ying survived, for example, as did Cousin Kwong, who made possible our family's final settlement in New York decades later. My mom's future brother-in-law tried and failed six times before he successfully crossed the border to Hong Kong. He also managed to immigrate on a refugee status to the United States years later, but still bears scars on his feet from stepping on oysters during the crossing.

Like her future brother-in-law, this perilous attempted escape out of mainland China to Hong Kong left its marks on my mother's body. She suffers from chronic lower back pain because of soaking in freezing cold water and sleeping on damp, cold, and uneven surfaces all along the way. The worst of it came when she was discovered by a group of militia in a mountainous area and chased on foot. She slipped and fell into a waterhole. She remained in the cold water for hours until the militia gave up and her companions came to her rescue. To prepare, she had trained very hard in mountain trekking and swimming because these were the most important survival skills in border crossing. Strong swimming skills were especially important. She believed that she would have to swim in the seawater consecutively for seven or eight hours, carrying rubber tires as lifebuoys.

As for her experience in the detention centers after being caught, she said she did not receive any harsh treatment or punishment. The densely packed detention centers were filled with young people just like her, risking their lives for a hopeful future. Even the guards there sympathized with them. It was in one of the detention centers, during the transfer back to the labor camp, that my mom met one of her best friends: Auntie Ying. Their friendship, formed in hardship, has lasted a lifetime. Despite being captured, my mom was very lucky that she made it safely back to where she started. There were numerous people who were attacked by sharks, fell off cliffs, drowned to death due to physical exhaustion, faced fatal accidents while train-hopping, or were just shot to death by militia. Women were sexually assaulted or even gang-raped by smugglers or the guards at detention centers.

The chaos and desperation of those times forged her worries about her prospects in China, and made her determined to come to the United States, a democratic country ruled by law. By the time we left China it had become quite economically robust. Yet, to save the next generation from the uncertainties of

political upheavals and madness she had witnessed, and to avoid the agonies she had experienced, she made up her mind to bring her family to the U.S. and live a life of freedom.

De León wrote, "Those who live and die in the desert have names, faces, and families. They also have complicated life histories that reflect an intimate relationship with transnational migration and global economic inequality. We just rarely ever get to see them up close as they make these terrifying journeys or hear them describe this process in their own words" (5). De León's ethnographic works about the Mexican migrants made me realize the importance of commemorating my mother's and her generation's "silent" border crossing history. Here I am, living the life of freedom and getting the kind of education my mom wouldn't be able to imagine decades ago, thanks to those who sacrificed to pave the way for a better life for later generations. This essay carries obligatory weight. If the anti-chain-migration sentiments and immigration policies hostile to refugees of the Trump Era were enacted when my cousin Kwong was hoping to come to the United States as a refugee decades ago, I wouldn't be here today.

NOTES

1. The interview with my mom about her memory of the 12-day attempted escape to Hong Kong in 1972 was conducted completely in Cantonese. I will not translate the conversations to English word-by-word, but I will try to translate the most important information in detail.
2. There were refugees from violence and political repression in Mexico as well, for example: http://www.elpasotimes.com/story/news/immigration/ 2017/ 12/11/mexican-journalist-sierra-blanca-immigration-facility-he-appeals-deportation-order/942773001/
3. Struggle Session was a form of public humiliation and torture especially common during Cultural Revolution in China, used to target anyone from officials, intellectuals, teachers, business owners, religious practitioners etc. who were deemed "class enemies".
4. Five Black Categories include: Landlords (地主), Rich Farmers(富農), Counter-revolutionaries(反革命), bad-influencers(壞份子), and Rightists(右派)
5. Minimum wage at the time was 18 Yuan. Average wage for ordinary worker was 40-60 Yuan.

REFERENCES

De León, Jason. The land of open graves: living and dying on the migrant trail. University of California Press, 2015.

Dikötter, Frank. "The Cultural Revolution: A People's History." *History Today*, vol. 66, no. 9, Sept. 2016, p. 10-19. *EBSCOhost*, ez.lib.jjay.cuny.edu/login?url= http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=f6h&AN=118031298&site =ehost-live.

Hayoun, Massoud. "Photos: Fathers of Chinese Leaders at Revolutionary 'Struggle Sessions.'" The Atlantic, Mar. 2012, www.theatlantic.com/international/ archive/2012/03/photos-fathers-of-chinese-leaders-at-revolutionary-struggle-sessions/254870/.

Hille, Kathrin. "China's 'Sent-Down' Youth." Financial Times, 20 Sept. 2013, www.ft.com/content/3d2ba75c-1fdf-11e3-8861-00144feab7de.

Phillips, Tom. "The Cultural Revolution: All You Need to Know about China's Political Convulsion." The Guardian, 11 May 2016, www.theguardian. com/world/2016/may/11/the-cultural-revolution-50-years-on-all-you-need-to-know-about-chinas-political-convulsion.

彭嘉林．"逃港知青舊地重逢：通往彼岸的夜路有懸崖、鯊魚和軍警 | 端傳媒 Initium Media." 端傳媒Initium Media, theinitium.com/article/20160519-mainland-crrunaway/.

⬥ Literature 237

THE IRONY OF CHOOSING NOT TO SEE

HEATHER WAELCHLI

JOSEPH CONRAD'S NOVEL *THE SECRET AGENT* uses a third-person omniscient narration to pass judgement on his characters, while at the same time never overtly telling the reader how to feel about them. He achieves this by contrasting his all-seeing point of view with a cast of characters who resolutely see only what they want to, and are mostly blind to the motivations of those around them. Indeed, Verloc and his wife, Winnie have only been able to maintain their marriage as long as they have through Winnie's resolute and "instinctive conviction that things don't bear looking into very much" (143). Conrad's biting satire lies in the disparity between the narrative observations and the characters' observations of both themselves and each other.

Verloc has three distinct roles, and is known to various people as either a purveyor of pornography, an anarchist, or a secret agent for an unnamed government, with only a select few people knowing him to be more than one of these. This is only possible because of the selective blindness of the people around him. While "in Winnie's mother's opinion, Mr Verloc was a very nice man" (6), Verloc is described by the narrator as having "the air common to men who live on the vices, follies, or baser fears of mankind" (11). We are privy to his interactions involving all of his various roles; we meet his family, which in addition to his wife and her mother, includes his dim-witted, but well-meaning brother-in–law, Stevie, who is doted upon by both women. He leaves this household every day to meet up with a group of anarchists, chief among them, Ossipon, Michaelis and Yund.   Though these men are

considered, and consider themselves, anarchists and terrorists, during the course of the novel, all we see them do is get together and gripe about all that they deem wrong with society. Of this group, only Verloc actually commits an act of terror, and that is actually done in the service of his role as secret agent, and is intended to frame the anarchists. So the way these men view themselves, as daring radicals, is not the impression the reader is given through the narrative.

Verloc's planned act of terror is utterly botched because this man who is credited by his mother-in –law with "a kind and generous disposition" (7), secretly enlists the feeble Stevie to do the dangerous part of the work – knowing that both his bosses and his family would most *strongly* disapprove, to say the least, and that Stevie has no real idea what he is being coerced to do. When things go inevitably, tragically wrong, and Stevie is blown to bits, Verloc doesn't even have the courage to tell Winnie – she finds out by eavesdropping on a conversation between Verloc and a policeman.

It is not just in actions that these men represented as less than effective or admirable. Conrad paints singularly, at times even excessively, unattractive physical portraits of almost everyone. And even through the description of simple outward appearances, the narrator manages to give the impression that the visible, physical traits are indicative of their internal nature. Yund is compared to "a moribund murderer summoning all his remaining strength for a last stab" (34). The physical description of Michaelis, who has recently been released from prison, is typical of the author's disgust showing in a seemingly objective observation, allowing hints of the ugliness of the person inside the repulsive body to seep through. It is not enough to just say Michaelis is fat: "He had come out of a hygienic prison round like a tub, with an enormous stomach . . .(and) a pale, transparent complexion, as though for fifteen years the servants of an outraged society had made a point of stuffing him with fattening foods in a damp and lightless cellar" (33). His description resembles a slug, or a mushroom, and implies that there is as much internal corruption as there is visible in the exterior. Ossipon is similarly described in terms that hint at his character, with eyes that "leer languidly" (33).

Of course these men do not see themselves as the narration describes them. They are a rather self-satisfied and arrogant group, with absolutely no apparent reason to be either of those things. The omniscient narrator knows his characters better than they know themselves, and that is where most of the satire lies. The lack of self-awareness and the inability to see themselves as they really are is often a source of dark humor, as the narration calmly and detachedly illuminates their delusions, especially when they are delusions of grandeur. A character known only as the Professor is the ultimate example of this. He is a bomb maker and terrorist himself, and supplies much of the city's population of anarchists and criminals with explosives, but at the same time looks down on them and considers them inferior to himself. As he says to Ossipon, about his fellow anarchists, "Here you talk, print, plot, and do nothing" (58). The Professor is untouchable by the police because they know he always carries an explosive device on his person, with his hand always on a detonator in his pocket – to accost him would be suicide, and it is known he would not hesitate to blow himself up rather than be arrested. His only goal in life is to create the perfect detonator, and he is a complete outsider who works and lives alone. This is at least partly explained by narrative insight into his self-regard: "His struggles, his privations,

his hard work to raise himself on the social scale, had filled him with such an exalted conviction of his merits, that it was extremely difficult for the world to treat him with justice – the standard of that notion depending so much upon the patience of the individual. The Professor had genius, but lacked the great social virtue of resignation" (60). Again, there is enormous dissonance between what he *is* and what he believes himself to be. The Professor's lack of awareness of how society perceives him results in his ridiculous sense of superiority and contempt for the rest of humanity. His firm belief in his own genius, that he is due more appreciation and respect than he will ever receive, is what leads him to have such contempt for society, which in turn fuels both his ability and his desire to destroy it. Neither does the Professor escape the pitiless and scathing honesty of the narrator's physical description of him as a thoroughly unhealthy and unwholesome looking individual, whose overly confident bearing is so at odds with the reality of his appearance as to be grotesque.

The fact that Winnie Verloc, arguably the character the reader can most identify with because of her basically decent nature and her unconditional love for and maternal devotion to Stevie, is the one most harmed and caught unawares by the fact that things are not what they seem, is one of the cruelest ironies. Her guiding principle that "things did not stand being looked into" (142), most decidedly does not end up serving her well. Not seeing the true nature of her husband leads her to insist that he take Stevie with him on his evening rambles through the city to keep him company, believing it will be good for both of them, which in turn results in enabling Verloc to employ Stevie on his fatal mission. After learning the truth, she recalls with horror her naïve and sentimental thought while watching them set out one night that they "Might be father and son" (148). And interestingly, Winnie is almost the sole character who escapes the narrator's derision of her physical appearance. Far from being painted as repulsive, she is described simply as "a young woman with a full bust, in a tight bodice, and with broad hips. Her hair was very tidy" (4). She is portrayed as an attentive and caring wife to a rather distant, but seemingly dutiful husband. The Assistant Commissioner describes her as "A genuine wife. And the victim was a genuine brother-in –law. From a certain point of view, we are here in the presence of a domestic drama" (175), meaning he senses nothing improper or duplicitous about either Winnie or Stevie.

Possibly the ultimate tragic irony that is created by not truly seeing others (or oneself) as they truly are, is Winnie's reaction when she learns of Stevie's death and Verloc's role in it. After a brief bout of catatonia, the woman who is described earlier as having nothing in her "appearance that could lead one to suppose that she was capable of a passionate demonstration" (31), grabs the kitchen knife off the table and fatally stabs her husband as he lies on the sofa. Such a furious, violent impulse cannot have been discouraged by Verloc's handling of Winnie's initial reaction to the news. At first trying to coddle her out of her shocked stillness, he loses patience and accuses her: "And when it comes to that, it's as much your doing as mine. That's so… If you will have it that I killed the boy, then you've killed him as much as I" (204). Verloc is revealed to be more petulant and annoyed than remorseful or sympathetic. But the last straw for Winnie is when, recumbent on the sofa, Verloc raises a hand and says in a tone she recognizes as amorous, "Come here" (207). She does so, with a knife in her hand.

Winnie's end is also tragic, because she again puts her trust in someone she never has seen clearly, her husband's compatriot Ossipon. Frantically trying to run from her vision of the gallows, where she fears she will end up, she literally runs into Ossipon, who, insisting he will help her, ultimately betrays her by stealing her money and abandoning her to her fate, which, because of his actions, ends up to be suicide.

There are multiple instances of tragic and ironic events and personalities in *The Secret Agent*, as a result of people either actively choosing not to see, such as Winnie, or simply unable to see what is in front of them. The plot is one sweeping satirical irony, while each character portrait contains smaller, individual examples of how thoroughly people can delude themselves not only about others, but especially about themselves. Though through the narrative's very telling descriptions of the people in the novel, we are warned that these are almost all people of unsavory character, the violent ending still has the power to shock; both the reader and, especially, the charaters themselves: just before Winnie stabs him, Verloc turns and looks over his shoulder, and "The excellent husband of Winnie Verloc saw no writing on the wall" (190).

REFERENCES

Conrad, Joseph. 1907. *The Secret Agent*. Penguin Group, London. 2007

◆ English 255

"IN THE NAME OF THE [FRENCH] PEOPLE": MARINE LE PEN'S PRESIDENTIAL BID

ANNA SHAKOVA

STARTING IN THE 2000S, MARINE LE PEN began to reform her image in the eye of the public. Though she took over the National Front after her father, Jean-Marie Le Pen, Le Pen did not want to inherit her father's reputation of rampant anti-Semitism and Holocaust denial. She no longer wanted the French public to think of her as "the devil's daughter," but a former lawyer and political leader who would fight for the rights of the citizens (Alduy). Once she changed the public's perceptions surrounding her, she then worked to repackage the National Front as mainstream. Some of Le Pen's views are progressive, a move away from the far-right party that the National Front had formerly proven itself to be. In 2015, she even forced her father out of the party after yet another statement about the insignificance of Nazi gas chambers. Le Pen became a politician whose policies were much more palatable to the general public, especially following the terrorist attacks in 2015. After the attacks, people welcomed her message--one of limiting immigration and prioritizing French identity that the National Front had been preaching for "the last 10 years" (Mayer as quoted by Wildman). If Le Pen becomes president, she stands to gain a significant amount of power that could fuel the changes she wants to make. Though Le Pen wants to work toward a better France, her policies are based on a fervently nationalistic stance that could normalize discrimination, destabilize the European Union even further, and cause upsets worldwide.

The Assignment and the Writer: In English 255, Argument Writing, I assign arguments of increasing complexity and students are asked to choose from a variety of templates. Written as a second argument paper, Shakova's essay examines Marine Le Pen's presidential bid by analyzing her proposed changes to labor laws, taxes, and immigration. The paper is an articulate example of a concession argument in that Shakova recognizes the positive changes that Le Pen could bring about while also revealing that Le Pen's National Front rhetoric and nationalistic stance are just another example of the wave of right-wing parties who attempt to win votes and persuade people with platforms of hate.

– Professor Livia Katz

That being said, Le Pen's supporters believe in her stances and ability to alleviate the rampant issues of unemployment, the matters of national security, and the crises of French identity. Currently the unemployment rate in France "(around 10%) is higher than the Eurozone average of 9.5% and more than double the rates in neighboring U.K. and Germany," something which places the country in a precarious situation and fuels discontent among the citizens (John). People in the age groups of 18-24 are particularly affected, with the unemployment rate "at around 25%" as a result of strict labor laws (John). The problems with employment led to a surge of support for Le Pen from French youth because they believe that she could help them. Le Pen's proposals include instituting an additional tax for "[e]mployers who hire foreigners . . . worth 10 percent of the salary" (Melander and Balmforth). This tax would create incentives for employers to prioritize French citizens for employment. Le Pen also proposes to cut taxes and decrease the "retirement age to 60" in order to improve the welfare of French citizens (Melander and Balmforth). This period of economic instability is a great cause for concern among young people. French youth feel comfortable joining the National Front because "young people [are] 'listened to and trusted' in the party" (Farand). The proposed changes to labor laws show French youth that Le Pen is willing to take steps to alleviate their economic problems. Through this show of good faith, Le Pen earned "21 per cent" of the 18-24 year olds' vote during the "first round of the election"--more than her opponent in the second round, Emmanuel Macron (Farand). Le Pen successfully created a sense of belonging for French youth within the National Front by listening to their concerns about the economy and addressing them in her proposals as a candidate, and that sense of belonging helped her earn more votes.

Le Pen's criticisms of the European Union were also well received, and her supporters agree with her desire to renegotiate France's membership in the Union. Le Pen wants to return to the franc as currency and establish borders with passport checks in order to protect French citizens from the threat of terrorists after the attacks of 2015. The surge of immigration into France "has changed French society faster than integration can . . . work" (Douthat). Le Pen plans to enforce "a sustained mass-immigration halt" (Douthat). With a more stable population, it would be easier for immigrants to become used to the French culture and way of life. She also believes that without a large, constant influx of immigrants, it would be easier for French citizens to find jobs and lower the unemployment rate. If Le Pen cannot convince the European Union to change its policies, at least regarding France, then she plans to follow in the steps of the United Kingdom and arrange a French exit ("Frexit"). Despite the National Front being characterized as a far-right party, Le Pen supports gay rights, is "very vocal about women's rights and refuses to oppose abortion or contraception" (Wildman). Marine Le Pen reformed the party and supports progressive policies, with her main priority being the protection and economic success of French citizens, which gives the citizens hope.

There are valid arguments in place to support Le Pen and the changes that she can bring about to help the French people. That being said, Le Pen's policy of national preference practically forces employers to consider French citizens instead of immigrants because the tax, "worth 10 percent of the salary," would be a major hindrance for most employers (Melander and Balmforth). Instead of fixing the

problem of unemployment, all she would be doing is shifting it to burden immigrants more heavily. Her plan to "[r]eserve certain rights now available to all residents, including free education, to French citizens only" would also normalize discrimination on the basis of nationality (Melander and Balmforth). Many of the immigrants in France are refugees. Forcing even greater challenges on them could create backlash, leading to more problems in France. The rise of nationalism following Le Pen's and the National Front's rhetoric relies on scapegoating immigrants and Muslims. In 2010, Le Pen compared "Muslim men praying on the streets of France" to the Nazi "occupation of her country" (Wildman). She has moved on from the anti-Semitism that once characterized the National Front to Islamophobia. Though Le Pen tried to distance herself and the National Front from her father's anti-Semitism, she still proclaimed her belief that "the French state bore [no] responsibility for the notorious Vel d'Hiv roundup," and the government officials were the ones to blame (Wildman). By placing blame onto people instead of the country, she aims to change the way citizens think about French history.

There is also evidence that Le Pen really hasn't changed all that much from the days of her father. She still supports policies that Jean-Marie championed, including "drastic limits on immigration, a prompt exit from the euro zone, and . . . 'national priority'" (Alduy). Le Pen plans to "radically change France's membership and turn the bloc into a loose cooperative of countries: no more euro, border-free area, EU budget rules or pre-eminence of EU law" (Melander and Balmforth). Yet it seems unlikely that the European Union will grant her request because it refused to give the United Kingdom the ability to do away with policies regarding "the free movement of people" (Ćapeta 16). Brexit inspired Le Pen to push for a Frexit, but Brexit has been problematic for the United Kingdom. After the vote, the value of the pound dropped by "15% since the referendum day, when it reached $1.50" (Kottasova). Once Brexit will be finalized, the United Kingdom will "cease to be a party to numerous international agreements" (Ćapeta 5) and will lose "certain rights for UK citizens . . . in Member States" (Ćapeta 13). France is in a similar position, so it will need to renegotiate all these agreements if a Frexit occurs. And the problems surrounding Brexit do not only go one way: Brexit broke the notion of the European Union as "an autonomous constitutional legal order" (Ćapeta 8). Despite there being provisions for a Member State to leave the Union, the officials began referring to international law instead. Brexit shook the foundations of the European Union and, as of yet, it is unclear if the Union will continue to function as it did before. Following the 2015 attacks, Le Pen criticized the French government for not being able to protect France, "land of human rights and freedoms" (Le Pen). Though she pretends to care for the whole of the country, she only seems to believe in those values as long as the ones benefiting from them are French citizens.

Recently, far-right parties have been making waves in elections around the world. Emboldened by Trump's victory, these parties run on nationalistic stances and attempt to convince people with platforms of hate. The recent surge in immigration because of the refugee crisis has made some people wary about the future of their countries, so they embrace the far-right candidates as beacons of hope. Le Pen is not the first far-right candidate to become popular in a major election, and she will probably not be the last. In order to stay above the panic, the public has to learn to

look past the softer images some of these parties might present and rationally analyze their policies to determine if they really are good for the country.

REFERENCES

Alduy, Cécile. "The Devil's Daughter". *The Atlantic*, 2013,
https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2013/10/the-devils-daughter/309467/.

Ćapeta, Tamara. "Brexit and the EU Constitutional Order: A Three Act Tragedy."
Croatian Yearbook of European Law & Policy, vol. 12, Jan. 2016, pp. 1-23.
EBSCO*host*,
ez.lib.jjay.cuny.edu/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&d
b=a9h&AN=121093997&site=ehost-live.

Douthat, Ross. "Opinion | Is There A Case For Le Pen?" *The New York Times*, 2017,
https://www.nytimes.com/2017/04/29/opinion/sunday/is-there-a-case-for-le-
pen.html?_r=0.

Farand, Chloe. "France's Millennials On Why They're Supporting Marine Le Pen: 'We Are
The Future And This Is What We Want'." *The Independent*, 2017,
https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/politics/french-presidential-election-latest-
marine-le-pen-supporters-millenials-campaign-rally-france-paris-a7712391.html.

John, Tara. "Your Complete Guide to the French Presidential Elections." *Time*, 2017,
http://time.com/4720432/french-presidential-elections/.

Kottasova, Ivana. "Brexit Britain: Pound Drops To $1.28." *CNN Money*, 2017,
http://money.cnn.com/2016/07/06/investing/brexit-pound-drops/.

Le Pen, Marine. "Opinion | Marine Le Pen: France Was Attacked By Islamic
Fundamentalism." *The New York Times*, 2015,
https://www.nytimes.com/2015/01/19/opinion/marine-le-pen-france-was-attacked-by-
islamic-fundamentalism.html.

Melander, Ingrid, and Richard Balmforth. "Factbox: Marine Le Pen's French Presidential
Election Policies." *Reuters*, 2017, http://www.reuters.com/article/us-france-election-
programme-lepen-factb-idUSKBN17G197?il=0.

Wildman, Sarah. "Marine Le Pen Is Trying To Win The French Elections With A Subtler
Kind Of Xenophobia." *Vox.Com*, 2017,
https://www.vox.com/platform/amp/world/2017/4/21/15358708/marine-le-pen-french-
elections-far-right-front-national.

✦ Africana Studies 239

THREE ANTI-SLAVERY SPEECHES TO THE 1860 CONGRESS

DEAR SIRS OF THE SEAT
BY JOSEPH CABRERA

I AM NOT COMING HERE TODAY TO DISCUSS THE PLIGHT OF THE AFRICAN, or the bloodshed, the rape, the trade of humans as if life were an article to possess. I am not coming to this forum to plea liberty, peace, goodness, fairness or honor. I am not here today to refer to your generosities or your charity. No I come here today and stand before your authority to discuss a business proposition and a warning.

I could die here this day, and I understand that. Any of my sisters and brothers bound to lifelong servitude could be the next to die. But my people, the ones who have suffered and built, shed blood and tilled, to bring America's blueprint to fruition, we grow weary. We grow weary of being forced to do what is already in every human spirit to do: achieve.

We are a dying breed, both the slave and master. Ours is a nation ridiculed for practices long abolished in most other lands. Lands where people have evolved, where technology has opened doors to new beginnings. Soon, what America has available will be available abroad. Soon world corporations who patronize industry will be of many races and creeds. Powerful influences who will seek sources where merchandise is manufactured by free men who take pride in the progress achieved, and who strive under the banner of equal rights.

See, gentlemen, in this capitalist world I am not ignorant to the reality of profits. But innovation is profit. Innovation is the path toward mass production.

America is a half-developed country that could cease to continue without the efforts of a slave. We are aware that America's progress rides on the impact of a lash, off of backs layered with scars. How long can this compete with innovation and freedom abroad? This America is all we know. This America is where we as slaves stand, and where we make our stand. Uprisings and revolts are met with penalties of slaughter and barbarism enacted to strike fear in the hearts of the slave. Yet here I am,

knowing the potential peril that holds in the balance. Here I stand afraid yet ready to die, as my brothers and sisters are ready to die. As we look into the eyes of our potential killers we seek liberty still. But what happens when there are too many backs for master to whip? What happens when slaves, faced with oppression or death, choose death? Militias, military, men who bear arms begin their killing. How does this cycle's perpetuation help this land compete with the world? What happens when you are unable to kill us all? What happens if you are able to kill us all? How do either benefit a half established United States of America?

I have come here today to offer an option. One that lends prosperity to us all. Sheath your whips, curb your hatred, calculate your current costs, turn to your ambitions for capital, and compare it to the costs of free labor.

We are people capable and skillful, useful and contributive. We can and many will resume our duties for wages, pay for our residence, if only we are afforded the opportunity to choose. We can improve our own condition whether we remain or move on as long as we reserve the rights to do so. We as a Black people can create, invent, educate, travel, and labor as a team, as a representative of our land of the free. But chains and whips will stagnate us all in the world market, especially when diversity abroad holds greater and greater impact on world commerce without the United States of Oppression. Keep us enslaved and together we will build this country, free us and together we will build this country. The difference is that one way we survive, the other way we thrive. One way we continue, the other way we contend. One way we maintain our independent power, the other way we gain super power. With freedom "we" will be able to surpass the world. But heed this warning: without it, "you" won't be able to keep up.

ABOLITIONIST SPEECH
BY DYLAN KNAPP

HELLO AND GOOD AFTERNOON! The matter at hand is whether slavery within this nation is to be kept as is or abolished. A nation such as this one, one that has been built on the backs of tireless laborers, would likely crumble in the wake of the abolishment of slavery; and yet a nation such as this one, one that is founded on democracy where every man is his fellow's equal, cannot perpetuate this cycle of enslavement without also crumbling in its wake. Without a speedy and definite absolution from this conundrum, we are perilously heading to our own self-destruction.

It seems apparent that those individuals who utilize slave labor are unequipped with the necessary competence or resolution to accomplish their goals without it. The young demoiselle who cannot tote her own luggage has the porter of the train-car do it for her. Her manners usher her to a genuine smile and thank-you of

the porter. Should not the same be done of the worker who undertakes the job of someone who lacks the facilities to do it himself? Does not the young bachelor who is without wife or mother pay his tailor to mend his suit? Should not the same be done to the skilled craftsmen who completes tasks with a mastery unparalleled by those who govern him? I ask you this, is a job worthy of a man not filled by a man worthy of a job?

Gentleman, our nation is at a crossroads; our options are limited. Fortunately, this makes our potential futures easier to see. If we continue straight on the path we are currently on, a divide will engross this country where not one on either side will be in better standing. We have the foresight to see this cataclysmic event can and must be avoided at all costs.

Is the solution so hard for anyone else to see? It is clear to me that we have the power to abolish slavery and save our fragile young nation. Congress can do nothing for Congress does not deal in solutions or absolutions. The solution is this country elevating itself by elevating those on whom it relies. We must give a decent and fair wage to those who do a decent and fair job, so they can earn a decent and fair living. We cannot expect to have a decent and fair country where only a portion of our countrymen live a decent and fair life.

A country that enslaves its people is itself enslaved. If we must rely on our government and its paper documents to guide us in moral and logical behavior, we are already a doomed nation. The solution is not pen and ink, or a majority of nays or yeas, but of thoughts and actions. It is obvious that we have thought—the questions have been raised. If we have to ask ourselves should we be doing this, the logical answer is always no.

So, it is action that is called for. For those who feel their plate is full already and have not the time nor the energy, let me soothe your woes. The action we must take is inaction. Isn't it harder to row a boat against the tide than to turn the sail into the wind? It requires more energy to hold a man down than it does to help him to his feet! We must lend a hand and help those who are down so others don't trip where they lie. The path to progress must be kept clear of the downtrodden and oppressed. As a nation we have one foot across the finish line, but if we are unable to propel the other foot forward, we are sure to lose the race.

SPEECH TO CONGRESS
BY JASON HERRERA

SLAVERY IS INHUMANE. SLAVERY IS UNJUST. Slavery is cruel. Slavery is oppressive. Why does this government treat humans in such manner? Why does this government oppose the freedom of the enslaved? Have they not shown that they are capable of being equal to the citizens of this country? When this country went to war with the

British, the enslaved and free people of color were ready, willing and able to fight for this country. The prosperity of the enslaved is needed for the betterment of this country as a whole. Have they not shown that they are capable of affording progress in the county?

Olaudah Equiano, Prince Hall, Richard Allen, David Walker, Maria Stewart, Nilo Thompson, Solomon Northrup, and Frederick Douglass are but a few that afforded themselves the opportunity and the right to liberty and justice that is productive in moving forward towards equality. Why must we treat the enslaved as chattel, like animals and not like what they are—human beings? We are suppressing the minds of a people without allowing them to show their worth. Instead we abuse, mistreat, hang and whip them for their hard work instead of rewarding them.

This country was built with their blood, sweat and tears, as much as ours. They deserve a fair chance; they deserve better. They deserve equal rights and all the opportunities afforded to all citizens of this country. Slavery must be abolished because if we don't abolish slavery, all we have created is an enemy, an enemy, who when the time comes to rebel against this country, will be ready, willing and able to do just that—because we have not afforded them a better option.

For a government that promotes equality and freedom, its barbaric treatment of the enslaved makes it clear that this is the last government to practice what it preaches.

◆Philosophy 201 (Honors)

THE ORIGINAL POSITION

KAMAR TAZI

PROMINENT LIBERAL AND POLITICAL PHILOSOPHER JOHN RAWLS set to define justice and how decisions should be made through his work, *A Theory of Justice*. In this, Rawls develops the "Original Position" which describes his ideal view of how people should weigh matters of justice. It states that people should think in the "veil of ignorance" which essentially strips people of their standing and circumstances in society to contemplate and determine values and laws. The original position, as Rawls has described it, is not the best method through which to weigh such crucial questions about life. Instead, we should think explicitly and in detail about our circumstances and cultures to determine what is just. With this in mind, we should put ourselves in the position of the least well off in our societies and use that as the position of the original position. Being the least well off will include having the least resources and opportunities, and/or being the most highly marginalized or discriminated against group in society. Weighing justice from this standpoint will allow us to consider unique cultural needs, establish empathy, and stifle the potential for greed.

Some of the most crucial considerations for creating a just society are the unique and specific cultural factors within which the determinations of justice will have to be successful. Although many philosophers attempt to examine justice on a global scale, in practice, one law or value will not, cannot, nor should not translate the same way across two different cultures. Independent cultures (although there might be some overlap) tend to encompass their own ideas of what justice should look like.

The Assignment and the Writer: Students in HON201 are asked to consider how different academic disciplines conceive of the "common good." For this assignment, students were required to write a critique of a classic philosophical conception of justice. Kamar chose to critique John Rawls' formulation of the "original position." Her critique goes well beyond the usual complaint that the original position is unrealistic. Kamar offers persuasive reasons why theorists ought to take their own social position(s) into account when considering the basic building blocks of a just society. Moreover, she offers a plausible alternative to Rawls' "veil of ignorance," suggesting that theorists take the position of the least well-off in society as the basic perspective from which questions of justice ought to be considered.

– Professor Michael Brownstein

For example, there is no law in the United States that says that people are required to enlist in the armed forces (when there is no draft) so naturally, a value we would hold is the freedom to join or not to. Take another country with a different culture like Israel. Israel has a conscription law which states that at age eighteen, all Israeli citizens who are not otherwise exempt (medically, religiously, psychologically) have to serve in their military. A value or law saying you should have the choice to enlist would not be appropriate in this case. Under Rawls' original position, this value could be an outcome and yet it could not be successful. Whether it be a matter of religion, cultural traditions/practices, political structure and so on, justice will be unique across the globe and a theory that aims to determine governing principles cannot deemphasize this factor as the original position does.

Analyzing morality using the basis of one's country and culture from the best interests of those who are worst off becomes an increasingly more appropriate version of Rawls' veil of ignorance. In this version, the theory will not allow for any culturally guided discrimination (sexist ideas, classist restrictions, racial injustices etc.) because oftentimes, the most discriminated against will be the group who's shoes we would imagine ourselves in to make these important decisions. This group, who would be most in need of change in their society, will help to formulate the way values and morals cater to the people they govern and will create the most effective and just outcomes. In this scenario, everyone will benefit because fairness and equity will prevail over all else.

Another thing that the original position (as detailed by Rawls) does not account for is that empathy should be considered a sort of civic virtue because of its impact on how people will relate and their ability to encourage looking out for one another: things a progressive society should strive for. It is noteworthy though that some do not think empathy is positive and is actually detrimental. Paul Bloom, author of *Against Empathy: The Case for Rational Compassion*, writes that empathy has been the source of inequalities rather than a positive component of society. While this debate might seem compelling, it seems as though Bloom does not actively differentiate between emotions and empathy saying, "some of the worst decisions made by individuals and nations—who to give money to, when to go to war, how to respond to climate change, and who to imprison—are too often motivated by honest, yet misplaced, emotions." (Bloom, 2016). His push for "distanced compassion," although intriguing, misrepresents the true application of empathy as highly emotional when in reality, empathy is "the ability to understand and feel what another person is experiencing. [It] is a necessary and essential component of any relationship or social group. It is at the root of all pro-social behavior and compassionate action (Pederson, 2016). This considered, empathy is a worthy form of interpersonal connection within a society and has the ability to foster strong and compassionate communities.

This alternative original position does account for the need to stimulate empathy. Imposing the consideration of a people's worst off forces people to face what community they live within and the values that may or may not be at play. While this is not meant to shame anyone, it will present and press the toughest cases which, however uncomfortable, are necessary to analyze. The idea that empathy will incite a positive, just response is not new and its history has been written about and examined

empirically. Medieval philosopher Thomas Aquinas once wrote that empathy is, "the heartfelt sympathy for another's distress, impelling us to [succor] him if we can" meaning that empathy will motivate a person's want to help (Trout, 2009, p.21). Furthermore, psychologist Daniel Batson noted that, "empathy will provoke altruistic or helping behavior, whereas those not feeling empathy won't act altruistically" and therefore, "empathy provides the motive to even things up" (Trout, 2009, p.22). This relationship between empathy and altruism provides a strong basis for its place in a just society and for why considerations from the lens of the least well off would help to "even things up" as Baton suggests.

Finally, the proposed original position of the least well off is more appropriate circumstance for Rawls' "veil of ignorance" because it does not allow for greed. In Rawls' version the only rule, so to speak, is that people are ignorant of their standing in society and/or any defining characteristics so that they can be impartial. The problem with this methodology is that there might be nothing preventing people from choosing to be greedy and setting unsustainable goals, laws, or virtues. Essentially, what's to say people wouldn't choose excess and lavish if they are free to do so as long as they are not considering their current standing in society? According to Rawls, self-interest would prevent this line of thinking but in practice people, and human nature as a whole, do not always follow what we suppose it might even if it appears to be the right thing to do. Rawls' assumption that personal interest could prevent an innate tendency for greed is not reliable. People are guided by self-esteem and this "can form a motivation for either love or greed" (Frijters, 2013). If instead we considered the position of the least well off, we would likely be more inclined to value equality, basic needs, and social welfare. Instead of being free to be as wealthy or powerful as humanly possible, we could set realistic and reasonable standards of living that would be successful by applying to *everyone*. In a just and moral society a positive and necessary goal should be the reduction of greedy tendencies and therefore doing so would create a greater sense of justice. Additionally, there is support that this new original position method would not, by its own process, lead to greed. If we imagine a country/society whose least well off group is the very poor (which would commonly be the case), there is evidence that suggests that the poor do not have the tendency to seek excess but rather, want work. A study by Leonard Goodwin provides evidence for this. In a book documenting his findings, Goodwin describes the desires and attitudes of welfare and non-welfare recipients and found that mothers on welfare said they were willing to work far beyond their need for money more than non-welfare mothers. His overall conclusion was that the poor really just want a secure job so that they can contribute to society, provide for their families, and allow for growth within their future generations (Goodwin, 1983). The least well off idea creates some degree of security that outcomes would be less likely to be aimed at max personal wealth and power at the cost of the greater good. The nature of disadvantage and struggle does not seem to lend itself to selfish goals, so thinking in terms of the most in need of help could easily encourage justice on all fronts.

While the idea of considering matters of morality, virtue, and politics should originate from some common ground, John Rawls' original position behind the "veil of ignorance" is an insufficient guide. Instead of deliberating while ignorant of our standings, we should imagine ourselves in the position of the least well off within our

communities and countries in order to determine what is just. This method allows for cultural specifications, empathy (an important aspect of civic virtue), and effectively limits the presence of greed. With these considerations in mind, people would be in a more appropriate place to consider matters of justice and will thereby promote fairness.

REFERENCES

Bloom, P. (2016). *Against empathy: the case for rational compassion*. S.l.: Vintage.

Freeman, S. (1996). Original Position. Retrieved September 30, 2017, from https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/original-position/#OriPosNecRel

Frijters, P. (2013). *An economic theory of greed, love, groups, and networks*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Goodwin, L. (1983). *Causes and cures of welfare: new evidence on the social psychology of the poor*. Lexington, MA: *Lexington Books*.

Pedersen, T. (2016). Empathy. Retrieved October 22, 2017, from https://psychcentral.com/encyclopedia/empathy/

Trout, J. D. (2009). *The empathy gap: building bridges to the good life and the good society*. New York, NY: *Viking*.

♦ Macaulay Honors College 225

MEN AND RAPE: EVOLUTIONARY AND FEMINIST APPROACHES

SAMANTHA VEE

THE #METOO MOVEMENT IS BRINGING TO LIGHT an issue that is already obvious to most women: sexual violence continues to be shockingly pervasive in modern society. Rape, among the most drastic forms of sexual violence, is defined by the FBI as "penetration, no matter how slight, of the vagina or anus with any body part or object, or oral penetration by a sex organ of another person, without the consent of the victim."[1] Although both sexes are victims of sexual violence, The Rape, Abuse, and Incest National Network, RAINN, the largest anti-sexual assault organization in the United States, reports that women and girls experience sexual violence at far higher rates than men.[2] Additionally, they estimate that one out of every six women in the U.S. has been the victim of attempted or completed rape in her lifetime.[3]

When we look at explanations for why rape occurs and why there are more female rape victims than male rape victims, the common feminist narrative is that rape is a learned behavior, is primarily about power, and that there is little or no sexual motivation behind the act.[4] Some feminist scholars argue that male rapists are primarily motivated by their desire to dominate and control women in order to maintain a patriarchal system of male supremacy. However, the most common documented patterns of rape simply do not support a non-sexual view of rate.[5] If rape

---

were solely establishing power, then rape victims should be middle-aged, high-status women whose power and status would be the source of threat, envy, and ire among power-hungry men.[6] The reality is that young women are the most frequent victims of rape. Females ages 16 to 19 are four times more likely than the general population to be victims of rape and other forms of sexual assault.[7] Furthermore, female college students ages 18 to 24 are three times more likely than women in general to experience sexual violence.[8]

It is therefore necessary to consider rape through a sexual and an evolutionary framework. Although men's desires to dominate and control women certainly contribute to our society's rape culture, it is clearly not the sole motivation. If there are indeed evolutionary underpinnings for men's impulses toward rape and other forms of sexual violence, understanding those impulses is the first step toward undercutting them.

A key element of the evolutionary context of sexual violence is found in parental investment theory (PIT), first formulated by Robert Trivers, perhaps the greatest evolutionary thinker of the last half of the 20th century. PIT holds that males are more indiscriminate when it comes to selecting sexual partners in most sexually reproducing species.[9] This is because males need only deposit sperm in order to generate offspring, while females must invest time and energy into carrying, birthing, and raising each offspring they produce, particularly among mammals with their long gestational period, dependency of neonates, and highly interactive social structure. Parenting by the female parent is very costly in most mammal species, while it may not be, or not as much, for males.

Among mammals, the reproductive success of males is strictly limited by the number of partners that they can mate with. As a result, males are usually more willing to mate at any time than females. On the other hand, females have a limited fertile period and often prefer mates who can provide healthy genes and an abundance of resources, and, if parenting is performed by males, quality parental care and protection for the offspring. This can set up a conflict of interest between the sexes and can lead to males using force or the threat of force in order to gain sexual access to females. Forced sexual intercourse is not uncommon in many species of mammals, including our primate and ape relatives.

Evolutionary theories state that reproductive strategies that increase an organism's fitness relative to others will spread through the population and become evolutionarily successful. Sexual coercion is thus a viable reproductive strategy If we consider that mammal males have an evolution-rewarded desire for a large number and variety of sexual partners and less discriminating criteria for those partners, since the investment is so small, we should not be surprised that human males display a greater willingness to participate in casual sex.[10] In recent decades, the cultural double standard surrounding sexual behavior where men are rewarded for their sexual activity while women are shamed has also contributed to this pattern. Studies corroborate this and have shown that female adolescents who report having sex experience decreases in peer acceptance over time whereas male adolescents who engage in the same behaviors enjoy increases in peer acceptance.[11]

Sociologist Lee Ellis developed the "synthesized theory of rape," which states that rape is primarily motivated by the sex drive and the drive to possess and control

anyone and anything that is essential to survival or reproduction, such as having sexual partners to further one's reproductive line.[12] This desire to possess and control as much as possible motivates men to acquire sex, which supports the feminist narrative that men rape women to exert power and control. However, there is a big difference between having sexual desires and forcing oneself onto an unwilling victim. Palmer infers that additional psychological mechanisms may be in play when making this jump.[13] During our evolutionary past, if the male psyche that was predisposed to raping under appropriate conditions was reproductively more successful than a male psyche that was not inclined toward sexual coercion, then the genes underlying the former would proliferate.[14] In other words, evolution may have favored rape.

In order to further probe this theory, researchers in Australia recently examined the correlation of the Dark Triad traits to rape-enabling attitudes in both men and women. The Dark Triad traits consist of narcissism, Machiavellianism, and psychopathy. While these three traits are distinct in their own ways, evidence has shown that they often overlap with one another as they are all associated with callous and manipulative behavior. Further connection between the Dark Triad and sexual violence is found in serial killers: the vast majority of serial killers are men and most involve sexual violence in their crimes; these sexually sadistic fantasies usually develop during their adolescent years.[15]

For the study, rape-enabling attitudes were measured using the Updated Illinois Rape Myth Acceptance Scale, Rape Victim Empathy Scale, and Rape Perpetrator Empathy Scale.[16] The researchers found that the Dark Triad traits did indeed predict rape-enabling attitudes and that rape-enabling attitudes were more common in men than women, consistent with the notion that men are more likely to engage in exploitative mating behaviors than women.[17]

The fact that the Dark Triad traits facilitate rape-enabling attitudes in men suggests that there are cognitive mechanisms present that, combined with sexual appetite, drive men to rape. If men have more to gain from an exploitative mating strategy than women, natural selection could very well have acted upon the psychological mechanisms related to the Dark Triad traits in men as a means to enhance reproductive fitness. This assumes, of course, that these traits have at least some genetic predisposition. If so, a male psyche capable of sexual coercion would have greater reproductive success and have the ability to pass on those genes to future generations.

Unsurprisingly, examples of sexual coercion can be seen in other mammals besides humans, and especially primates. A prime example is the orangutan whose name derives from the Malay words for 'forest man.' In the wild, most copulations by sub-adult male orangutans and half of all copulations by adult males occur after resistance from a female has been overcome through violent restraint.[18] In a series of studies conducted with wild gorillas, chimpanzees, and orangutans, researchers found that when males in all three species were housed as a heterosexual pair, they used sexually aggressive tactics to mate with females during their estrous cycle.[19] However, when females were given the option to control their proximity to males, copulations only occurred with female consent. These studies show that male apes will employ sexual coercion when the opportunity for females to escape is minimized. This is

reminiscent of common rape narratives, including those provided by the victims of Harvey Weinstein, in which females are first physically cornered as the assault begins.

In wild olive baboons, females that are pregnant and lactating are often victims of male aggression.[20] During the day, the "average anestrous [non-receptive] female was a victim of male aggression five times per week." Additionally, male chimpanzees attack fertile females a few days before trying to mate with them. The mother of modern primatology herself, Jane Goodall, inferred that males use this type of aggression to train females to fear them so that in the future, she will be more likely to surrender to his sexual advances.[21] Male hamadryas baboons exhibit similar behaviors, as they will capture young females and "maintain a tight reign over [them] through threats and intimidation."[22] If a female hamadryas baboon wanders too far from her mate while another male is nearby, he will give her a threatening look and raise his brows. The female is expected to respond by rushing to his side; if she does not, he will bite the back of her neck to emphasize the threat of injury as a result of disobedience. Over time, the male's claim as "harem master" is solidified and other males rarely challenge his sexual rights to her.

Data from several species of primates (macaques, savanna baboons, chimpanzees, mountain gorillas, etc.) all show male aggression towards females is more likely when females are in estrus, the period of sexual receptivity and fertility.[23] The widespread tendency for males to be more aggressive towards females when they are fertile is consistent with the hypothesis that male aggression, specifically male sexual aggression, functions to increase their access to potential mates. The aggression and dominance appears directly related to obtaining sexual access, not material or social resources. In non-human primates, rape appears motivated purely by sexual-reproductive goals, not power or dominance *per se*.

Some female primates have actually found a solution for male violence. For example, female bonobos often leave their families and live with unrelated females once they reach adulthood. These female bonobos spend time together and engage in same-sex sexual behaviors to further strengthen bonding. Evolutionary biologist Barbara Smuts hypothesizes that female bonobos use these bonds to form alliances against male aggression and as a result, male bonobos do not attempt to sexually coerce females nearly as often as do their close relatives, the chimpanzees.[24] Amongst a specific group of chimpanzees that live in the Tai Forest, Smuts also observed how females form closer bonds with one another in comparison to female chimpanzees that live in Gombe's forests. Females in the Tai Forest have more egalitarian relationships with male chimpanzees than their counterparts in Gombe. As a result, they are much less often victims of sexual violence.

Human societies also show extreme patterns of male control of female sexuality, possibly exceeding that of other primates. Smuts proposes several major historical causes for this gender inequality in humans: a reduction in female allies due to patrilocal residencies, an increase in alliances among men, increased male control over resources, an increased hierarchy formation amongst men, female complicity, and the development of a gender ideology.[25] In humans, male alliances are unusually strong while female alliances are relatively weak compared to other female-bonded species. The strength of male alliances can be understood by looking at intra-sexual

competition for status and resources, which increases male ability to control female sexuality.

As human society became increasingly hierarchical with the advent of farming and settled life, women continued to lose their sexual autonomy. Scholars have found that "the degree to which men dominate women and control their sexuality is positively associated with the degree to which some men dominate others."[26] In other words, the more political power and resources a man can accumulate at the expense of other men, the more he will be able to exercise control over women and that control extends to sexual coercion.

The social construction of gender has also contributed to male aggression against women. In many societies, a husband is entitled to beat or even kill his wife if she is suspected of adultery. Even in liberal democracies, a woman that dresses provocatively is said to be 'asking' to be sexually assaulted. The supposed "invitation" to rape is centered on sexual access, not material or social resources. The institutionalized patriarchy of modern society serves to reinforce the evolutionary roots of sexually coercive behaviors. While these interactions no doubt involve a power differential and feed off of gender inequality more broadly, in biological terms, they are a furtherance of male reproductive interests and goals at the expense of female sexuality, not unlike what is seen in other apes.

Given the clear evolutionary benefit of rape, rather than asking why men rape, a more useful question might be why *don't* men rape, in order to identify the successful strategies to fight this pernicious behavior. In modern societies, increasing recognition of the rights of women to full autonomy and a life free of sexual violence has brought the criminalization and punishment of rape. This adds risk and cost to the equation as young men learn to navigate the sexual landscape.[27] As we've seen, this deterrent certainly needs strengthening, especially when it comes to powerful men, but the deterrent of criminal and social consequences is key to the modern mechanisms discouraging rape. In traditional societies and prehistoric times, social shunning and even violent revenge likely served to counter-balance the perceived benefit of forced sexual access, analogous to how criminal charges operate today.

While female alliances serve as a bulwark against sexual coercion in other species, in most human societies, women have had to rely on male relatives. In days past, as today, many potential female rape victims have male family members, as well as rival mates, who can ward off unwanted sexual advances. In many traditional human societies, upon marrying, women leave their birth families to live with her new husband and his relatives. This puts her at risk of sexual coercion if she doesn't have strong bonds with her kin, male and female. Within communities in Belize, for example, women tend to live near their female relatives as a way to control the aggression of their husbands or his male relatives.[28] If a man beats his wife, witnesses report the violence to nearby female kin; the presence of a large group of women at the scene shames the man into reigning in his violent behaviors.

A key difference between humans and many of our closets relatives is that, for males, reproductive fitness often requires a certain degree of parental investment. In the egalitarian world of our pre-agricultural ancestors, a father had to contribute to his children and their mother during child rearing, lest his offspring fail to succeed and his genetic posterity be nill. Upon the invention of agriculture and the ensuing

urbanization and emergence of civilization, society became much more stratified. Some human males, those with resources, freed themselves from the burden of childcare. For example, Genghis and Kublai Khan fathered tens of thousands of children each, most of them through some form of coercion to be sure. It is doubtful that they contributed anything to the success of all but a precious few. Interestingly, the last century has brought a return of "parental investment" as a means to discourage rape in the form of court-mandated child support payments. Just as the male mind may have instincts toward rape, the many years of hunting and gathering sure also left us instinct toward a commitment to family.

It is indeed possible to integrate feminist and evolutionary theories on rape. Evolutionary biology shows us that rape originates, at least in part, from the evolution of male and female sexuality. In humans, primates, and mammals in general, males have an evolved sexual psychology that drives to pursue sexual access to females. They may also have evolved a *coercive* sexual psychology to that same effect.[29] The ultimate goal of sexual aggression is more or less the same for humans and nonhuman mammals, even if modern human males are not aware of the forces that nurtured these dark instincts. This reality should in no way be construed as a means to excuse rape. After all, humans have other instincts which we aggressively penalize when they find expression, such as the drive to steal resources from others and commit infanticide of stepchildren, as gorillas routinely do.

More importantly, the situation is not hopeless. Past natural selective pressures have also provided men with other useful instincts toward child care, commitment to family, care for their standing in the community, desire to avoid punishment and retain material and social resources. These instincts can be tapped in order to shape men's behavior away from rape. As Steven Pinker has powerfully argued in his book, *The Better Angels of Our Nature*, society routinely coerces our behavior to great effect, rewarding pre-social actions and penalizing anti-social ones. *Better Angels* chronicles the dramatic drop in violence that has occurred as human societies develop toward modernity all the way to the present decades. This was no accident, but rather the result of a broad, long-term, organized effort to dis-incentivize violence which has culminated with our now living in the most peaceful age humanity has ever known.

Sexual coercion clearly has roots long before the emergence of modern patriarchal systems and sex is a central component of the motivation behind rape. But we now know where this desire for power and dominance comes from: natural selection has pushed the male psyche to seek to control female sexuality through violence as a reproductive strategy. Ultimately, men may rape because of a drive that, in the past, increased their biological fitness. Understanding this reality should do exactly nothing to absolve men of the crime of sexual assault. But it *can* help us as a society support and reinforce cultural structures that undercut those impulses and nurture their opposites.

While laws, moral shaming, and the threat of violence from male relatives certainly help to deter rape, clearly more needs to be done, as recent events have made tragically clear. Within sex education, the topic of consent must be addressed early and often. Further, societal norms that are supportive of slut shaming, victim blaming, and rape jokes must be reversed. Further, our criminal justice system must treat sexual

assault as a serious crime and hold perpetrators of sexual assault accountable for their actions by enforcing harsh and immediate punishments that are not set aside because of the identity of the perpetrator, no matter how great his movies are or how fast he swims.

For example, convicted rapist Brock Turner was only sentenced to six months in prison despite prosecutors recommending that he serve a minimum of six years; the leniency of that sentence sent the message that the consequences of rape can be evaded. It is almost beyond any reasonable doubt that the Brock Turner case, if no reparative actions follow, will lead to more rapes, as victims come to understand the futility of reporting their assaults.

Herein is the power of the #MeToo movement. Anything that strengthens social alliances among women will decrease their vulnerability to sexual coercion. The *Sisterhood is Powerful* slogan from 1970s feminist movements still rings true: women must transcend social, political, racial, and economic barriers and cooperate with other women, and men must support them in doing so. As long as men hold the reigns over the majority of political, economic, legal, and ideological institutions, women are vulnerable to sexual coercion. As Smuts has argued, real transformation "requires women to form alliances with one another (and with like-minded men) on a scale beyond that shown by nonhuman primates and humans in the past".[30] If men truly suffer if and when they sexually assault a female (or another male), they won't often choose to do it.

CITATIONS

1. (n.d.). Retrieved November 13, 2017, from https://www.rainn.org/articles/sexual-assault
2. (n.d.) Retrieved January 26, 2018, from https://www.rainn.org/statistics/victims-sexual-violence
3. (n.d.). Retrieved November 13, 2017, from https://www.rainn.org/statistics/victims-sexual-violence
4. Buchwald, E., Fletcher, P.R., & Roth, M. (2005). Transforming a rape culture (Revth ed.). Minneapolis: Milkweed Editions.
5. Apostolou, M. (2013). The evolution of rape: The fitness benefits and costs of a forced-sex mating strategy in an evolutionary context. Aggression and Violent Behavior, 18(5), 484-490. doi:10.1016/j.avb.2013.06.006
6. Thornhill, R., & Palmer, C.T. (2000). A natural history of rape: Biological bases of sexual coercion. Cambridge: MIT.
7. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, Bureau of Justice Statistics, Sex Offenses and Offenders (1997).
8. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, Bureau of Justice Statistics, Rape and Sexual Victimization Among College-Aged Females, 1995-2013 (2014).
9. Trivers, R. (1972). Parental investment and sexual selection. In B. Campbell (Ed.), Sexual selection and the descent of man, 1871-1971 (pp. 136-179). Chicago: Aldine.
10. Vandermassen, G. (2010). Evolution and Rape: A Feminist Darwinian Perspective. Sex Roles, 64(9-10), 732-747. doi:10.1007/s11199-010-9895-y
11. Kreager, D.A., Staff, J., Gauthier, R., Lefkowitz, E.S., & Feinberg, M.E. (2016). The Double Standard at Sexual Debut: Gender, Sexual Behavior and Adolescent Peer Acceptance. *Sex Roles, 75*(7-8), 377-392. Doi: 10.1007/s11199-016-0618-x

12. Ellis, L. (1991). A synthesized (biosocial) theory of rape. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 59*, 631-642.
13. Palmer, C.T. (1991). Human rape: Adaptation or by-product? Journal of Sex Research, 28, 365-386.
14. Jonason, P.K., Girgis, M., & Milne-Home, J. (2017). The Exploitative Mating Strategy of the Dark Triad Traits: Tests of Rape-Enabling Attitudes. Archives of Sexual Behavior, 46(3), 697-706. doi:10.1007/s10508-017-0973-1
15. Johnson, B.R., & Becker, J.V. (1997). Natural Born Killers?: The Development of the Sexually Sadistic Serial Killer. *J Am Acad Psychiatry Law, 25*(3), 335-348.
16. Jonason, P.K., Girgis, M., & Milne-Home, J. (2017). The Exploitative Mating Strategy of the Dark Triad Traits: Tests of Rape-Enabling Attitudes. Archives of Sexual Behavior, 46(3), 697-706. doi:10.1007/s10508-017-0973-1
17. Jonason, P.K., Girgis, M., & Milne-Home, J. (2017). The Exploitative Mating Strategy of the Dark Triad Traits: Tests of Rape-Enabling Attitudes. Archives of Sexual Behavior, 46(3), 697-706. doi:10.1007/s10508-017-0973-1
18. Slater, P.J., Milinski, M., Snowden, C.T., & Rosenblatt, J.S. (1993). Advances in the Study of Behavior, Volume 22 (Vol. 22, Advances in the Study of Behavior). Academic Press.
19. Slater, P.J., Milinski, M., Snowden, C.T., & Rosenblatt, J.S. (1993). Advances in the Study of Behavior, Volume 22 (Vol. 22, Advances in the Study of Behavior). Academic Press.
20. Smuts, B. B. (1985). "Sex and Friendships in Baboons." Aldine, Hawthorne. NY.
21. Goodall, J. (1986). *The chimpanzees of Gombe: patterns of behavior.* Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.
22. Smuts, B. B. (1995, August 1). Apes of Wrath. Retrieved December 05, 2017, from http://discovermagazine.com/1995/aug/apesofwrath548
23. Smuts, B.B. (1987a). Sexual competition and mate choice. Primate Societies. (B. B. Smuts, D.L. Cheney, R. M. Seyfarth, R. W. Wrangham, and T. T. Struhsaker, eds.), pp. 385-399. Univ. of Chicago Press, Chicago
24. Smuts, B. B. (1995, August 1). Apes of Wrath. Retrieved December 05, 2017, from http://discovermagazine.com/1995/aug/apesofwrath548
25. Vandermassen, G. (2010). Evolution and Rape: A Feminist Darwinian Perspective. Sex Roles, 64(9-10), 732-747. doi:10.1007/s11199-010-9895-y
26. Betzig, L. (1993). Sex, succession, and stratification in the first six civilizations: How powerful men reproduced, pass power on to their sons, and used power to defend their wealth, women and children. In L. Ellis (Ed.), Socioeconomic stratification and social inequality (pp. 37-74). New York: Praeger.
27. Gregor, T. (1990). Male dominance and sexual coercion. In J. W. Stigler, R. A. Shweder, & G. H. Herdt (eds.), Cultural psychology (pp. 477-495). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
28. Smuts, B. (1992). Male aggression against women: an evolutionary perspective. *Human Nature, 3*(1), 1-44. Retrieved January 26, 2018.
29. Jonason, P.K., Girgis, M., & Milne-Home, J. (2017). The Exploitative Mating Strategy of the Dark Triad Traits: Tests of Rape-Enabling Attitudes. Archives of Sexual Behavior, 46(3), 697-706. doi:10.1007/s10508-017-0973-1
30. Smuts, B. B. (1995, August 1). Apes of Wrath. Retrieved December 05, 2017, from http://discovermagazine.com/1995/aug/apesofwrath548

⬥Macaulay Honors College 225

JAMAICAN MASCULINITY: THE NEXUS OF TESTOSTERONE AND CULTURE

NICHOLAS SMITH

THERE IS AN ABUNDANCE OF RESEARCH INTO SEXUAL HORMONES and how they function. Researchers attribute many of our sexual and behavioral characteristics to the prevalence or deficiency of these hormones, most often estrogen in women and testosterone in men. Notably, men and women produce both of these hormones, but men possess more testosterone than estrogen, and women produce more estrogen than testosterone (Morley, 2003), suggesting that the ratio of these hormones is key for their sex-dependent actions. Research has connected testosterone to male aggression, possessiveness, and sex drive, but there is an increasing realization that social context and environment influence the action of sex hormones on our behavior (Morley, 2003). The independent British Commonwealth island nation of Jamaica is a case study in how the biology of testosterone collides with the legacy of colonial racism and sexism to create a toxic masculinity that is intractably embedded in the culture (Davis & James, 2004).

The Assignment and the Writer: MHC225 is a course that explores how our evolutionary past has shaped the way we are today. That description is deliberately vague because, while I cover the basics of evolutionary theory and the evolution of our species, I leave it up to each student to choose their favorite, or perhaps least favorite, thing about humanity as the topic they explore in their writing. Nicholas chose to write about toxic masculinity in his native Jamaica. I challenge students to do two things with their topic. First, they must locate, read, and make use of primary scientific research articles. Second, they must advance an original argument, or defend an existent argument in an original way. Nicholas did both extremely well while writing about an issue he cares deeply about and that invokes our program theme of justice and the common good. **– Professor Nathan Lents**

In the scientific community, researchers acknowledge that androgens affect physical, psychological and behavioral changes in individuals. Some of the most well-established effects of testosterone occur on an organizational level, such as the embryonic development of sexual and endocrine anatomy (Neave & O'Connor, 2009). *In utero*, the human fetus initially develops in a non-sex-specific way and most bipotential sexual anatomy has the "female" version as the default developmental fate. It is the appearance of testosterone that masculinizes much of this bipotential anatomy. Once this is accomplished, testosterone levels in a male fetus drop and there is never again a sex difference in sex hormone levels until puberty, when the sex hormones are once again involved in the sex-specific maturation of primary and secondary sex characteristics. These anatomical and physiological effects of the sex hormones are not controversial; it is the psychological effects of sex hormones that are often in dispute (Neave & O'Connor, 2009).

Common Jamaican wisdom holds that aggression, jealousy, lust, possessiveness, dominance, and competitiveness are "male-typical" behaviors driven largely by testosterone or as symptoms of its decrease (Low Testosterone, 2015). Since one of the main distinguishing biological factors between males and females is the ratio of sex hormones they produce, it is reasonable to imagine that these hormones must have influence on sexualized behaviors such as these. Adding to that, research has suggested that there are certain changes in male behavior when hormones surge or decrease, including those related to mood and physical aggression (Archer, O'Connor, & Wu, 2004). This notion is so popular that even in non-scientific circles, it is believed that too much testosterone is a main cause of deviant male behavior (Batrinos, 2012). That males exhibit these aggressive behaviors to a greater extent than their female counterparts is fairly obvious to anyone that has spent much time in Jamaica, but the connection to testosterone remains to be proven.

Herein, we define "toxic masculinity" as a (heterosexual) masculinity that is threatened by anything associated with femininity (Banet-Weiser & Miltner. 2016). Problematic manifestations of masculinity have been in existent since early civilization but are just now being explored. Banet-Weiser and Miltner (2016) purport that the issue of problematic masculinity is so monumental that it is not only widespread and entrenched in Western culture, but it is thought of as biologically natural or even inevitable. An informal online survey conducted by *stopstreetharrassment.org* between 2007 and 2008 indicated just how many women endured instances of toxic masculinity on a daily basis. 1141 women responded to the survey and nearly every respondent (99%) reported that they had experienced sexual harassment at least once. Ninety-five percent of respondents were the target of leering or excessive staring at least once, another 95 percent were honked and whistled at, 81 percent were victims of sexually explicit comments from an unknown man, 57 percent were touched or grabbed in a sexual manner by a stranger in public, and 37 percent reported that a stranger masturbated at or in front of them at least once in public.

Jamaica is a Caribbean nation of approximately 2.9 million inhabitants. If you ask a Jamaican to detail the reasons why they love Jamaica, they will speak of the flora and fauna, the tasty cuisine, and the hospitality of their fellow Jamaicans. However, if you ask them if there is anything they hate about the country, they will just as willingly cite their mistrust of the government, their disappointment in the high

murder rate, and, for women, their disapproval of the gender-based violence. West (2010) states that of the most common complaints about Jamaica, two come particularly often: murder and sex. West (2010) further states that a recent study on Jamaican sexuality found that 40 percent of Jamaican females became pregnant before the age of 20. What is profound and equally disappointing is the fact that, according to the study, none of these women deliberately chose motherhood. In fact, more than half of the young women who participated in the study were either forced or coerced into sex.

The construction of Jamaican masculinity is at the heart of both the country's high murder rate and problematic masculinity. Statistics compiled by Spiring (2014) indicate that there are alarming rates of gender-based violence perpetrated by males. In 2012, data compiled by the Jamaica Constabulary Force detailed certain crimes carried out against women in which the perpetrator was a male. That year, men raped 820 women, they had sex with 758 girls under the age of 16 and murdered 134 women. These are large numbers for a country with only 2.9 million people and are surely a stark underestimation of the true degree of victimization.

In contemporary Jamaica, masculinity is defined and reinforced by popular cultural influences like music, the media, and male mentorship within communities and is expressed as the total rejection of anything perceived as feminine or homosexual. This, combined with processes of gendering attribute certain "lifetime gender roles" that are culturally defined. In postcolonial societies such as Jamaica, gender stratification operates in a framework of patriarchy that can be clearly defined as a system or society reflecting values underpinning the traditional male ideal (Hope, 2006). Jamaican dancehall, arguably the second most popular Jamaican music-form (second to reggae), is a very instrumental perpetuator of Jamaican masculinity. Dancehall music promotes the "rude bwoy," defined as a daring man not afraid to take risks and exert his dominance, as the benchmark of Jamaican masculinity. Dancehall music exalts the subordination of women and portrays them as sexual objects, existing to satisfy the sexual desires of men (Hope, 2006).

One of the more significant messages conveyed by dancehall music is that heterosexuality is and should be the ideal and only sexuality. This means that all other sexualities are considered anti-dancehall and, consequently, anti-Jamaican. Jamaica has distinguished itself for its rampant antigay sentiments, incidents of antigay violence, and outspoken, antigay public figures, even among other Caribbean countries (West & Cowell 2015). The homosexual is seen as antithetical to the nation's health. Anti-gay dancehall anthems go even further in their construction of a "legitimized" hyper-sexuality and violence of the "bad man" as community hero, which leaves no space for expressions of any other male sexuality. Anti-gay sentiments have been used to unite patrons at dancehall parties and in the 2002 Jamaican general election, an anti-gay dancehall anthem was used as the official campaign theme song of the Jamaica Labour Party (JLP, Davis, 2006). This was an attempt by the leader of the JLP to portray himself as the ideal specimen of Jamaican masculinity while at the same time raising speculation about the sexuality of his opponent.

In any culture, social norms and practices are learned from others within the society and masculinity is no exception. Young males grow up learning from the

males around them how to be what is considered as "the ideal man." Going back to early postcolonial Jamaica, community gangsters and dancehall superstars arose as the role models for lower class males with uncertain futures. As expected, these men exemplified problematic masculinity. In Jamaica, the key elements of hegemonic masculinity today are promiscuous heterosexual behavior, domestic freedom, financial provision for children and mother, dominance, aggression, and overt homophobia in word and action – referred to by one researcher as "anti-homosexual heterosexuality" (Anderson & Mclean, 2014). Hope (2006) purports that homophobia is not just the rejection of the homosexual, but in fact a "radical and extreme manifestation of Jamaican masculine paranoia of the feminine, where male homosexuals are deemed gender traitors. This goes further with "cultural pressure" of Jamaican masculinity exerted on young Jamaican males such that the fear of being labeled as gay drives boys to start having sex at an early age (Anderson et al., 2014).

The Jamaican media plays a role as well. News reporters seem to make an effort to "criminalize" homosexuals. Newspaper headlines often blare sensationalized reports as in these recent examples: *Unruly Gays Back with a Vengeance*, *Police Hide Male Lovers at Station*, and *Cross-dressers Held at St Ann Fete* (Anderson et al., 2014). Media outlets have no qualms about labeling homosexuals as deviants of society, further strengthening the heterosexual, hyper-masculine ideal.

The origins of Jamaican masculinity date back to slavery and colonialism and now take shape in the era of globalization (Asante, Balaji, & Jackson, 2011). Slavery flourished in the Caribbean for almost 200 years before it was abolished by the British Empire in 1834. During that time, the enslaved people endured physical, sexual, and psychological abuse, a history that has come to inform many Caribbean men's understanding of self. Caribbean slave societies were both racist and patriarchal and were dominated by a white, Western, heterosexual masculinity. These white male slave owners defined the standards of masculinity in slave society. These included economic and political power, ability to protect family, and control over women (Davis, 2006). Around the sixteenth century, the process of defining women and non-whites as savage, uncontrollable, and uncivilized provided an opening for the domestication and exploitation of these groups (Hope, 2006). Furthermore, women were portrayed as having extraordinary and unnatural sexual urges that needed the guidance of [white] men. At the very bottom of slave society, enslaved women were at the mercy of slave owners who sexually abused them constantly. Enslaved men were usually separated from families and were worked as hard as mules and forced to reproduce as if they were animals. Under these conditions, enslaved men developed hardened personas as a means to survive.

European enslavers employed other methods of control as well. Religion was and is instrumental in forming Jamaican masculinity. Fifty-one percent of Jamaicans identify as either Christian or Rastafarian and both use the Christian Bible as their holy book. The Bible recommends that men be dominant and the head of the household while recommending that homosexuals be put to death. Most churches also won't allow women to be pastors or ministers. West et al. (2015) states that the dominant Jamaican social narratives echo the sentiments of the church; homosexuality is considered sinful, unacceptable, and abominable, and it is frequently conflated with

rape and pedophilia. Even Jamaican males who have never been to church can quote biblical scripture in defense of their homophobic or misogynistic actions.

Furthermore, Christianity annoints men as the head of society and Jamaican society follows suit, as early as childhood. For example, the tasks assigned to children to help with the maintenance of the home are largely gender-segregated (Brown & Roopnarine, 1997), with domestic chores and child care usually assigned to the girls while boys are expected to perform more "male-typical" chores outside of the home. Some mothers go as far as encouraging boys to be outside engaging in play activities, while girls must remain inside performing chores. This cultivates an atmosphere in which the "boys are made to feel like pampered [guests] in the household, catered to by mothers and sisters" (Brown et al., 1997). As early as childhood, a differential understanding of self in comparison to girls is cemented in the minds of boys.

The question remains, do sex hormones play a role in how masculinity is manifested within the Jamaican social context. Higher testosterone levels are positively correlated with jealousy and aggression and negatively related to docility and certain expressions of affection both in both paternal and romantic settings – similarly, high testosterone is linked to competition and low testosterone is linked to nurturance (Van Anders, 2014). Van Anders (2014) goes on to state that competition refers to the acquisition or defense of resources (broadly defined to include sexual opportunities, offspring, infants, status, material resources, etc). Some of the effects of testosterone are made clear by a condition known as Congenital adrenal hyperplasia (CAH), which causes an otherwise female fetus to be exposed to very high levels of testosterone. This causes the masculinization of her genitalia. Even more interestingly, girls with CAH are reported to show increases in rough-and-tumble play, aggression, and male-typical toy preferences (Neave et al., 2009). Meanwhile, body builders who take androgenic-anabolic steroids (AAS) experience a surge in aggression, referred to as "roid rage." Simply put, aggression is a sexually dimorphic trait. Men routinely score higher than women on the physical, verbal and hostility subscales of an aggression questionnaire (Bailey & Hurd, 2005).

Recently, researchers analyzed a sample of 350 Jamaican men whose partners recently gave birth [Gray et al., 2017]. The study employed in-depth structured interviews that explored various behaviors related to both parenting investment/effort and sexual activity and attempted to correlate those behaviors to testosterone levels. The study found that the more time and effort a main spent on attempts to gain sexual access with females, the more testosterone he seemed to have. Though the difference was not massive, biological fathers in stable relationships with their partners, with a higher quality of relationship, seemed to express lower levels of testosterone. Furthermore, more male-dominated partner relationships correlated with higher testosterone levels and devoted investment in children, with biological offspring or not, correlate with lower testosterone. Insofar as these behaviors fit the patterns of toxic masculinity, testosterone does correlate with the Jamaican ideal of hyper-masculinity. Though the authors concede that testosterone levels do not fully explain this phenomenon, they agree that certain male behaviors can be explained by placing testosterone levels within a social context.

Further, the results of this study provide helpful context for the general testosterone levels of Jamaican men. All men included in the study had levels of

testosterone within the expected normal range, with some higher than average and some lower than average. Also, confirming a known trend regarding aging, testosterone was inversely correlated with age among the respondents. Most importantly, the average testosterone level across all the groups of Jamaican fathers was within the global average range seen in men from South Africa, The Netherlands, and Uganda, indicating that Jamaica is in no way an outlier with regards to levels of the "male" sex hormones among world populations (Nasunga et al., 2014). In fact, the levels of testosterone were actually lower than the global average, but since the population was specifically new fathers, it is expected that circulating testosterone would be a bit lower. This argues that, while testosterone may be linked to aggressive behaviors on a personal level, it does not explain toxic masculinity on a societal level.

The bottom line is that a hyper-masculine culture born out of a painful colonial past has resulted in a dangerous masculinity now perpetuated by religions, media, and social norms. This results in the constant victimization, ostracizing, and exploitation of anyone who does not fit within the confines of this "ideal" masculinity. However, despite common wisdom, testosterone level likely has little to do with this toxic masculinity. This undercuts the notion that toxic masculinity is the natural result of male biology. It should give us hope that there is nothing inevitable about toxic masculinity in Jamaica.

REFERENCES

Anderson, M., & Mclean, N. (2014). Straighten Up Yu Argument. Caribbean Quarterly, 60(3), 19-38.

Archer, J., O'connor, D., & Wu, F. (2004). Effects of Testosterone on Mood, Aggression, and Sexual Behavior in Young Men: A Double-Blind, Placebo-Controlled, Cross-Over Study. *The Journal of Clinical Endocrinology & Metabolism*, 89(6), 2837-2845.

Bailey, & Hurd. (2005). Finger length ratio (2D:4D) correlates with physical aggression in men but not in women. *Biological Psychology*, 68(3), 215-222.

Banet-Weiser, S., Miltner, K. M. (2016). #MasculinitySoFragile: culture, structure, and networked misogyny. *Feminist Media Studies* 16(1), 171-174.

Brown, J., Roopnarine, J. L. (1997). Caribbean Families: Diversity Among Ethnic Groups. Retrieved from https://books.google.com/books?id=JOzNtTtcHwkC&dq=jamaican+boys+pampered&source=gbs_navlinks_s

Davis, A. (2006). Translating Narratives of Masculinity Across Borders: A Jamaican Case Study. *Caribbean Quarterly*, 52(2/3), 22-38.

Gray, P., Reece, J., Coore-Desai, C., Dinall, T., Pellington, S., & Samms-Vaughan, M. (2017). Testosterone and Jamaican Fathers: Exploring Links to Relationship Dynamics and Paternal Care. *Human Nature* (Hawthorne, N.Y.), 28(2), 201-218.

Harriot, A. D., Jones M. (2016). Crime and Violence in Jamaica. IDB Series on Crime and Violence in the Caribbean. *Inter-American Development Bank*. Retrieved from https://publications.iadb.org/bitstream/handle/ 11319/7773/Crime-and-Violence-in-Jamaica-IDB-Series-on-Crime-and-Violence-in-the-Caribbean.pdf?sequence=4

Hope, D. P. (2006). Inna di dancehall: popular culture and the politics of identity in Jamaica. Retrieved from https://ebookcentral.proquest.com

Jackson, R. L., & Balaji, M. (Eds.). (2011). Global masculinities and manhood. Retrieved from https://ebookcentral.proquest.com

Mcintyre, Li, Chapman, Lipson, & Ellison. (2011). Social status, masculinity, and testosterone in young men. *Personality and Individual Differences*, 51(4), 392-396.

Morley, J. (2003). Testosterone and behavior. *Clinics in Geriatric Medicine*, 19(3), 605-616.

Neave, N. B., & O'Connor, D. (2009). Testosterone and male behaviours. *Psychologist*, 22(1), 28-31

Priestley, S., Lipps, G., & Anderson, P. (2017). The Impact of Masculinity Ideologies and Conjugal Involvement on Sexual Risk-Taking among Young Jamaican Males. *International Journal of Men's Health*, 16(1), 49-65.Spiring, F. (2014). Investigating gender violence in Jamaica. 29(6), 1047-1076.

Van Anders, S. (2013). Beyond masculinity: Testosterone, gender/sex, and human social behavior in a comparative context. *Frontiers in Neuroendocrinology*, 34(3), 198-210.

West, K. (2010, March 21). Jamaican Masculinity: Construction and Consequences. The Gleaner. Retrieved from http://jamaica-gleaner.com/gleaner/ 20100321/lead/lead9 html

West, K., & Cowell, N. (2015). Predictors of prejudice against lesbians and gay men in Jamaica. Journal of Sex Research, 52(3), 296-305.

Nansunga, Miriam, Manabe, Yukari C., Alele, Paul E., & Kasolo, Josephine. (2014). Association of testosterone levels with socio-demographic characteristics in a sample of Ugandan men. African Health Sciences, 14(2), 348-55.

Muller, M., Den Tonkelaar, I., Thijssen, J., Grobbee, D., & Van Der Schouw, Y. (2003). Endogenous sex hormones in men aged 40-80 years. European Journal of Endocrinology, 149(6), 583-9.

Batrinos, M. (2012). Testosterone and aggressive behavior in man. International Journal of Endocrinology and Metabolism, 10(3), 563-8.

Heald, A., Ivison, F., Anderson, S., Cruickshank, K., Laing, I., & Gibson, J. (2003). Significant ethnic variation in total and free testosterone concentration. Clinical Endocrinology, 58(3), 262-266. (2015, August 26). Low Testosterone Can Affect Your Sexual Health. The Gleaner. Retrieved from http://jamaica-gleaner.com/article/health/20150826/ low-testosterone-can-affect-your sexual-health

⬥ Sociology 341

CHEMICAL WEAPONS: A BRIEF HISTORY AND EXAMINATION

RAYMOND HILKER

TO ADEQUATELY UNDERSTAND THE RISKS and determine the future of chemical warfare in the twenty-first century, it is necessary to examine past and present conflicts involving their use. The attempted use of weapons of mass destruction in an era of globalizing communities and nations could prove tragic for multiple societies and economies with a single engagement. For these reasons and more, this paper will examine past wars, modern conflicts, contemporary treaties, and ideas for moving toward a future in which the risk of chemical warfare is obsolete.

A BRIEF UNDERSTANDING

Human beings separate themselves from all other species in a variety of ways. Some key traits most vital to our dominance and survival have always been our creativity, cunning, and intelligence. Whether or not you would like to call it intelligence is debatable; however, our history of scientific breakthroughs in understanding cannot be understated. Although as different as we are from the animals we share our environment with, we do share a mutual, if not greater, instinctual penchant for war. This combination of human ingenuity and a desire for violence has led us down many infamous paths in our history, so shameful we make it a mission to "never forget." Through these qualities we have developed science, then specialized the field for death. Out of this we have created sounds that can make you ill, scents that can make you blind, and air that can close your throat; these are the chemical weapons of today.

The Assignment and the Writer: In SOC 341, International Criminology, students study international crime problems and develop critical thinking about national and international anti-crime policies. This assignment called upon students to write an analytical research paper demonstrating a thorough understanding of a particular category of crime. Raymond's stellar work, which analyzes an aspect of international crime in the context of chemical weapons, considers both their human and environmental impact and examines "past and present warfare, contemporary treaties, and ideas" for a future without such weapons. As the assignment requires, Raymond skillfully utilizes a range of sources tracing the first recorded ancient use of chemical weapons from the Athenians siege of Kirrha in 600 BC—where he recounts the poisoning of the city's water supply with the herb hellebore—to WWI, WWII, and the present conflict in Syria.   **– Professor Patrick Mondaca**

Often overlooked as weapons of mass destruction (WMD) since their big brothers, the nuclear weapons, steal the show, chemical weapons are equally destructive to human life while being many degrees more inhumane and anonymous. Chemical Weapons (CW) are generally defined in the "Chemical Weapons Convention" (CWC, 1992) as "Munitions and devices, specifically designed to cause death or other harm through the toxic properties of… chemicals which would be released as a result of the employment of such munitions and devices." This is a purposefully broad definition because of how great these weapons can vary in physical size, method of deployment, and type of chemical as a liquid or gas. Because of these properties of CW's and more, they are very difficult to track the production of, or predict when they will be used. Because of the uncertain and relatively unpredictable nature of all aspects regarding the use of CW's, we will review the history of the development and mass proliferation of chemical weapons, their contemporary use and normalization, the consequences of that normalization, and what the international community can do to undermine their further use.

Chemical Weapons, while broadly described as weapons of mass destruction, can be used for a wide variety of situations, ranging from being used as a mild irritant to a lethal exterminant. In war, CW's have been used as both, for the purposes of aiding conventional combat or for independently and indiscriminately killing. Due to their variability, we can break down CW's into two categories, Lethal and Nonlethal. There is a near limitless number of weaponizable chemical compounds to name, therefore only relevant and notorious compounds are listed:

Lethal	Nonlethal
Choking agents: Chlorine and Phosgene gas	Tear gases: Chloroacetophenone (MACE)
Blister agents: Sulfur/Nitrogen Mustard gas	Malodorants: "Skunk"
Nerve agents: Sarin gas	Herbicidal: "Agent Orange" Dioxin

HISTORY OF USE AND RESTRICTION

To adequately understand the scale of damage these weapons can reap, it is necessary to look back at their history of use and evolution. From ancient development, to early modern warfare, and today's uses; the proliferation of chemical warfare and its treaties of restriction have been a long and destructive process.

The concept of chemical warfare is literally of biblical proportions, as the writing of the bible uses the phrase "salt the earth" frequently to condemn an area to infertility. This rough understanding of how chemicals affect our environment prompts us to explore its use preceding the nineteenth or twentieth century. The first recorded ancient use of CW's as a means of warfare was during the First Sacred War in Greece, around 600 B.C. (Mayor) Numerous documents and relics from the First Sacred War attribute the victory of the Athenians siege of Kirrha to their poisoning of the city's water supply with the herb hellebore days earlier. This led to a weak populous and army doomed to fail defending the city. The next recorded sophisticated use of CW's in the ancient world would be in the Roman Empire where Persians laid siege on Syrian outposts by launching pots of burning bitumen and sulfur causing

suffocation. (Mayor) Prior to the modern scientific method, the ancient world was able to develop means of chemical warfare. Upon the dawn of the early twentieth century chemicals would be looked to as a significantly more effective and methodical mode of war.

World War One would be the first conflict where the potential of chemical weapons as a primary mode of combat would be realized. By this time, The "Convention with Respect to the Laws and Customs of War on Land (1899)" had already been signed by most Western nations, banning the use of poison shells in war. The next two decades would prove the declaration's worth. In August of 1914, the first use of CW's in combat was deployed. Unknown to most, it was originally the French who first deployed that chemical agent on the battlefield against the Germans: tear gas. While it was unexpected by the Germans, they themselves were also developing and using tear gas, however unsuccessfully. It was not until April 22, 1915, that the Germans successfully launched a chemical agent: chlorine gas. The attack in Ypres, Belgium against the Entente troops left over 1,100 men dead and over 7,000 injured with nearly no physical action by German troops after the CW deployment. The Germans argued that the Hague Peace Conventions only prohibited the use of "chemical shells" and not gas. (Heller) It would seem the convention regarding the customs of war would prove futile, while chemical weapons proved their effectiveness and efficiency. Over the next two years both the Allied and Central Powers would use lethal and nonlethal CW's on the battlefield. Although the rate of casualties in the war would not begin to skyrocket until July 12, 1917, when the Germans first deployed mustard gas, killing 2,000 men, most within an hour of deployment. The effects of this agent cannot be understated; once in contact with skin, the chemical begins to separate the layers of flesh causing large blisters until caustic burns eventually cause the skin to peel away. This gas changed the trajectory of WWI and all other wars to follow it. After July 1917, the Allied powers also resorted to mustard gas. By the end of the war, November 11, 1918, between 90,000 and 100,000 soldiers were killed by CW's and 1.3 million are injured by them. (CWs Then and Now)

The international reaction to the use of all kinds of CW's in war was sobering. In June of 1925, "The Geneva Protocol" is drafted and signed, banning the use of chemical warfare in international conflicts. It had become clear to most of the world by this point that chemical weapons were inhumane and too indiscriminate to be used so callously in combat. But by 1939, it had become clear that banning the use in war was not enough to halt its development. (Miller)

From 1941 to 1945, during World War Two, the most infamous use of chemical agents took place; the Nazis used gas chambers to exterminate civilians. According to the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum, "The SS had killed more than a million Jews and tens of thousands of Roma, Poles, and Soviet prisoners of war in Auschwitz-Birkenau. At least 865,000 Jews were killed immediately upon arrival. The overwhelming majority were killed in the gas chambers." It is worth noting that no CW's were deployed outside the purposes of civilian extermination during WWII, presumably out of fear of retaliation considering all the Allied and Axis powers had all stockpiled CW's after WWI had concluded. (Heller)

As outraged as the international community found itself after WWII, it would not be more than seventeen years before a world superpower, the United States, began a joint campaign with Vietnam to spray chemical herbicides, the most common known as "Agent Orange," over millions of acres of land. The purpose of the campaign was to destroy the plant life in Viet Cong held areas to eliminate their food supply and camouflage. (Aspen Institute) The unintended consequence however was the genetic and physical damage these chemical herbicides did to the Viet Cong fighters and the troops of the U.S. themselves. The decision to use CW's in the 1960's proved to be international political suicide as the U.S. became the face of inhumane war practices and the target of domestic and foreign protests around the world. (Chem. Heritage Foundation)

While the developed world struggled to process the intentions and arguable crimes committed by the U.S. in dropping chemical agents on Vietnam, North Africa was concurrently seeing its own use of nerve agents. (CWs Then and Now) The conflicts on multiple continents once again sparked an initiative in the international community to instate the "Biological and Toxin Weapons Convention (BTWC)", banning the production and harboring of biological weapons. It would seem that with every international armed conflict, the international community would view and utilize chemicals through a new lens and in a new way:

War	Primary Use	Result
WWI	Combat	Geneva Protocol signed restricting CW use on battlefield
WWII	Extermination	International Community condemns killing with CW's
Vietnam	Defoliant	BTWC restricts use of biological agents in war

PRESENT CONFLICT AND USE

The consistent push and pull between use and restriction of force is a natural process to reach a neutral conclusion. However, neutrality will not be met if there is no enforcement of the reaction to these international conflicts. To those who have watched and studied the past wars of the modern international age, what is currently happening in Syria today provokes deja vu: a conflict that catches the eye of the world, an event (chemical attack) that violates various statutes of international law, and a minimalist early response from the globe. To those familiar with the history of the Holocaust these events strike too similar to be ignored; continuing the trend of similarities with a refugee crisis that most of the world ignores while people are slaughtered in the crossfire of a war just far enough away to neglect any true compassion.

The Syrian Civil War raging between the Syrian government of Bashar al-Assad and various rebel factions, most notably The Islamic State or ISIS, has gained international infamy since the government's deployment of the nerve agent sarin on hundreds of civilians. Prior to this violation of international law, the global community had largely failed to issue any unified response to the tragedy that had already claimed some 100,000 lives. However, after gaining the attention of the United States with

sarin gas, the U.S. along with the U.N. demanded Assad turnover their stockpile of chemical weapons. It was initially believed that the Syrian government's chemical munitions had in fact been destroyed, but in the following years, Human Rights Watch and the United Nations consistently were met with reports and found evidence of CW deployment on civilians and military personnel. After a deadlocked U.S. congress refused American intervention in Syria, international reactions subdued. Condemnation came from many nations but besides few offering refuge to fleeing Syrians, the world failed and is still failing to intervene in any meaningful manner. While the UN continues to issue sanctions and threats to the Syrian government, it seems to fall on deaf ears as the greatest enforcer of international law, the United States, is in an uncertain state to be enforcing anything, while it is stalemated in the proxy war it battles with Russia backing Assad. (Framework for Elimination of Syrian CW's)

WHAT DOES THIS MEAN FOR TODAY'S CONFLICT

If the current administrations of all the parties involved in the Syrian conflict remain deadlocked, what are the possible next steps to ensuring international law is being abided by today? This process begins by expanding the powers and actions willing to be executed by allied parties of the international community when their agreements are breached. It should not be a single nation, such as the United States, that launches any kind of military campaign in an effort to quell an internationally condemned conflict. However, it should not be some sort of international invasion and subsequent implementation of martial law either. Rather, the parties of the agreed upon conventions that are being violated should launch a joint task force to investigate and remove the illegal element at hand; in the case of the Syrian crisis, this means removing all chemical weapons. Another method of better informing states to have greater knowledge on how to react and treat a situation would be to pay more attention to the non-governmental organizations that are aware of these risks before they turn into tragedies. A prime example of this negligence would be the knowledge Amnesty International brought to the UN of Syrian prisons executing "civilians" and this information bearing no international response until the U.S. recently found evidence on satellite images. (Harris, Amnesty Inter.) The global community must be more prepared to act if they wish to avoid further human rights violations and atrocities.

CONTEMPORARY USE OF CHEMICAL WEAPONS

The real threat of chemical weapons is domestic and foreign. While being broadly condemned for any form of international use, it is apparent that the banishment of these materials is nearly impossible, as many are used for various purposes outside of bodily harm. As chemical weapons continue to be used for lethal purposes in foreign conflicts, their most common use is actually here at home. It isn't all too rare to hear about the use of chemical weapons being deployed in the United States, and in other developed nations, as a riot control agent or RCA.

While still illegal under the Geneva Protocol, nonlethal chemical weapons in the form of RCA's are relatively frequently deployed as a means of crowd control. To many this just another aspect of civilized life in a highly institutionalised and

structured society, but it may not be as low of a risk as most think. Consenting any government the use of tear gas, vomiting agents, or malodorants, to keep social structures and agendas in tact can be dangerous and has shown to be in the very recent past. As the will of a government will not always be the will of the people.

These issues were most dramatically brought to the view of attentive citizens in the U.S. during the protests over the construction of the Dakota Access Pipeline. While it was not broadly publicized or reported on by the mainstream media, peaceful protestors at the Dakota Access construction site were hailed with tear gas, water cannons, and concussion grenades. Amongst the protestors were many elderly Native Americans who fell ill with pneumonia after being exposed to water and tear gas in below freezing temperatures. (Barajas)

Although not in any way the sole fault of CW proliferation, it is a historically proven poor idea to allow such broad powers for the silencing of protesters in a democracy, especially with the use of chemical weapons that are lethal under prolonged exposure.

CONSEQUENCES AND SOLUTIONS

There are many consequences to the normalization of the use of chemical weapons domestically and abroad. In total they affect the justice and quality of civilian life, the environment, politics, and war. The quality of civilian life is greatly deteriorated by the use of CW's as it promotes fear within the masses and harms without any target in mind. With no discrimination, many people are put at risk, some for their lives in the case of the Dakota Access Pipeline, when nonlethal or lethal CW's are used. Civilian life is further damaged by the environmental impacts of these weapons.

Not only the use of these weapons, but the disposal of them, poses a massive risk to the world. In Vietnam, much of the land where "agent orange" was administered is no longer fertile. Villages have been displaced as former farmlands have been reduced to desert patches. (Aspen Institute) But on a broader scale, some scientists claim the world is at risk of decaying CW containers on the seafloor, dumped after WWII in accordance with chemical weapons conventions. If these containers rupture, potentially millions of gallons of toxic gases and substances could erode the seafloor all over the globe. (Smithsonian)

This environmental crisis is coupled by the political turmoil wrought by the neglect over the continued use of chemical weapons in wars and domestically for social control. Weapons of war should simply not be used on the masses of a civilian population. It is also difficult to reconcile this idea while claiming it is illegal and inhumane to use these weapons in combat. In short, the consequence of permitting or ignoring the use of chemical weapons in various situations places world leaders and ourselves in an ethical and moral discussion that we are not equipped to have if we cannot come to an enforceable agreement.

In the same manner that dropping a weapon of mass destruction on an enemy can definitively end an international conflict, using a chemical WMD in the globalized age should be reason enough to prompt an ending as well. An organization for the prohibition of chemical weapons of mass destruction should be created for the purpose of global intervention in the event that any nation should deploy such lethal weapons.

Similar to the arrangement and stipulations of NATO, when one attack takes place, the international community would respond swiftly and powerfully in solidarity to remove by any feasible means necessary the threat of another attack. In the age of uncertainty, it would do good to have a clear map to refer to in the event of chaotic events. Such maps should be drawn in advance with so not to be swept into political deadlock, lest we forget again to "never forget" and allow these atrocities to continue.

However in lieu of a cat to lift your spirits from the examination of chemical warfare in the twenty-first century through such a depressing and dramatic lens there are positive facts to look at. From the radical and hasty development of chemical weapons depots and experimentation of various chemicals on prisoners of war in the early nineteenth century, the production and use of chemicals in the field of war have only been on the decline. From all the treaties written and haphazardly enforced, the goal of limiting CW's in use and storage has largely succeeded. While they still pose a serious threat, particularly amongst terrorist groups, as all WMD's do, they are unlikely to be brought to use on any mass scale.

Are you still sad? Still uncomfortable? Still disconcerted by the idea that at any moment our rigidly structured society could fall victim to an attack that you would be unaware of as the nerve agents have already cut the oxygen off from your brain? Well as dubious as that idea is I'm afraid there's nothing more I can offer.

Nothing more than…. A cat, that is.

TREATIES USED IN TEXT

Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production, Stockpiling, and Use of Chemical Weapons and on Their Destruction, Jan. 13, 1993. (https://www.opcw.org/fileadmin/OPCW/CWC/CWC_en.pdf)

Hague Convention of 1988: Convention with Respect to the Laws and Customs of War on Land, July 29, 1899. (https://verdragenbank.overheid.nl/en/Verdrag/Details/002338)

REFERENCES

Amnesty International. (n.d.). Retrieved May 16, 2017, from
	https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/campaigns/2016/08/syria-torture-prisons/
Barajas, J. (2016, December 06). Police deploy water hoses, tear gas against Standing Rock
	protesters. Retrieved May 16, 2017, from
	http://www.pbs.org/newshour/rundown/police-deploy-water-hoses-tear-gas-against-
	standing-rock-protesters/
A Brief History of Chemical War. (2017, April 17). Retrieved May 16, 2017, from
	https://www.chemheritage.org/distillations/magazine/a-brief-history-of-chemical-war
Chemical Weapons Dumped in the Ocean After World War II Could Threaten Waters
	Worldwide. (2016, November 11). Retrieved May 16, 2017, from
	http://www.smithsonianmag.com/science-nature/decaying-weapons-world-war-II-
	threaten-waters-worldwide-180961046/
Chemical Weapons Then and Now. (2015, February 22). Retrieved May 16, 2017, from
	http://chemicalweapons.cenmag.org/chemical-weapons-then-and-now/
Haber, L. (2002). *The poisonous cloud: Chemical warfare in the first world war*. Oxford:

Clarendon Press.

Harris, G., Barnard, A., & Gladstone, R. (2017, May 15). Syrian Crematory Is Hiding Mass Killings of Prisoners, U.S. Says. Retrieved May 16, 2017, from https://www.nytimes.com/2017/05/15/world/middleeast/syria-assad-prison-crematory.html

Heller, C. E. (1985). *Chemical warfare in World War I: The American experience, 1917-1918*. Fort Leavenworth, Kan.: Combat Studies Institute, U.S. Army Command and General Staff College.

Ii.c.57 Framework For Elimination Of Syrian Chemical Weapons. (n.d.). *International Law & World Order: Weston's & Carlson's Basic Documents*. doi:10.1163/2211-4394_rwilwo_com_033428

Mayor, A. (2005). *Greek fire, poison arrows, and scorpion bombs: Biological and chemical warfare in the ancient world*. London: Gerald Duckworth &.

Miller, D. H. (1925). *The Geneva protocol*. New York: The Macmillan Company.

What is Agent Orange? (n.d.). Retrieved May 16, 2017, from https://www.aspeninstitute.org/programs/agent-orange-in-vietnam-program/what-is-agent-orange/

⬥ Literature 300

MONEY CAN'T BUY YOU CLASS: CRITIQUES OF THE VICTORIAN UPPER CLASS IN *AGNES GREY* AND *WUTHERING HEIGHTS*

ALLYSON GOLDEN

VICTORIAN ENGLAND HAD AN EXTREMELY RIGID CLASS SYSTEM, in which the upper class thrived and the lower class lived in squalor. However, throughout this period, a shift occurred in England: The Industrial Revolution. The rapid urbanization and industrialization of the nation created opportunities for unprecedented social mobility, causing many writers of the time to question the existence of this caste system and critique it in their works, fighting either in favor of the underprivileged or against the exorbitantly wealthy. Charles Dickens was among this group of authors, writing many famous novels showcasing the lower class and criticizing English society. According to Turkish scholar Himnet Umunç, one of Dickens' most popular novels, Great Expectations, acts as a commentary on this increased class mobility and the subsequent obsession with the acquisition of material wealth. Emily and Anne Brontë similarly condemn the apparent ubiquity of Victorian materialism and the morals of the upper class in their novels, *Wuthering Heights* and *Agnes Grey*. Both works aim to critique the Victorian caste system, but they go about it in distinctly different manners; *Agnes Grey* depicts its upper class characters as cruel, vain, and lacking empathy to prove that a wealthy upbringing does not necessarily mean a moral upbringing. On the other hand, in *Wuthering Heights*, Emily Brontë writes Heathcliff, the novel's main character and main antagonist, to transcend the caste system through ambiguous and possibly illicit means, characterizing him as abusive and villainous, to prove that one does not need to be moral to accumulate wealth and become a member of the upper class.

The Assignment and the Writer: Allyson Golden's essay on *Wuthering Heights* and *Agnes Grey* was written for Lit 300, Text and Context. The assignment was no small order—to bring together two Bronte novels through the lens of a third party's scholarship while making an original claim about them. Allyson pulls this off with aplomb; writing clear but sophisticated prose which reminds us that "no correlation exists between wealth and morality." **– Professor Helen Kapstein**

    Agnes Grey defies, to an extent, the social assumptions of its time, mainly through the characterization of its upper class figures. Its protagonist and titular character experiences a fall from financial comfort when her father entrusts his fortune with a man who dies at sea, leaving the Grey family impoverished. The family shifts from being able to employ household servants to having to do everything themselves, such as cooking, cleaning, and all other housework. Brontê characterizes these people as hard-working and empathetic, characteristics that are intrinsic to Agnes' sense of self and others. Agnes' main barometer to measure the overall goodness of her peers is empathy; if a person is unable to feel the pain and emotions of others, then she is, fundamentally, bad. The only upper class character who is given a sympathetic characterization is Agnes's mother, but she is depicted in a positive light mainly because, unlike the other characters in the novel, she chooses love over material wealth by choosing to marry Agnes's father.

    Unlike the Grey family, most of the upper class characters fail this test. Tom Bloomfield, the seven-year-old child of the Bloomfield family, is a budding sociopath, deliberately harming other living creatures purely for his own enjoyment. He enjoys catching birds and torturing them in various appalling manners, including "'giv[ing] them to the cat…cut[ting] them in pieces with [his] knife…[and] roast[ing them] alive" (547). When Agnes attempts to place Tom in the mind of these birds and elicit an empathetic response, Tom casually replies that he is "not a bird, and…can't feel what [he] do[es] to them" (547). Clearly, this cruel behavior is fostered in his home, since his father and uncle grew up doing the same things and his mother blatantly encourages him to kill the uglier birds, mice, and rats (548). Even though his upbringing is one of relative wealth, his morality is lacking, showing that just because a person is part of a higher social class does not mean that he or she is a good person or deserving of that wealth.

    Other petulant children of the Victorian upper crust are Matilda and Rosalie, the boyish younger daughter and the selfish older daughter of the Murray family. While neither reach Tom's levels of pure evil, they both partake in their own deviant behaviors. Matilda is a brutish tomboy who lacks regard for the feelings of other living beings, especially animals. First, she rejects entirely the concept of Victorian femininity; in her first appearance, she is seen wearing a "short frock and trousers," and Agnes says that "as an animal, Matilda was all right, full of life, vigor, and activity; as an intelligent being, she was barbarously ignorant, indocile, careless, and irrational" (574). Her tomboyish demeanor suggests another, more scandalous aspect of her character: she might be a lesbian. For the Brontë sisters, daughters of an Anglican priest, homosexuality is immoral. On top of this implied deviant sexuality, Matilda is loud and rude, treating those around her with little regard: animals, her sister, and especially Agnes. She is also depicted as much uglier than her sister, with a "complexion much darker." By characterizing Matilda as immoral and also implying that she is gay and darker-skinned, Anne Bronte conflates these two "other" characteristics—being gay and being dark—with being a bad person.

    Rosalie, the elder daughter of the Murray family, is portrayed as a selfish flirt who takes pleasure in playing with and breaking men's hearts. She settles into an unhappy marriage with a rich, overindulgent lord and becomes miserable. When Agnes suggests that Rosalie find happiness in raising children, Rosalie claims,

exasperatedly, that she "can't centre all [her] hopes in a child: that is only one degree better than devoting oneself to a dog" (644). The two sisters, a lesbian and a harlot who hates children, both depicted as immoral in their own ways, truly reveal the moralizing and judgmental nature of Agnes and, perhaps by extension, Anne Brontë. Clearly, Brontë's feminist tendencies, such as fighting for the rights of governesses, have their own limitations, defined largely by the the time period in which she lives and her Christian upbringing. As long as a woman is perfectly Christian and moral—as long as she does not engage in any activity that is considered "other," such as preferring the same gender, sleeping around, or choosing to not have children, then she is deserving of empathy. However, if she is a deviant, then she deserves the unhappiness she receives. Agnes blames much of Rosalie's selfish and whorish disposition on her upbringing:

> …she had never been perfectly taught the distinction between right and wrong; she had, like her brothers and sisters, been suffered from infancy, to tyrannize over nurses, governesses, and servants; she had not been taught to moderate her desires, to control her temper or bridle her will, or to sacrifice her own pleasure for the good of others (573).

Placing the judgment and blame not on Rosalie, but on her family as a whole, regardless of the textual implications of these judgments, emphasizes one of the main points of the novel: a wealthy upbringing cannot and should not be conflated with a moral one.

The "bad" characters of the novel get what Agnes decides they deserve in the end; Rosalie is miserable, stuck in an unhappy, loveless marriage, whereas Agnes, the perfect Christian woman, settles down with her kind and newly financially comfortable lover, Edward Weston. She, the picture of morality, receives a happy ending.

While *Agnes Grey* strives to prove that no correlation exists between wealth and morality by showcasing the immoral behaviors of characters who grew up wealthy, *Wuthering Heights* takes a different approach to convey the same message. While the novel certainly depicts some older money characters as immoral, such as Hindley, its main focus lies in the characterization of Heathcliff, the main character and villain of the novel. His origins are unknown, as Mr. Earnshaw finds him on the streets of Liverpool, and while he is adopted and technically a part of the Earnshaw family, he is treated as a second-class citizen by many of the characters, especially Hindley. When Mr. Earnsahw dies, Heathcliif has no protection against his adoptive brother, and is severely emotionally abused by him, treated as a servant throughout his childhood and adolescence. He believes that Catherine does not love him because he overhears her saying that, because of his lower socioeconomic status, "it would degrade [her] to marry [him]" (379). Furious, he leaves Wuthering Heights, returning years later after accumulating a great deal of wealth. The book never explicitly states how he came into this money, leaving the reader to imagine that it was acquired through morally dubious means. For instance, based on the fact that the novel was written during the height of the British Empire, he could have traveled to Africa and

acted as a slaver, which was a very profitable career. However, the actual career he fell into does not necessarily matter; the fact that it remains a secret leads us to think the worst about Heathcliff's morals.

The rest of adult Heathcliff's characterization proves the reader right; he is an angry, bitter man, consumed entirely by revenge. In addition, the nature of that revenge is entirely based on continuing to accumulate wealth. He wishes to take everything away from Hindley, who is now an alcoholic and gambling addict. Heathcliff lends money to Hindley, aware of the fact that he will simply accumulate more debt and eventually offer Wuthering Heights as collateral. His decision to marry Isabella also lies in wealth and property acquisition; marrying Isabella ensures that, after Linton dies, Heathcliff will inherit Thrushcross Grange, meaning that he will end up with both of the major properties in the novel. The fact that his morally underhanded plans for revenge revolve entirely around this acquisition of power through property shows the importance of material wealth in Victorian England, especially during this period of shift in class mobility throughout the Industrial Revolution. Once again, Heathcliff does not gain this property through morally sound means. He clearly takes advantage of a mentally ill and incapacitated man in order to exhibit control over him; he marries a woman who he despises so that he can gain control of her property. This further exhibits the point that one does not have to be morally "good" to be financially successful or move upward in social class.

Heathcliff's despicable behavior does not stop with his journey up the social ladder. Once he is comfortably a member of the upper class, he is a changed man who partakes in truly evil, abusive activities. One might argue that, since Healthcliff was severely abused as a child, he normalizes it, but Brontë specifically portrays his actions as horrifying. He clearly lacks any sympathy for the people he hurts, as shown when Nelly describes an instance in which he hurts Isabella, saying that he "seized, and thrust her from the room; and returned muttering—'I have no pity! I have no pity! The more the worms writhe, the more I yearn to crush out their entrails! It is a moral teething; and I grind with greater energy in proportion to the increase of pain'" (422). Not only does he lack sympathy for these people, but he derives perverse joy form inflicting pain on them. In terror and pain, Isabella claims that "a tiger, or a venomous serpent could not rouse terror in [her] equal to that which he wakens" (418).

Hareton, Hindley's son, undergoes horrendous mistreatment at the hands of Heathcliff as yet another act of revenge against Hindley. When his abusive, alcoholic father dies, Hareton falls under Heathcliff's care, and Heathcliff treats him exactly how he was treated as a child. In order to ruin Hindley's legacy, Heathcliff treats him as a servant, refusing him the proper education to which he was entitled, ensuring that he is rough and unrefined so that he represents the Earnshaw name poorly. Hareton works the farm and remains illiterate throughout most of the novel; he develops a rough Yorkshire accent very similar to that of Joseph. However, despite Heathcliff's attempts, Hareton remains kind at heart. He is essentially the anti-Heathcliff: he develops a relationship with young Cathy based entirely on mutual respect and love and not on abusive manipulation, he continues to care for Heathcliff even after all the abuse he endured at his hands, and he is able to rise above his station while still keeping his morals intact. Perhaps Brontë wishes to show a glimpse of what

Heathcliff's future could have been if his behaviors had fallen into her own moral guidelines.

Like Matilda, who is possibly homosexual and characterized as darker in complexion than her sister, Heathcliff is also characterized as "other," perhaps the ultimate other. He is often depicted as a gypsy, a supernatural being, or an uncivilized, savage animal. Isabella begs the question "is Mr. Heathcliff a man? If so, is he mad? And if not, is he a devil?" (413). Heathcliff represents many Victorian "others": he is likely foreign, his race is ambiguous, and he is very possibly mentally ill. None of these intersections fall into the strict Christian morality to which the Brontë sisters subscribed, so we must posit the possibility that, along with the message about moral depravity in materialism and wealth, Heathcliff was characterized so harshly because Emily Brontë wishes to associate this deviance with these other character aspects.

Much like the characters in *Agnes Grey*, Heathcliff is punished for his behavior; he is doomed to remain on earth decades after his supposed one true love dies. Sure, he has all the material possessions he sought to acquire, but he has no one with whom he can share it. When Lockwood first meets Heathcliff, he describes him as "suspicious" and "morose," implying that he has grown into a bitter old man who no longer has any reason to be happy or content. When Catherine dies, Heathcliff begs her corpse to haunt him until the day he also dies, and she does just that; Heathcliff spends decades being tormented by Catherine, either the true supernatural spirit of Catherine, or by his own guilt that manifests itself as hallucinations of Catherine. Even after his own death, Heathcliff seemingly cannot rest peacefully; he is spotted by many villagers as haunting the moors with Catherine. While some may say this ending is a happy one for Heathcliff, they neglect to take into account that apparitions are never truly happy, because their existence implies that unfinished business is still tying them the secular world.

Both novels, while in some ways confining to the assumptions and norms of the Victorian Era, aim to critique the dynamics of the upper class and the inherent amoral nature of acquiring material wealth. While Agnes Grey attempts to show that wealthy people, if not inherently depraved, are not automatically moral because of their upbringing, while Wuthering Heights displays the morally ambiguous manner in which wealth is acquired, and how moving up the social ladder may change people for the worse. In both cases, the immoral characters were punished by the universe, whereas the characters who remained moral against adversity, such as Agnes and Hareton, were rewarded.

REFERENCES

Bronte, Anne. "Agnes Grey." 1847. *The Bronte Sisters: Three Novels*. New York: Penguin, 2009, pp. 1-327.

Bronte, Emily. "Wuthering Heights." 1847. *The Bronte Sisters: Three Novels*. New York: Penguin, 2009, pp. 537-652.

Umnuç, Himnet. "Dickens's Great Expectations: Class Mobility in Victorian England and the Social Rise of the Underprivileged." *The Journal of Education* 75.2 (1862) (1912): n. pag. 2013. Web.

⬩ Literature 375

"A Fresh, Green Breast of the New World": Rise of the Flapper; Fall of The Grandmas in F. Scott Fitzgerald's *The Great Gatsby*

Raquel Orejuela

IT WAS THE 1920'S WHEN A NEW KIND OF WOMAN WOULD EMERGE, rebelling, and breaking the norms and barriers of the past; she would reconstruct gender behaviors, set a new trend, and show some skin. She was known as the "Flapper." It was F. Scott Fitzgerald who considered his wife, Zelda, to be "the first American Flapper." Zelda was artistic, talented, feisty, sexy, defiant, and a little bit crazy. Most importantly, she broke traditional norms and rules of patriarchy placed on women, and inspired much of Fitzgerald's writing on this new modern woman. Rena Sanderson points out in her essay, "Woman in Fitzgerald's fiction," that "Fitzgerald is best known as a chronicler of the 1920s and as the writer who, more than any other, identified, delineated, and popularized the female representative of that era, the flapper" (143). In Fitzgerald's novel, *The Great Gatsby,* he looks down upon the flappers, longing for old traditions and values he writes about the modern women in male perspective, as he realizes the "last barrier" of traditional women will soon come to a fall. He takes it in his own hands to write a new ending: the Flapper's fall.

The Assignment and the Writer: In LIT 375, "Novels of the Roaring Twenties," we explore an exciting era of intense literary innovation, when America was transformed by the aftereffects of WWI, the advent of the flapper, the institution of Prohibition, and the rapid popularization of jazz. I had already encountered Raquel Orejuela's vivid writing about *The Great Gatsby* through her Blackboard posts, so I knew I could expect a solid paper. But I never anticipated an essay that so capably balances a researcher's attention to detail with a storyteller's flair for description, and I have never before received a paper that concludes with an assertion like this: "Zelda … would have a fist in the air, tongue sticking out, and shouting: 'Rock on! Rise of the Flappers! Fall of the Grandmas.'" Rock on, Raquel!

– Professor Adam McKible

Fitzgerald was not only fearful, repulsed, and envious of the evolving flappers, but he was conflicted: "…fearing that the flapper embodied not freedom but moral anarchy and lack of direction. Increasingly he used her as a symbol not only of a new order, but also of social disorder and conflict" (Sanderson, 143). The conflicts within *The Great Gatsby* exemplify, through Fitzgerald's male perception, how the women in the book are pivotal to the downfall of themselves, their marriages, and other characters. The spunk and backlash from women is seen first with Tom's mistress, Myrtle, as she defies Tom, shouting "'Daisy! Daisy! Daisy!"… I'll say it whenever I want to! Daisy! Dai —' "(43). Tom, however, of old tradition and values, will not hear it, and, "...with a short deft movement [he] broke her nose with his open hand" (41). While the other women scold, Nick, nor any of the other men, comment nor state their feelings of events that occur—it would seem as if they felt it was entirely "justifiable." Much like our narrator Nick, "Fitzgerald was ambivalent, both fascinated and disturbed by women and by the changing distribution of power between the sexes" (Sanderson, 144).

Fitzgerald, having married one the most innovating flappers of the twenties, struggled and battled for power dynamics in his own marriage, and manifested much of Zelda into the infamous and hated character of Daisy Buchanan. As Zelda grew, both in her movement for liberation, and artistic accomplishments in writing and publication, Fitzgerald grew more and more threatened by her power: "One of his concerns was female competition. "What a Handsome Pair!" (August 1932) shows that there is nothing quite as bad as being married to a competitive and more successful wife" (Sanderson, 157). Despite Fitzgerald's nostalgia for a traditional wife, Zelda does not fall back into traditional motherhood. Notably, she was very much like Daisy in the aspect of hiring a nanny to do all the dirty work of motherhood. Not only was Fitzgerald insulted by the new generation of women, he was appalled: "Our American women are leeches. They're an utterly useless fourth generation trading on the accomplishments of their pioneer great-grandmothers. They simply dominate the American men" (Bruccoli and Bryer, In His Own Time, 256) (qted in Sanderson, 152). Fitzgerald's disgust is almost validated in the same sense that so many readers shun, ridicule, and loath Daisy Buchanan, for everything she represents.

In the wake of the new rise for the battle for power, Fitzgerald heavily yearns for the traditional women of the Victorian age; an age of well-defined gender roles. In "Women in Fitzgerald's fiction," Sanderson informs readers that, "Charged with maintaining the home as a safe haven for their husbands and children, women were expected to embody the qualities of piety, purity, domesticity, and submissiveness," during the Victorian era (144). In Fitzgerald's *The Great Gatsby*, there is an intense lack of attributes the *Grandmothers* of the time would have carried, such as piety, purity, domesticity, and submissiveness. Fitzgerald's depicts women in his novel as rebellious, backlashing cheaters who party and lack maternal instinct. Upon first meeting Gatsby, Tom tells Nick: "By God, I may be old-fashioned in my ideas, but women run around too much these days to suit me" (110). Tom, who has been having an affair with Myrtle, running back and forth between his woman in the ashes of New York City, and his wife on the waters of the Long Island Sound, begins to realize that not only is his mistress defiant, but now his wife is as well. The flapper was on the rise, she was determined to fight back, and, "In Fitzgerald's mind, this young woman

represented a new philosophy of romantic individualism, rebellion, and liberation, and his earliest writings enthusiastically present her as an embodiment of these new values" (Sanderson, 143). In *The Great Gatsby*, however, Fitzgerald sought out to destroy her.

Fitzgerald regains control of male dominance, while still expressing his nostalgia for the conventional grandmother, within *The Great Gatsby* by punishing and killing off the flappers, metaphorically, emotionally, and physically. Fitzgerald begins with the demise of Myrtle, perhaps the biggest rebel of all, for not only does she cheat on her husband Wilson, she reigns over him for all but the end of the novel. Fitzgerald takes back male power, for Wilson, Tom, Nick, and even Gatsby. By killing him off, Daisy no longer controls him. As Wilson decides he will no longer cower beneath a woman, Myrtle shouts "Beat me!...Throw me down and beat me, you dirty little coward!"(144). Wilson does, in a sense, regain his masculinity by beating Myrtle, but it's almost as if she is punished for continuing to defy and revolt against him. With the final image of Myrtle, readers are left with this: "...her left breast was swinging loose like a flap and there was no need to listen for the heart beneath. The mouth was wide open and ripped at the corners as though she had choked a little in giving up the tremendous vitality she had stored so long" (145). Fitzgerald is killing off the flapper, and all she stands for: her sexuality, her defiance, and her vitality. Ultimately, Tom triumphs all, he wins back Daisy, and their marriage is saved. I don't assume Daisy is happy in the end, but readers will never know. Even Jordan the strongest female heroine— fierce, masculine, gorgeous, and was the last person that needed a man—is still left hurting over Nick, as she tells him "Nevertheless you did throw me over…. You threw me over on the telephone… it was a new experience for me and I felt dizzy for a while" (186). Nick walks away from Jordan, another win for the men, and in the end, he longs for the past as he "[becomes] aware of the old island that flowered once for Dutch sailors' eyes—a fresh, green breast of the new world" (189). It is almost as if it were the "Fall of the Flappers; Rise of the Grandpas." In his attempt to take back male power, "Fitzgerald 'judges the relationships that develop during the decline of modern civilization' (Moreland, The Medievalist Impulse, 136) (qted Sanderson 144). Through Nick's narration, Fitzgerald himself yearned for women of the past—the past seen through the eyes of first settlers is depicted as fresh and beautiful, while the modern breast of the flapper swings violently and comes to a halt.

It is now 2017, and the 1920's lady flappers have come a long way. There is a fresh breast of the new world: cleavage, and even grandma shows it now. Fitzgerald may have yearned for the ways of the traditional subservient woman, and may have even killed off the strong role of the flappers in *Gatsby*, but it still did not stop the young women of the twenties who would flap their wings, lift their skirts, and fly into a new generation of the liberated woman. I dare say that F. Scott Fitzgerald might be rolling over in his grave, condemning us, if he knew what the modern women of our time are up to. Zelda, however, would have a fist in the air, tongue sticking out, and shouting: "Rock on! Rise of the Flappers! Fall of the Grandmas."

REFERENCES

Fitzgerald, F. Scott. *The Great Gatsby.* 1922. New York: Scribner, 1995. Print.

Hodon, Sara. "Zelda Fitzgerald: The Roaring '20s Icon." *Literary Traveler*. 7 Jan. 2010. Web.

Sanderson, Rena. "Women in Fitzgerald's Fiction." *The Cambridge Companion to F. Scott Fitzgerald*. Ed. Ruth Prigozy. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2001. 143-63. Print. Cambridge Companions to Literature.

♦ Political Science 319

THE COST OF BEING A TRANSGENDER: AN ANALYSIS OF THE IMPLICATIONS OF GENDER NON-CONFORMITY

SHAMON COCKRANE

ABSTRACT

DESPITE SOCIETY'S GENDER-BINARY FRAMEWORK, trans people deviate from this framework. Starting from the history of sexuality by Michel Foucault, this paper analyzes the implications of gender non-conformity on trans people within a social and a political context. It investigates the treatment such an identity imposes under government policies such as North Carolina's ban on gender-neutral bathrooms. Drawing on West and Zimmerman's theory of *doing gender*, I explain the ways gender fluid identities challenge society's constructions of gender. The paper seeks to answer the following research question: How do governments frame and attack gender fluidity through policies such as the North Carolina bathroom bill? I argue that gender non-conform individuals tend be shoe-horned into a heteronormative gender-binary framework which forfeits gender fluidity and as a result perpetuates social and legal discrimination of transgender people in the U.S.

INTRODUCTION

In February 2017, the Trump Administration withdrew the Obama Administration's letter directing schools to insist that transgender students use bathrooms based on their identity (Gersen, 2016). After Trump's invidious actions on gender non-conforming persons, civil rights attorneys and LGBTQI activists worked assiduously against *de jure* discrimination, laws imposed by the government which discriminate against a particular group. Acknowledging the Administration's opposition, gender theories and LGBTQI activists have argued that society fervently eschews any deviation from the traditional, heteronormative framework of gender and sexuality. Moving away from the dichotomous notion of sexuality and gender, gender non-conforming persons emerged. But their gender and sexuality are only two of the myriad elements that constitute their identity (William,1964). Gender non-conformity, on the one hand, signifies that their gender expression moves away from normatively doing gender (West & Zimmerman, 1987). Gender transitioning, on the other, indicates that one's appearance, style of dress, hair, body, hormones, physical anatomy, and pronoun or name usage has been altered (Miller & Grollman, 2015, p. 810). Although activists work ceaselessly to protect the LGBTQI community, trans people are still overlooked and disdained and disparaged even under the guise of gender equality.

The research examines the implications of non-conforming gender identity under the law. Drawing on queer theory, the paper focuses on trans people and the social and legal responses to such non-gender conform identity. The paper analyzes three ways non-conforming gender identity is framed and challenged through government policies. The paper asks: For transgendered-persons, what are the implications of such gender non-conformity on their treatment from state governments' policies such as North Carolina's bathroom ban? I argue that gender non-conforming individuals tend to be shoe-horned into a heteronormative, gender-binary framework, perpetually eschewed with "discredited stigmas" and thus given only partial protection under anti-discrimination policies.

BACKGROUND

Years after the Stonewall revolt, society still has a distorted view of sexuality and what LGBTQI—Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Intersex—mean by "gender fluidity." Setting the framework upon which the analysis of the thesis is constructed, this paper succinctly delineates the history of sexuality and gender as a continuum and not a dichotomy. Michel Foucault (1980) in his book, *The History of Sexuality,* argued that "authorities produce bodies, souls, and sexuality with their normalizing order" (Foucault 1980 as cited on Tamsin 1999, p.55). He begins critiquing "repressive hypothesis," a term he coined (Namaste, 1994). According to Foucault, conventional understanding of Western sexuality is a repressive holdover from the Victorian era; in other words, sexuality is taboo. Against this view, he posits, kids are uninvited into private domains where adults discuss sexuality. In the context of this article, neither society nor adults acknowledge people not conforming to this normative, gender-binary framework while they explain gender and sexuality. The LGBTQI community has gone against this naturalized sexuality from heterosexuality

to an umbrella-term covering non-conforming gender and sexuality as a continuum. From this continuum, queer theory emerged, and it expanded gender to being gendered and doing gender.

QUEER THEORY: THE BEING AND THE DOING

As a result of the LGBTQI community's shift, Queer Theory developed at an astonishing pace (Namaste, 1994). Teresa de Lauretis, a conference organizer on queer theory rubric, stated that queer theory offered a way of thinking about lesbian and gay sexualities beyond the narrow rubrics of either defiance or preference (Jagose, 2009). In order to understand the analysis in this research, the framework of query theory must be discussed. Nikki Sullivan (2003) in her book *A Critical Introduction to Queer Theory* answers what does queer theory do? instead of what is queer theory? She stated, "queer theory is a discipline that refuses to be disciplined" (p.v). For her, "queer" cannot be defined because it's an act as well as it's an umbrella-term. In fact, one author Fuss (1991cited in Namaste 1994) said, "we cannot assert to be neither entirely outside of heterosexuality nor entirely inside [heterosexuality] because the meaning of each term is derived from another"
(p.224). Sullivan, however, did offer David Halperin's argument of what queer details:

> [W]hatever is at odds with the normal, the legitimate, the dominant. There is nothing in particular in which it necessarily refers. Queer then demonstrates not a positivity but a positionality vis-á-vis the normative . … [Queer] describes a horizon of possibility whose [sic] precise extent and heterogeneous scope cannot in principle be delimited in advance. (Halperin 1995 p. 62 cited in Sullivan 2003, p. 43).

And many others support Halperin's proposition, such as Seidman (2001 cited in Harr & Rane, 2008) who avers that Queer is more inclusive, incorporating all non-conforming sexualities, and extends social movements to titles such as gay and lesbian. Like Queer, Transgender is an umbrella-term describing a plethora of identities.

TRANSGENDERS *DOING* AND *UNDOING* GENDER: A CRITICAL LOOK AT THE FOUNDATIONS OF TRANSGENDER

So transgender has shifted in meaning since it was first used (Paisley, 2006). Connell (2010) defined Transgender as "people who deliberately reject their original gender assignment" (p.33). He further explained that it is applicable regardless of surgical and medical status. Transsexual, replacing Transgender, was used to describe people who have surgical and medical procedures matching their gender (Connell, 2010). Virginia Prince, the person who brought transgenderist [sic] to surface, explained: "There had to be some name for people like myself who trans the gender barrier—meaning somebody who lives full time in the gender opposite to their anatomy" (p.3). In Prince's explanations, for example, trans people don't align

themselves with the dichotomy of gender—male or female—rather they are inside and outside gender, i.e., one could be a male possessing the birth-assigned genitalia but dresses like a woman, yet he or she might not have fully transitioned. And this trans of the gender binary creates a problem, shaping how society treats people of such disparate identities. Hence, the traditional meaning of gender is redefined and expanded to include transgenders.

According to Jamison Green (cited in Paisley, 2006) the term is "an attempt to get beyond identity politics by invoking a term so broad and [so] inclusive [that it] makes room for multiple identities and expressions and still refers to the specific oppressions that trans people faced" (p.4). Because of the breadth of the term, it includes male-to-female (MtF) or female-to-male (FtM) whose anatomical features fit a prescribed gender definition, but their identity is the antithesis (Dugan, Kusel & Simounet, 2012).

To understand how trans people perform gender, society must understand the distinction between gender and sex. On the one hand, gender is a social construct, a socially scripted dramatization of the culture's idealization of feminine and masculine natures, a way of characterizing an individual, which is achieved through status constructed through psychological, cultural and social means (West & Zimmerman, 1987 p. 130; Goffman, 1977). Sex, on the other hand, "is a determination made through the application of socially agreed upon biological criteria for classifying persons as either male or female" (West & Zimmerman, 1987 p. 127). Trans people are doing and undoing gender by having a gender display, a conventionalized portrayal of a male or female attribute, but they have membership in an opposing sex category. For this reason, which captures the thesis of this paper, North Carolina opposed trans people using the bathroom based on their identity. Thus, trans people are forced into a heteronormative framework—shoe-horning them.

SHOE-HORNING TRANSGENDERS INTO A HETERONORMATIVE GENDER-BINARY FRAMEWORK

A society that contends God made two types of human beings—male and female—views sex as dichotomous; thus, transgenders are forced to align themselves with this dichotomy. Before *Prince Waterhouse* (1977), employers discriminated against employees failing to conform to stereotypes attached to biological sex (Gilden, 2013). Courts struggle to determine whether anti-discrimination policies protect trans people. In *Towards a More Transformative Approach: The Limits of Transgender Formal Equality*, Gilden (2013) argued that the underlying belief from both sides on the ENDA (Employment Non-Discrimination Act) debate is that "a robust system of transgender rights necessarily requires a critical engagement and a transformation of unjust gender norms" (p. 85). He, in other words, purports that before trans people are brought under a constitutional and a statutory protection incorporating binary, biological understanding of gender and sex, they expose the culturally-contingent nature of sex and gender (p. 85). From the day a child is born, he or she is taught to emulate certain traits (here scheduling and gender display are manifested), which are culturally and socially formulated and prescribed in the home. Learning this from a

young age, gender non-conforming persons have to undo this perfunctory role conflating with their gender identity.

Inherent in this shoe-horning is society's and government's reluctance to expand the definition of gender so that it covers gender non-conformity. One activist from the Massachusetts Transgender Political Coalition, Gunner Scott, pleaded with the Boston City Council to add gender identity or expression to the city's anti-discrimination law (Paisley, 2006). In so doing, Scott argued, the transgender community is given respect and dignity. But what most activists fail to emphasize is gender expression while focusing solely on gender identity. The law passed in Boston, for example, defined "gender identity or expression" as:

> a person's actual or perceived gender, as well as a person's identity, gender-related self-image, gender-related appearance, or gender-related expression whether or not that gender identity, gender-related self-image, gender-related appearance, or gender-related expression is different from that traditionally associated with a person's sex at birth. (Paisley, 2006 p.23)

Boston's expansive definition incorporated juridical protection for transgenders' rights. Notwithstanding this is the oblivious intersectionality argument in transgender and LGBTQI activists. In a study conducted on trans students on campus, Dugan, Kusel, and Simounet (2012) stated that most institutions offer minimal attention to the needs of trans students, getting support oft provided by gay and lesbian students services. They assume that the needs of LBTQI students are similar to trans students. So instead of shoe-horning trans people into existing heteronormative, binary framework, which they seek to challenge, activists should point to the transgender discrimination (Gilden, 2013). From this conflict, transgenders are discredited for their gender identity.

PERPETUALLY ESCHEWED WITH "DISCREDITED STIGMAS"

Because of the visceral image and societal construction of gender-binary taunting transgenders' personalities, they are eschewed overtly and covertly by society. To reaffirm or naturalize that which is held as "normal," people who deviate are stigmatized and punished for their so-called "unnatural" actions (Sullivan, 2003). To cite a case in point, Miller and Grollman (2015) explored the ways trans people are discriminated against, and they learned that trans people face subtle, day-to-day expressions of discrimination, including others' expressed discomfort, as well as physical threats, and harassment (p.809). Even more egregious, "Trans people who live full time in one's desired gender, and those who have received surgical treatment reported the most transphobic discrimination" (Miller & Grollman, 2015). After the Department of Education for Civil Rights (O.C.R.) issued a *Dear Colleague* letter reminding schools that under Title IX transgender students must be allowed to use a restroom in accordance with their gender identity, parents used vitriolic rhetoric to describe the threat of transgenders to their children (Gersen, 2016). Their umbrage for gender non-conforming persons stems from "undoing" Western society's characterization of the gender-binary system.

Consequently, trans people who undergo surgical transitioning face major economic, social, and legal risk to include discrimination from institutional and interactional arenas (Miller & Grollman, 2015). Arguing that normatively "doing gender" is the responsibility of social actors, symbolic interactionists stated it must be consistent with the birth-assigned sex (Miller & Grollman, 2015). They may, therefore, face ostracism if others assume that their assigned sex at birth, gender identity, and expression are incongruous with natural sex-assignment. Furthermore, stigma visibility or discredited stigmas are "markers," visible to people who "read" transgenders' identity. Citing Garfinkel, Kessler and McKenna held that female and male are cultural events—products of what they termed gender attribution process (West & Zimmerman, 1987 p. 132). Robinson (2011) in his article on K6G Screen Test on gay and transgender inmates explained that transgender inmates who said, "No" to questions of whether they're homosexual is a case in point. In this instance, the officers' understanding of sexuality and LGBTQI members is misconstrued and distorted, similar to people who use markers based on gender category and gender display to determine whether someone is "unnatural" or "abnormal." Michael Kimmel, author of *Masculinity as Homophobia: Fear, Shame, and Silence in the Construction of Gender Identity,* notes that people use gender code to determine whether a male is a homosexual. Following his observation, people do the same with transgenders and, as result, renounce them upon notice. Trans people face this treatment daily, but their problem lies in the automatic stigmatizing of their identity, which they have surmounted by asserting their dignity. West and Zimmerman (1987) made a profound statement: "while it is plausible to contend that gender displays construed as conventional expression are optional, it does not seem plausible to say that we have the option of being seen by others as female or male" (p. 130). In short, in context of this research, those "reading" trans people choose to see them as Male-to-Female or Female-to-Male. The point is transgenders' rights are not absolute and, certainly, not tantamount to LBGQTI's rights.

LGBTQI RIGHTS ARE NOT NECESSARILY TRANSGENDER RIGHTS

Another implication of non-conforming gender identity on transgenders is the illusion that their rights are protected under the umbrella of LGBTQI rights. Katherine Franke in her book, *Wedlocked*: *The Perils of Marriage Equality* (2015), stated that being free does not mean one has freedom. In the case of transgenders, they are free under the LGBTQI banner, but they can't assert or live in their identity because of the restrictions imposed by some states. Transpeople in the workplace, for instance, opt not to "come out" as transgenders, avoiding discomfort or ridicule (as far as they could tell they weren't conspicuous), so they can't exercise free speech (gender expression in this context). In North Carolina, Governor McCrory quickly filed a lawsuit asking the court to rule that the state's law doesn't violate federal civil-rights laws (Gersen, 2017), a clear indication of male dominance and masculinity. Franke (2015) argued that LGBTQI scholars and activists believe that the rights they sought are limitless and accessible, but she contends gaining rights from people who always had those rights means the rights-bearing will resent the formerly disfranchised (p.3). Before *Obergefell v Hodges* (2015)*,* LGBQTI persons had to live in silence. But after the

Supreme Court declared marriage equality as a constitutional right, the community moved from the closets to the streets. Unfortunately, the visibility never worked for all LBGTQI persons.

State governments, legislatures, and activists should consider transgender rights as gender rights and not regard within the LGBTQI framework. Formal equality for Trans—meaning treating them the same as non-transgendered person despite the non-conformity—conceals and perpetuates the underlying stigmatization being challenged (Gilden, 2013). Besides, transgender rights should be asserted through intersectionality of race, class, and socio-economic status to ensure they are not restricted in civil rights discourse. For example, a transgendered male or transgendered female of color might not be able to fully transition (someone who is cisgender) because he or she can't afford the surgical procedure unlike a white transgender from an affluent family. Unsurprisingly, "If transgender advocacy is actually to achieve legitimization for non-binary gender expression, it must directly confront underlying social meaning attached to such expressions" (Gilden, 2013 p.92).

CONCLUSION

Non-conforming gender persons are shoe-horned into a heteronormative gender-binary framework, perpetually eschewed with "discredited stigmas," and given a partial protection under anti-discrimination policies. As a social construct, gender is so interwoven into society that any deviation is rejected. Because of the dichotomous ideology surrounding gender and sexuality, people who are the "outsider" or on the periphery of this framework had to use multiple ways of asserting their identity and personhood. West and Zimmerman (1987) argued that social interactions maintain gender differences. They noted that while we have the choice to display gender, we don't choose whether others see us as male or female. Against this background, state legislatures and LBGTQI activists must formalize equality around gender discrimination and not simply sexual orientation. Otherwise, some people—those who do gender expression such as cross dressers—are overshadowed. This paper discusses the implications of non-conforming gender identity informing the ways government's policies will influence their lives both socially and politically.

In order for transgenders to be recognized in society, the gender-binary framework must be expanded to incorporate all kinds of gender nonconformity. Another step toward this end is the assumption that because LGBQTI are protected, Trans people are protected. That the needs of Trans people are the same as LGBTQI is a mistake activists make.

REFERENCES

Connell, C. (2010). Doing, undoing, or redoing gender? Learning from the workplace of transpeople. *Gender and Society, 24(1),31-55.* Retrieved from http://www.jstor.stable/20676845.

Dugan, J., Kusel, M., & Simounet, D. (2012). Transgender college students: An exploratory study of perceptions, engagements, and educational outcomes. *Journal of College Student Development, 53(5), 719-736.* doi*:* https://doi.org/10.1353/csd.2012.0067.

Franke, K. (2015). *"Introduction" In: Wedlocked :The perils of marriage equality.* NY: NYU Press.

Foucault, M. (1976-1978). *The history of sexuality* (Vol 1-3). (Vintage Books, Trans.). New York: Random House, Inc.

Gersen, J. (2016). The transgender bathroom debate and the looming Title IX crsis. *The New Yorker.* Retrieved from http://www.newyorker.com

Gilden, A. (2013). Towards a more transformative approach: The limits of transgender formal equality. *Berkeley Journal of Gender, Law & Justice, 23(1),82-144.* doi: 10.15779/Z38fJ29C2S.

Goffman, E. (1977). The arrangement between the sexes. *Theory and Society, 4(3),301-331.* Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/656722.

Harr, B., & Kane, E. (2008). Intersectionality and queer student support for queer politics. *Race, Gender & Class,15(3/4), 283-299.* Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/41674665. http://www.jstor.org/stable/201866.

Jagose, A. (2009). Feminism's queer theory. *Feminism and Psychology, 19(2),157-174;0959-   3535.* doi: 10.1177/0959353509102152.

Kramer, Z. (2007). After Work. *California Law Review, 95*(2), 627-667. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org.ez.lib.jjay.cuny.edu/stable/204391043.

Miller, L. & Grollman, A. E. (2015). The social cost of gender nonconformity for transgender adults: Implications for discrimination and health. *Sociological Forum, 30(3), 809-831.* doi*:10.1111/socf.12193.*

Namaste, K. (1994). The politics of inside/outside: queer theory, poststructuralism, and a sociological approach to sexuality. *Sociological Theory,12(2), 220-231.*

Paisley, C. (2006). Gender pluralisms under the transgender umbrella. In Paisley Currah, et. al (Eds.)*, Transgender Rights* (pp. 3-31). Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Robinson, R. K. (2011). "Masculinity as Prison: Sexuality Identity, Race, and Incarceration," 99 *California Law Review* 1309-excerpt.

Sullivan, N. (2003). *A critical introduction to queer theory.* Edinburgh, GB: Edinburgh University Press Ltd.

Tamsin, S. (1999). *Foucault and queer theory.* New York, NY: Totem Books

William, T. (1964). *A genealogy of queer theory.* Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.

◆ English 316

DeBlasio's Rezoning Plan: Whom Does It Really Benefit?

_____

Allyson Golden

New York City's mayor Bill deBlasio has consistently branded himself as a voice for the marginalized--a mayor who plans to cater to low-income communities of color. During and after his campaign, he swore to make a more equitable New York by closing the ever-widening socioeconomic gap. However, have his policies supported that mission? Some of the legislation his office has passed is quite progressive, such as increasing the minimum wage to fifteen dollars and implementing universal pre-K education throughout the city. However, one of his biggest initiatives--the rezoning of East Harlem and East New York--disproportionately hurts the low-income communities of color that it claims to serve. Even though these rezoning initiatives claim to include deep affordability and maintain the community's character, the rezoning and widespread redevelopment of these areas will facilitate gentrification and displace thousands of low and middle-income residents, especially in East Harlem.

_____

Many of deBlasio's supporters argue that this rezoning initiative will benefit these communities. According to the initiative's Scope of Work (2016), in order to promote mixed-income communities, all new residential buildings in these areas must follow Mandatory Inclusionary Housing (MIH) guidelines which include two options. Option one mandates that twenty-five percent of the floor space be made affordable for residents with incomes averaging sixty percent of the Area Median Income (AMI), including percent of floor space reserved for residents with incomes averaging forty percent of the AMI. Option two mandates that thirty percent of floor space be made affordable for residents with incomes averaging eighty percent of the AMI (p. 25). The Area Median Income is average household income of a given region; for New York City, the AMI for a household of three is $81,600. Therefore, these affordable units will be affordable to residents with incomes averaging from approximately $32,000 to approximately $65,000 (NYC HPD, 2016). Also, these units will be permanently affordable, meaning that landlords cannot simply deregulate them after a few years of affordability. In East Harlem, where rent-controlled and stabilized apartments are vanishing by the second, creating stable, affordable housing is important, and the mayor's provision of sustainable, affordable housing would certainly be beneficial.

But for whom are these apartments really affordable? According to the East Harlem Neighborhood Plan (EHNP) (2016), a document written by the City Council Speaker Melissa Mark-Viverito, Manhattan Borough President Gale Brewer, Community Voices Heard, and Community Board 11, the majority of East Harlem residents--thirty-seven percent--make less than thirty percent of the AMI. Therefore, these "affordable" units do not truly cater to the current residents of that neighborhood. A more beneficial way to mandate affordable housing is outlined in the EHNP, which recommends that all new residential buildings follow a 50-30-20 rule: fifty percent of new units should be market-rate, thirty percent of new units should be affordable to middle-income residents (forty to eighty percent AMI), and twenty percent should be available to severely low-income residents (less than thirty percent AMI) (p. 86). This plan would provide more affordable units with far deeper affordability that actually reflects the needs of the community. However, even if the Mayor's MIH plan is revised to deepen affordability for low-income residents, displacement will still take place. Regardless of the number of affordable units being built, with luxury and market-rate development comes an influx of new, affluent residents and a subsequent spike in the cost of living. Even if residents are still able to afford their rents, they will be unable to afford the rising costs of food, clothes, household goods, and other living essentials. This phenomenon is called secondary displacement, and it is equally as dangerous as pricing residents out of their homes.

When it comes to decisions of neighborhood development, while deBlasio and other city agencies promise to work with the community and come to a solution that benefits everyone, most of the decisions seem to be made behind closed doors. The questions they ask residents is not whether they want rezoning to take place, but rather *how* they want that rezoning to look. Some may argue that this rezoning was inevitable; after all, East Harlem is one of the only remaining Manhattan neighborhoods that has not been vastly redeveloped. However, even if this initiative were unavoidable, I can think of far better ways to shape it in order to truly benefit the

community and combat the effects of gentrification: build deeply affordable housing, support the growth of local businesses, prioritize hiring current residents for any new jobs that may open, and make community boards and other local organizations real, powerful voices at the table. However, at the end of the day, New York City is run by the real estate industry and, no matter how progressive a mayor claims to be, he will always favor developers over residents because, unfortunately, the wealthy keep a person in power, not the marginalized.

Bill deBlasio talks a big game, vowing to fight for the underdog. But his major policies do not support the persona he has so carefully crafted. And he will likely be reelected for a second term. In order to find a mayor that truly fights for the marginalized, we must start holding our politicians accountable for their promises. If they hurt the communities they promised to protect, they should not be rewarded. We have to organize: get involved, attend community meetings, get informed, and, most important, vote. Change starts from the ground up but, in order for anything to happen, everyone must participate.

REFERENCES

Brewer, G., Community Voices Heard, Community Board 11, Mark-Viverito, M. (2016 February). East Harlem neighborhood plan. Retrieved from http://www.eastharlemplan.nyc/EHNP_FINAL_FINAL_LORES.pdf

New York City Department of City Planning. (2016, November 10). East Harlem rezoning proposal draft scope of work for an environmental impact statement. Retrieved from https://www1.nyc.gov/assets/planning/download/pdf/applicants/env-review/east-harlem/draft-scope-of-work.pdf

New York City Department of Housing Preservation and Development. (2016) What is affordable housing? Retrieved from http://www1 nyc.gov/site/hpd/about/what-is-affordable-housing.page

◆ History 352

COWARDS IN BRITISH BURMA

_____

NANCI AVALOS OMANA

MODERN DAY MYANMAR, FORMERLY KNOWN AS BURMA, was at one time one of the many imperial backwaters of the British Empire. Burma appealed to Great Britain due to its substantial amount of rice cultivation, which served the main purpose of making the British Empire wealthier. As history depicts it, wherever there were means of making a fortune, Great Britain conquered. While this interpretation fits because Burma did indeed become a colony of Great Britain the metropolis, in a way, calling Burma an imperial backwater is incorrect because there _was_ development and progress taking place. Whether these changes were positive or not is a debatable issue but thankfully there is an abundance of reading material on the subject. The English novelist George Orwell's _Burmese Days_ and _Shooting an Elephant_ provide insight into life in colonial Burma through the experiences of timber merchant, John Flory and a Sub-divisional English police officer, respectively. Both of these _pukka sahibs_, or English gentlemen in India, share a trait: cowardice. This imperial cowardice produces an internal battle so deep and conflicting in both Englishmen that in the end it destroys them both.

    Burmese Days (1984) is centered around protagonist John Flory, an Englishman of about thirty-five who works as a timber merchant in the fictional colonial outpost of Kyauktada. Flory is part of a European Club where a number of other "distinguished" Englishmen or _pukka sahibs_ get together to complain about their jobs and insult the natives. During this time in colonial Burma, both the British and the natives were allowed to hold government positions; however, that did not mean they got along well. The only way to become an Englishman's equal was through a high rank in government and a membership in the European Club. U Po Kyin, a greedy native who held the position of Sub-divisional magistrate, yearned to be elected to the European Club and "promoted still further and made an acting Deputy

_____

Commissioner, with Englishmen as his equals and even his subordinates" (Orwell, 2009: 6). With that being the only way to become an Englishman's equal, U Po Kyin, the novel's antagonist, definitely does not let anyone get in his way. His only goal throughout the novel is to be admitted into the European Club and when Dr. Veraswami, a Burmese doctor and friend of Flory, threatens that goal by also seeking admission into the club, U Po Kyin goes on a mission to essentially destroy him -- and Flory for supporting him. Dr. Veraswami suspects that U Po Kyin is plotting against him and believes that the only way to survive any attack is to become a member of the European Club. His only hope in order even to be nominated is Flory; however, due to Flory's unwillingness to go against the British Raj, the doctor doesn't stand a chance.

According to Robert A. Lee, a big symbol in *Burmese Days* is the "linking and contrasting of two jungles, the natural one and the artificial but still beast-filled jungle of the club" (1969:821). John Flory lives in both jungles, the one with the natives or Burmese people and the one with the Englishmen or *pukka sahibs*, although he prefers the one with the Burmese. He fits well in both and is also well received in both. However, when he's forced to choose, he finds himself always taking the side that provides him comfort. Flory always chooses the jungle whose beasts are more powerful, the jungle of the club, in order to keep all its members happy, essentially becoming a beast himself. As Orwell explains, the European Club was, in any town in India, "the spiritual citadel, the real seat of the British power, the Nirvana for which native officials and millionaires pine in vain" (Orwell, 2009: 14). The Club was the epitome of the British Raj. It almost never admitted natives because they were thought of as inferior. This imperial institution had a system of values with which Flory did not agree.

The Club provides the first example of Flory's cowardice. In Chapter 2, while his fellow sahibs are insulting Dr. Veraswami in the Club, Flory remains quiet and when asked about his opinion in regard to admitting a native, he finally speaks out not to defend his friend but rather to agree with them. This cowardly action confirms what U Po Kyin said about him in Chapter 1:

> If Flory were a friend of the doctor it could do us harm. You cannot hurt an Indian when he has a European friend. It gives him—what is that word they are so fond of?—prestige. But Flory will desert his friend quickly enough when the trouble begins. These people have no feeling of loyalty towards a native. Besides, I happen to know that Flory is a coward—(Orwell, 2009:10).

In Chapter 3, Flory visits the friend whom he, moments before, chose not to defend. During this interaction, Flory's real, naked feelings toward the British Raj are finally exposed and he goes on to say things that he wouldn't dare say in the Club. Flory mentions how much of a relief it is to be "out of the stink of it for a while", referring to the Club. However, the doctor does not agree with him. Dr. Veraswami fully supports and admires the "honorable English gentlemen" (32). To Dr. Veraswami, the *pukka sahibs* are the salt of the earth and the ones who have made

British India great. He believed that without them, the Burmese are helpless. To Flory, the British Raj is "the lie that we're here to uplift our poor black brothers instead of to rob them" (Orwell, 2009:33). The doctor becomes agitated by Flory's comments and tells him that British businessmen develop the resources of Burma and English officials civilize the Burmese, elevating them to their level, which the doctor considers self-sacrifice on their part. The doctor especially boasts about the law and order that exist in Burma through British Justice and the Pax Britannica, which he views as modern progress thanks to The British Empire. In his point of view, the Indians are like a disease and the English are the cure. As Lee notes, Flory "alone of all the characters in the novel, English or Burmese, understands the effects the years of colonialist values have on the mind," and that to Flory, Dr. Veraswami is the perfect representation of that fact (Lee, 1969:821). Flory clearly wants to help his friend by electing him to the European Club, but still can't bring himself to do it, due to the devastating effects in the Club. In this inaction, Flory again demonstrates his cowardice.

By now it's clear what a *pukka sahib* is. For Dr. Veraswami it is an "honorable English gentleman." Praseeda Gopinath goes further and defines a *pukka sahib* as "an imperial mediation of the domestic ideal of the gentleman, where the ethno-national or the racial tribal code takes precedence over the personal-ethical code: race becomes the defining factor of the Englishman" (2009:205). To clarify, the term *pukka sahib* was commonly used in colonial Burma to describe an English man; it was their way of calling them true gentlemen. The defining feature of this term was truly race, because Gopinath goes on to say that even when natives embodied the values of an English gentleman, they were never treated as such because they were not white. Thus manliness and imperial power intertwine to create the *pukka sahib*. Does Gopinath's definition of *pukka sahibs* fit *Burmese Days*? It does fit; however, do the *pukka sahibs* live up to Dr. Veraswami's definition of honorable? Clearly not. Throughout the novel, Flory struggles to be the ideal *pukka sahib*. He's constantly in between two jungles, and "his duty as an English gentleman clashes with his duty as a pukka sahib, which demands that his friendship with a native must be subordinate to his loyalty to his own whiteness" (Gopinath, 2009: 217). He's still worried about maintaining his image and doesn't want to lose all the good things that come with being a *pukka sahib*.

This predicament is illustrated in the novel during a scene where a riot takes place. When Flory goes to get the police, he orders them to shoot into the air rather than at the natives protesting, a sign that he cares for Burmese. Eventually the riot ceases and Flory is crowned a hero by the Anglo-Indian community, the very one he despises; however, he doesn't refuse the title they award him. Nevertheless, he is careful not to "succumb to the dichotomy of us/them" (Gopinath, 2009: 219). Flory makes sure never to say anything that might be interpreted as choosing a side and supporting them. This character split, "his dis-articulated enactment of the code of both gentlemanliness and the Sahib is even more evident in his uncertainty and inability to act decisively" (Gopinath, 2009: 216). This scene is another example that Flory always ends up siding with the jungle that provides him comfort, which is again an act of cowardice because he does not refuse the praise he is given.

Orwell signals these moments of cowardice with Flory's birthmark, dark blue in color, stretching in a ragged crescent down his left cheek, from the eye to the corner

of the mouth (14). The reader notices that every time Flory knows he's acting like a coward, he pays extra attention to the birthmark and tries his best to hide it. It's almost like a mark of shame. Lee compares Flory's mark to the mark of Cain. He suggests that the mark of Cain, "identifies him and disallows escaping his fate" for the role he played in his life, which was the murder of his brother Abel (1969:821). Flory's mark also identifies him—but not for the role of "standing against the cant and hypocrisy of the Club and its attendant values" like Lee suggests, because although Flory recognized that cant and hypocrisy, he never once confronted any one about it; Therefore, Flory's mark identifies him for the dual role he had in both the jungle of the Club and the jungle outside of it. Due to this duality, *now* Lee is correct in suggesting that "Flory, like Cain, is a vagabond and a wanderer on the face of the earth" (1969:821). Just like Cain who walks around with a mark that God gave him, Flory does so as well, with a mark that symbolizes weakness and cowardice. Flory lets his birthmark define him. When he speaks, he never truly speaks with authority due to the birthmark.

Eventually, this symbolic birthmark plays a role in Flory's destruction. The sub-plot in *Burmese Days* revolves around Flory's feelings for Elizabeth Lackersteen, the niece of one of the *pukka sahibs* from the Club. Elizabeth arrived in Burma with the hope of marrying a European. From the moment she meets Flory, she's immediately interested because at first glance he seemed like a good candidate. However, from their few interactions in the beginning, it's evident that Elizabeth despises the Burmese; she actually feels disgust at the way Flory treats the natives, at the fact that he considers them his friends, his equals. Elizabeth, of course, is just another example of the British Raj. She is a *burra memsahib*, the female version of a *pukka sahib*. Just like the *pukka sahibs* in the club who control Flory through his cowardly unwillingness to go against them for the Burmese, Elizabeth too controls him. Instead of doing it with fear, she does it with love. By falling in love with her, Flory succumbs to the jungle of the Club even further: as Gopinath notes, because "he believes that Elizabeth's love and companionship will lift him out of the despair and corruption of a *pukka sahib* lifestyle" and "bolster his gentlemanliness" (Gopinath, 2009:217). Flory's desperation to find a way out, finally to be happy, is clearly seen in his relationship with Elizabeth. He tries to get her to understand and even think the same way he does about the Burmese. Nevertheless, she refuses to assume those values. Once again, the effects of the British Raj are seen through Elizabeth just like they were seen in Dr. Veraswami; while Elizabeth is disgusted by the Burmese, the doctor worships Englishmen. Both are examples of the effects of colonialism on the mind. Although Flory tries to instill his values in Elizabeth, in order to keep her, he finds himself "symbolically accepting, in the literal act of trying to maintain, the values which he detests and abjures" (Lee, 1969:829). Elizabeth adds on to the jungle of the Club, both things that are essentially "choking" Flory.

With the intent to destroy Flory, U Po Kyin pays Flory's former Burmese mistress, Ma Hla May, to cause a scene in front of Flory and Elizabeth in a church. Ma Hla May enters the church screaming about all of the horrible things that Flory did to her, thus confirming that she was indeed his mistress. Elizabeth immediately becomes repulsed not only at Flory's values but at Flory himself, not so much for what just happened in front of her but because she notices his hideous birthmark. Elizabeth

immediately leaves Flory, making it clear she is completely and utterly repulsed not only by him but by his birthmark. Flory recognizes that it was his birthmark that had just ruined his life. In that moment, he succumbs to the realization that Elizabeth will never marry him and that the birthmark, symbol of his cowardice, has just destroyed him. Not knowing how to handle the fact that the only good thing in his life has just walked away and that he will probably never be able to escape his loneliness, Flory finds himself "unable to resign himself to the prospect of a life of continued self-loathing and uncertainty", so he ultimately kills himself (Gopinath, 2009: 220). In the end, cowardice wins and Flory takes his own life. He is remembered only as a fool.

Flory's predicament is paralleled in Orwell's essay *Shooting an Elephant*, whose un-named protagonist, likely Orwell himself, works as a police officer in Burma. This protagonist is very much like John Flory: he too despises the British Raj. In *Shooting an Elephant*, the sentiment toward the natives is the same as in *Burmese Days*; however, unlike *Burmese Days*, in this essay, a better insight into how the natives viewed the British is provided through Orwell's experience. One morning, Orwell gets a call explaining that there is an elephant on the loose causing havoc and that he has been assigned to go do something about it. Not knowing what to do, Orwell heads out with an old .44 Winchester that he himself mentions is too small to kill an elephant. Subconsciously, he already knows what he had to do. Through word of mouth by the Burmese, Orwell finds out that the elephant is not wild, rather a tame one that has gone "must," a type of hormonal acting out. Aside from the destruction that the elephant leaves behind in the town, Orwell realizes the seriousness of the situation when he discovers a dead Indian who has been killed by the elephant. Almost immediately, he sends someone to fetch an elephant rifle. After finding out the elephant's exact location, Orwell starts heading out only to realize that one by one, the Burmese people have started to follow behind him, eventually forming a huge crowd. Orwell narrates, "I had no intention of shooting the elephant – I had merely sent for the rifle to defend myself if necessary – and it is always unnerving to have a crowd following you" (Orwell, 1936). When Orwell eventually sees the elephant from afar he notices it looks calm and innocent, as if the "must" has already passed. Seeing this, he *really* doesn't want to shoot him. In this moment, he decides not to shoot but when he turns around and sees at least two-thousand people staring at him, happy, expecting a show, Orwell realizes he now *has* to shoot the elephant, and so, he does. It takes three shots for the elephant to collapse, two more in his heart and then several others from Orwell's small rifle to finally kill him.

Shooting an Elephant is regarded as not only an allegory for the British Raj but it also exemplifies the effect of the British Raj on Orwell: cowardice. Orwell narrates that imperialism is an evil thing and like Flory who's in between the two jungles already explained, Orwell is "stuck between my hatred of the empire I served and my rage against the evil-spirited little beasts who tried to make my job impossible" (Orwell, 1936). Again, no different from Flory, Orwell hates his job and his life due to the British Raj. George Watson suggests that the conclusion to *Shooting an Elephant* "was that empires enslave the conqueror rather than the conquered" (1997:359). He is completely right if seen from the perspective that the British Empire gives both Flory and Orwell a life between two worlds, one of which they're too scared to choose. The control the empire exercises on them paradoxically enslaves

them. Orwell does not believe that shooting the elephant is the morally right thing to do; nevertheless, he shoots it because the natives in a way push him to, and he doesn't have the courage to stand up for himself. In trying not to look like a coward, Orwell becomes one, due to his lack of courage to do what he believes is right, just like Flory who also lacks the courage to stand up for the Burmese. Both Flory and Orwell are first controlled, and then killed, Flory psychically (by his two jungles and Elizabeth) and Orwell mentally (by the jungle of the natives)—but essentially both men are destroyed by the British Raj.

Right before the shooting of the elephant, after realizing it has to be done, Orwell narrates: "I perceived in this moment that when the white man turns tyrant it is his own freedom that he destroys. He becomes a sort of hollow, posing dummy, the conventionalized figure of a sahib" (Orwell, 1936). Orwell loses himself in trying to be a *pukka sahib,* in trying to please the empire. He narrates further that, "a sahib has got to act like a sahib." A sahib is supposed to represent the British Raj; he must live to impress the natives and do what the natives expect him to do. The natives expected Orwell to shoot the elephant, so he did. Flory was expected to side with the Burmese but he didn't. Both Flory and Orwell are killed in different ways by their beasts—the things they despise the most but are too afraid to reject. They destroyed their freedoms by succumbing to the conventionalized figures of the *pukka sahib*. In the end, both Orwell and Flory are destroyed by cowardice.

REFERENCES

Gopinath, Praseeda. "An Orphaned Manliness: The Pukka Sahib and the End of Empire in 'A Passage to India' and 'Burmese Days.'" *Studies in the Novel*, vol. 41, no. 2, 2009, pp. 201–223. *JSTOR*

Lee, Robert A. "Symbol and Structure in Burmese Days : A Revaluation." *Texas Studies in Literature and Language*, vol. 11, no. 1, 1969, pp. 819–835. *JSTOR*

Orwell, George, and Jeremy Paxman. *Shooting an Elephant.* Penguin Classics, 2009.

Orwell, George. *Burmese Days.* Penguin Classics, 2014.

Watson, George. "Thoughts on a Dead Elephant." *The Hudson Review*, vol. 50, no. 3, 1997, pp. 358–366. *JSTOR*

✦ Literature 327

MORAL JUSTICE, PUNISHMENT, AND ABUSE OF CHILDREN IN ROALD DAHL'S CHILDREN'S STORIES

IVAN TAURISANO

ONE OF THE MOST PROMINENT FIGURES IN CHILDREN'S LITERATURE, whose works have been often criticized for their controversial dark nature, is the British author Roald Dahl. Nominated one of the fifty greatest British writers since the middle of the century, Dahl's career traversed fifty years, from his first published work in 1942 to his death in 1990—a tumultuous period that included the second world war, the holocaust, and nuclear proliferation. Dahl is famous for his peculiar writing. What characterizes his literary production is his subtle use of cynicism and moral justice in what are often considered grotesque stories. The abuse of children and the use of physical and psychological violence are major themes in Dahl's works, and the twisted nature of his tales has become his signature style.

Despite the many criticisms and attempts to impose censorship on the author, Dahl continues to be one of the most popular children's writers of the last century, and he was a prominent defender of the literary freedom. Dahl's stories are certainly characterized by the explicit use of violence against children as well as adults. However, Dahl's work appeals to children of all ages, who identify with the heroism showed by his young protagonists when facing perilous situations. Before I explain the core of my argument, I would like to start with the following premise: the need to

---

The Assignment and the Writer: Ivan Taurisano's paper was written for my LIT 327 class of new transfers to the College. Students were encouraged to develop an independent research paper connected to the course theme of crime, punishment, and justice. Reflecting his interest in writing children's stories, Mr. Taurisano's insightful study defends the terrifying aspects of Roald Dahl's fiction as indispensable to Dahl's moral vision, which affirms that terror, punitive adults, and frightening circumstances are obstacles to be surmounted by love, justice, and transformative redemption. In Dahl's world, as in Dante's, Mr. Taurisano suggests, while justice may be harsh, it mirrors the horrors of injustice and thus offers hope to children in the face of their worst fears and experiences.

– **Professor Toy-Fung Tung**

face our fears and experience the excitement generated by overcoming terror is a deep urge for all human beings regardless of age. This is easy to see when one considers the massive production of horror movies and stories for adults, through which we are always looking to experience vicariously ever more terrifying special effects. Children and adults alike are easily brought to confront their fears through fantasy. Bruno Bettelheim, in *The Uses of Enchantment,* argues that we can accomplish two things through fairytales and stories for children. First, we can teach children that fear, along with "a struggle against severe difficulties in life is unavoidable, is an intrinsic part of human existence…but one can master all obstacles and at the end emerge victorious" (7). And second, we can satisfy the need of the child "to be given suggestions about how he may deal with [existential problems] and grow safely into maturity" (8). Dahl's stories for young readers deal with the primal fears and urges of children as well as adults. Precisely through their dark tone, they contribute to the creation and reinforcement of moral values and the teaching of important life lessons.

As a first example, a child who reads a story such as *Matilda* is exposed to scenes in which children are violently hurt and humiliated by peers as well as adults. Such a reader may be influenced *not* to engage in bullying and mockery, exactly because the opportunity to experience what it means to be in the place of the bully as well as the victim has been experienced vicariously. Thus, children readers do not have to be in a terrifying situation, but they are able to read about it and face it in a safe manner that reinforces their moral values. According to a study conducted by James Pope and Julia Round, about 80% of the children interviewed on the way they perceive the character of Matilda claimed she was a hero, and the reasons were very clear. She saved her friends; she stood up to Miss Trunchbull, the antagonist of the story, even though she was scared; she helped others; she was never mean (267). These are the lessons learned by the children exposed to the story. *Matilda* is the story of a five-year-old girl who possesses extraordinary mental abilities and is abused by her parents, teachers, and peers. In this story, violence is exercised almost exclusively by adults and solely against children, and the most prominent figure, who represents extreme abuse, is the cruel and tyrannical headmistress, Miss Agatha Trunchbull.

Miss Trunchbull is known for torturing children physically and psychologically, and if they do not behave, she will "liquidize you like a carrot in a kitchen blender" (65). Certainly, this is a very strong image. However, before analyzing Miss Trunchbull's behavior towards children, one must see how Dahl shaped her character for young readers. Yes, she is violent, especially with little girls, but this is because she could not live her own childhood. Miss Trunchbull inflicts pain on children, because she wants to take away from them what she did not have, a childhood. In fact, she says, "[a] bad girl is a far more dangerous creature than a bad boy. . . they're much harder to squash . . . nasty dirty things, little girls are. Glad I never was one" (81, 82). Miss Trunchbull's childhood was probably unhappy and by hinting at this, Dahl is telling children that bad behavior is sometimes the result of bad experiences, so we should try and understand others. Miss Trunchbull's torture of children is used by Dahl to emphasize the way to confront fears and phobias. When punishing children, Miss Trunchbull does not punish in the usual socially accepted ways, but she has a special room in her office known to the children as The Chokey. The Chokey is described as a ten-inches wide room where the child is forced to stand,

and the four walls are covered with bits of broken glass and rusty nails so that you must always stand and be aware of the space, because if you accidentally lean on the wall, your body is pierced by glass and metal (100). It is a horrific form of punishment whose primary effect is to play on the inevitable claustrophobia experienced by the child being punished. It is all the more horrific when one considers that Matilda, and the rest of the children, are five-year-olds. A child who reads about The Chokey cannot avoid being affected by it. But the child will not only be scared, he or she will also undoubtedly identify Miss Trunchbull's behavior as wrong and mean exactly because it scared them. The fear they experience is their hint to understand the bad nature of the action.

If The Chokey suggests to children what cruel punishment is, then Miss Trunchbull's favorite form of physical punishment goes further. Only known as The Hammer, this form of corporal punishment uses the laws of physics. The Hammer consists in holding a young child by the arms, legs, or even hair and moving very fast in a circle with increasing speed until the child is raised from the ground due to the high speed. Then Miss Trunchbull would let the child go, throwing the child as far as possible, just as in an Olympic game (106). And once again, as a reminder of the reasons why Miss Trunchbull is the way she is, we see that the first child in the story to receive this form of punishment is a little girl named Amanda who wears long pigtails. Miss Trunchbull hates pigtails (108). This detail is interesting, since pigtails are a hairstyle associated with young girls, and we know that Miss Trunchbull thinks she never was one. She is an adult who punishes children for having the childhood she did not have. Once again, Dahl emphasizes the lesson that bad behavior sometimes comes from traumatic experiences, and that we should try to be empathetic towards others.

It is not only within an academic environment that Dahl shows adult abuse. Matilda is mistreated at home as well as in school, and the fact that this violence comes from her parents makes it harder for some children to understand the dynamics. Rather than violence, Mr. and Mrs. Wormwood, Matilda's parents, completely neglect Matilda by engaging in uncaring behaviors toward her. In fact, Matilda is not a little daughter for them, but a scab. And the reasons are: "A scab is something you have to put up with until the time comes when you can pick it off and flick it away" (6). This is one very explicit instance in children's literature where an author wrote about child neglect, and the fact that some parents do not want to take care of their children because they see them as burdens. A child can very easily understand the comparison of a human being with a scab and, consequently, can perceive the negativity of the comparison. But Dahl does not picture a world that is just bad and mean to children, he introduces a bright light in the character of Miss Honey. She is opposed to Miss Trunchbull as a loving female figure who, at the end of the story, adopts Matilda, saving her from her life with her parents, while giving her unconditional love, education, and better chances at life (231). Miss Honey symbolizes for young readers that no matter how scary and dark life can get, there will always be a light somewhere for all of us.

As with the experience of *Matilda* and her family, a child who reads about the life story of the famously known character Willy Wonka from Dahl's *Charlie and the Chocolate Factory* can only be inspired. Certainly, the child will learn about Wonka

and his abusive father who made his childhood unbearable, but the child will also see how Wonka arose from his own ashes and reached heights of success and fame. The lesson here is how from pain and suffering great happiness can be born, if one is willing not to give up. Meor Hissan analyzed the novel as "a medium to promote moral values," through which children can undergo a process of moral development (83, 85). After meeting the poor and struggling protagonist Charlie Bucket, readers are introduced to the figure of Willy Wonka. Wonka is a man who came from an abusive household with a father who did not allow him to live his own childhood — as in the case of Miss Trunchbull — and who took every joyous thing away from him. However, Wonka leaves home and travels the world looking for his place, until he becomes the greatest chocolatier in the world. Wonka shows children how it never matters where you came from and where you were born, what matters is where you are going and what you will become through your own choices. Wonka is a reminder that the future will always matter more than the past.

Dahl's novel, however, also teaches about self-control, self-esteem, and the importance of being true and good, and he does this through the use of punishment, one of the reasons that inspired criticisms. In fact, in the story, Dahl introduces a group of children who are all defined by a specific characteristic which is usually connected to one of the deadly sins, and they all face the consequences of their behavior. The lessons Dahl tries to teach through this group of children are presented in a very straightforward and even cruel way. The first child to win the famous golden ticket that will allow him to visit the factory is called Augustus Gloop. He is "enormously fat and looked as though he had been blown up with a powerful pump" (16). Augustus was able to win the ticket because of the huge amounts of chocolate he eats every day, and I would say that Augustus represents gluttony. He pays dearly for his way of living. In the story, very similar to the way in which the punishments for the gluttonous are described in circle three of Dante's *Inferno*, Augustus falls into a river of muddy chocolate, in which he chokes until a large pipe comes from above and pulls his body inside a tube, where he gets stuck because he is too fat (44).

The second child introduced is called Veruca Salt, and she represents greed. Dahl presents her as a highly-spoiled girl from a wealthy family. Veruca is used to getting everything she wants, and when she sees the specially trained squirrels that work in Wonka's factory she demands one for herself. When Wonka tells her that she cannot have one, she decides to go and steal one, and she faces the consequences. The squirrels attack her and throw her into a trash chute together with the garbage (67). Veruca represents a lesson for all children to appreciate what they have because, when one wants too much, one might get hurt.

The last exemplary child of the story, before the protagonist, is another girl, named Violet Beauregarde, who represents pride and arrogance. Violet is used to being a winner and receiving prizes. She likes to chew gum and beat records. While in the factory, the group comes across The Great Gum Machine, which produces a chewing gum that can serve as a full meal from appetizer to dessert, all in one gum. Even though Wonka warns the children that the gum is not safe to eat yet and needs further research, Violet's arrogance leads her to eat the gum anyway and, as a consequence, she becomes a huge round blueberry, and is rolled away by the workers of the factory (57). Violet's example teaches children that while one must always be

conscious of one's own skills and desires, one must never think of oneself as invincible or entitled.

Finally, the protagonist of the story, Charlie Bucket, becomes the luckiest kid on earth for one simple reason: he is grateful for what he has. This means that everything extra is unexpected for him and truly appreciated. Exactly because he is a humble child who, despite his very young age, feels the weight of a struggling family on his shoulders—he shares the only piece of chocolate he gets once a year on his birthday with all of his starving siblings—Charlie becomes the heir to the factory (89). Wonka recognizes in him the values of a leader and a good human being: compassion, humility, sense of friendship, and love. Charlie represents a great lesson for all the young readers that come across the story. By being who we are, accepting and respecting ourselves and others, we can be rewarded with a satisfying life.

The theme of safety, or false safety, is one that particularly influences Dahl's literary production for children. And, ironically, nowhere else is such theme explored as deeply as in *The Witches,* a book that has been banned and highly criticized for its depiction of cruel child-hatred since its publication in 1983. The story deals with the vicissitudes of a nameless British boy, probably nameless to stand as an archetype or a symbol for all children, and his loving Norwegian grandmother who, just like Miss Honey for Matilda, represents the only source of love and security in the world for the young protagonist. The boy's parents died in a car accident, a detail, I think, Dahl used to show the unpredictability of life. The parents left instructions for the grandmother to go and live with the boy in England. The boy will have to face a group of witches whose sole aim is the utter destruction of children, and Dahl gives a warning to all children in the introduction of the book, "what makes [a witch] doubly dangerous is the fact that she doesn't *look* dangerous," just as many other dangers in life (2). And here is where Dahl touches the theme of false safety, warning us that we must not always trust that which seems perfectly safe because it can be deceiving. This is the lesson that, unfortunately, was lost on the 150 young women gymnasts who were sexually abused by their team doctor, and who recently gave statements before his sentencing. Throughout the story, the grandmother tries to convince the boy that witches can hide everywhere, and that he must always be aware of hidden dangers, because the witches' only purpose is to plot and ensure the killing of every child.

James Curtis, in his analysis of the story, points out how, contrary to common belief, fairytales and children's stories almost never create worlds in which children are loved unconditionally, but places where children are endangered by adults who attack their state of childhood (168). In *Witches*, Dahl writes about the group of women singing a song about the children they want to destroy, and how they want to squish them, bash them, break them, smash them, and ultimately, boil their bones and fry their skin (33). This is one of the parts of the story that caused the book to be banned, considering that the age of the protagonist, and likely of most readers, is seven years old. Certainly, this explicit language and imagery might be deemed inappropriate for children, but it surely supports the teaching of the lesson of care.

The Witches is also the story which depicts one of Dahl's most terrifying characters: The Grand High Witch. She leads all the witches, fries one of them alive when she questions her plan, and wears a mask to cover her features. She is described in the first person by the seven-year-old protagonist as follows:

> That face of hers was the most frightful and frightening thing I have ever seen. Just looking at it gave me the shakes all over. It was so crumpled and wizened, so shrunken and shriveled, it looked as though it had been pickled in vinegar.
>
> It was a fearsome and ghastly sight . . . foul and putrid and decayed. It seemed quite literally to be rotting away at the edges, and in the middle of the face, around the mouth and cheeks, I could see the skin all cankered and worm-eaten, as though maggots were working away in there" (25, 26).

This is undoubtedly a gruesome and macabre description for a book read by children, or even adults, but I think that it is this very exaggeration of frightening physical features and terrifying descriptions of bad and mean characters that successfully emphasizes, to the mind of a child, the importance of choosing the good and rejecting the bad.

In conclusion, what can be considered too dark or inappropriate for children's stories should be measured against other accompanying concepts such as moral justice, sin, and evil, or fair and unfair punishment, and abuse. The fearsome must not be censored in works of literature for younger readers, because its very presence in our childhood stories can strengthen our belief in justice, and what is considered morally good. Precisely because, in stories, we can safely encounter and deal with terrifying and evil characters or situations, literature can nurture the idea that violence and abuse must be avoided at all costs, and that good and justice must always be honored. So that ultimately, we will be able to justly conduct ourselves as adults in the scary, unpredictable, yet fascinating, real world.

REFERENCES

Alighieri, Dante. *The Divine Comedy: Inferno*. Bantam Classics, 1982.

Basbanes Ricther, Barbara. "Roald Dahl and Danger in Children's Literature." *Sewanee Review*, vol. 123, no. 2, 2015, pp. 325-334.

Curtis, James M. "We Have A Great Task Ahead of Us!: Child's Hate in Roald Dahls' The Wicthes." *Children's Literature in Education*, vol. 45, 2014, pp. 166-177.

Dahl, Roald. *James and the Giant Peach*. Puffin Books, 1961.

Dahl, Roald. *Charlie and the Chocolate Factory*. Puffin Books, 1964.

Dahl, Roald. *Charlie and the Great Glass Elevator*. Puffin Books, 1972.

Dahl, Roald. *The Witches*. Puffin Books, 1982.

Dahl, Roald. *Matilda*. Puffin Books, 1988.

Keyser, Catherine. "Candy Boys and Chocolate Factories: Roald Dahl, Radicalization, and Global Industry." *Modern Fiction Studies*, vol. 63, no. 3, 2017, pp. 403-428.

Pope, James and Julia Round. Children's Responses to Heroism in roald Dahl's Matilda. *Children's Literature in Education*, vol. 46, 2015, pp. 257-277.

Rosenthal, Kristina. "Banned Books: Publications by Roald Dahl" *From McFarlin Tower The Blog of the University of Tulsa Special Collections*, 6 Mar. 2014.

Talbot Margaret. "The Candy Man." *The New Yorker*, 11 Jul. 2005.

Ulin, David L. "Roald Dahl's Twisted, Overlooked Stories for Adults." *The New Yorker*, 21 Jul. 2016.

West, Mark I. "The Grostesque and the Taboo in Roald Dahl's Humorous Writings for Children." *Children's Literature Association Quarterly*, vol.15, no. 3, 1990, pp. 115-116.

Westcott, Rebecca. "How Dark Is Too Dark in Children's Books?" *The Guardian*, 2 Sep. 2014.

♦ Interdisciplinary Studies 334

FATHER

JASON MEI

Cigarettes and television
after work.
You drape onto the sofa,
and claw the remote.
Then, your eyes strain
for something more.

You live in the world in China,
back when there was a war,
regretting the time
you could have joined the *People's Liberation Army.*
Machine guns crackled, mortars banged,
the color of honor in olive green,
all behind the five-star red flag.

You put on the infantry cap,
leaving behind a family
in the United States,
to his native land he returns
wishing to never come back.

When there is nothing more,
you light up a Marlboro,
and send a roar of smoke
to me and my little sister.

Sour and sweet,
manly and warm,
tingling down the pharynx,
and through the larynx,
back into the night.

I saw the glimpse of fire
 in the tobacco rod,
amongst the starry sky,
as you sing a lullaby,

to say good night.

Covering me with a blanket,
I feel the calluses, oh so rugged.
Unrefined from the long hours
of heavy lifting in your engine-oiled blue uniform.
You light one up once again,
we coughed
when a whiff of smoke blew to us-
we couldn't pretend to sleep no more.

One day,
I will see those ashes,
and think of the tobacco light like a distant star in the sky,
illuminating the mysterious figure,
telling me he is my father.

The Assignment and the Writer: Seeing Rape is a class where students examine rape and sexual violence across the disciplines of law, anthropology, sociolinguistics, literature, film and theater. Students keep journals in which they do low stakes writing. We were studying the memoir **Lucky** by Alice Sebold in which Sebold writes a poem to her rapist that is clearly inspired by Sylvia Plath's poem "*Daddy.*" The assignment for this journal prompt was to read Plath's "Daddy" and write a poem that took inspiration from it. The result, for Jason Mei, was his affecting, resonant poem, "Father."
                                                        —**Professors Barbara Cassidy and Shonna Trinch**

◆ English 320
LA PARED

DALYZ AGUILAR

IF WE'D HAD BETTER LUCK, I could tell you we just woke up one day and it appeared. Instead, Amá went downtown to run some errand that she couldn't remember. She said it happened in broad daylight too.

"It was around five. I didn't even take that long, but when I came back, it was there, just staring at me. *Esos desgraciados*, they didn't even wait for us to be asleep."

My sister and I went out to see it. The four letters on the wall. *Puta*. I knew what it meant. I heard it in school, in the streets. Whore.

Now it was painted on the outside of my house for everyone to see. I bet someone saw the smooth surface with the faint orange color and thought it was missing some decoration. You'd think if someone were to do some graffiti they would want to take their time doing it, an artist showcasing their work. But it didn't even look good. You couldn't even see the beauty of the capital P since the rest of the letters were the same size.

Of course our *vecinos* never told my mom who did it. Apparently no one saw, despite the fact that my house is one of the biggest of the *colonia* and on one of the main avenues.

"I don't believe for one second that no one knows the guy."

"Amá, I'm pretty sure they know."

We never found out who did it. The hooded figure we saw in the surveillance video was irrelevant, a mere scapegoat. Even if we found out his name, he just carried out a job. And we knew who paid him to do it. Amá said she knew as soon as she went out the next day, said that she saw that woman laughing while looking at her in the eye. *Esa vieja de enfrente*. The woman across the street. I wanted to tell Amá maybe she was wrong, but I knew she wasn't.

"See what your father does? *Mira*, all because of him."

It was one of those things I never found a way to properly answer. I couldn't even nod this time, so I said nothing. It was no secret my father was not a family man. For appearances, sure. But even the others could see through it. You had to be incredibly naïve to believe that a man living alone *en el norte* is faithful to his family all the way in Mexico, especially when he's gone for that long. He visited us every year, so every year my sister and I would prepare for what had become a tradition. The first few days of fake happiness that then turned into yelling and fighting only to end with my mother kicking my father out because she'd find out he cheated, again. The tradition ended with him trying to make up for it (mostly forced by my mother) by taking us to the most expensive restaurants and places far away from home. One time he even took us to the beach, so you know that was one of the bad ones, since we stayed for a whole week.

This time, Amá didn't forgive him, even though it wasn't the first time Dad had cheated with a neighbor, also a woman across the street. We never knew her name, but my mom called her *La Acapulqueña,* because we knew she was from the coast. I don't remember much of her; only that she was skinny and had curly, blond hair that was always frizzy, and that she had three kids—older than my sister and me—and that the word was they all came from different fathers. She eventually left the apartment, so it was over.

But we all knew Yolanda wouldn't leave anytime soon. She owned the few clusters of apartments where *La Acapulqueña* lived and had a house there herself. She also owned and ran the chicken shop right in front of our house. We'd hear her every morning, slamming chicken breasts to make them flat, the Christian music that her family loved to hear, and her boisterous laugh filling the street. She was right there, always.

Amá found out this time by a folded piece of paper in Dad's pocket. It had two things scribbled in his handwriting, Yola and her phone number. It was my mother's breaking point, so my father was gone, but he left behind a bunch of problems, including "Yola," who decided to shift the blame on my mother, telling everyone in *la colonia* she was a whore and that's why her husband left her. So of course she wanted those four letters on our wall.

We dragged the word everywhere we went. It would follow us. I heard my classmates talk about it the next day. *Did you see her wall? My mom said it was about her mom. It's probably true. Odalys, is your mom a whore?* The neighbors would stare at us as soon as we stepped out of the house and they would stop talking whenever we walked by.

The three of us went to the paint store and returned with a bucket. We got the same tone, but the weather had worn out the first layer, so the same hue of orange actually didn't match at all. I held onto the ladder to keep it steady as my mom painted

over the letters herself. The next day it was there again, with two others below to keep it company.

Puta.

Puta.

Puta.

Yolanda proved to be relentless.

"Well, at least there was one for each whore in the house," Amá said.

A few years later, the words would be covered by an ad for rotisserie chicken. It's ugly. It has two drawings that look like Looney Tunes rejects. There's a white hen that seems to be flirting with a black rooster, and a cooked chicken on a plate between them.

The ad was huge, but it didn't take over the whole wall, so a new version appeared soon enough. This time, she went back to basics. Just one. *Puta*.

"*Ay mija*, I don't care anymore. I say, *Déjenlos que hablen misa!* And God tells me, 'You know, it could be worse' I won't paint over it anymore. Leave it be." I heard my mother sigh as I held the phone closer to me.

I didn't say anything. I just sent her a screenshot of the view on Google Maps, the only way I could look at the wall without standing in front of it. "Amá, I never noticed. Look."

There's a little piece of the old writing on the wall peeking under the chicken ad.

"What's that?" I wanted to be there with her so we could go out and look at it in person.

"It looks like a little plus sign, doesn't it? *Más puta*." A few seconds of silence, and then her laugh was echoing in my right ear.

Yolanda's still there, she still stares and laughs if we walk past her, but we've all accepted the whore on the wall. I look forward to seeing her every year. She's nicer now. She gives us *los buenos días*, she no longer screams at us when we go outside. She's just there.

♦ Honors Program Capstone 401

Studying the Epigenetic Regulation of DUSP22 Phosphatase in Breast Cancer

Alorah Bliese

Introduction

Overview of Breast Cancer and Inflammation

Breast cancer (BC) is an aggressive and complex chronic disease that currently affects 12.4% of women in the US, most of whom are over the age of 50 (SEER, 2016). Compared to other cancers, breast cancer has a high incidence rate, making up 15% of all new cancer diagnoses. In fact, there are more cases of breast cancer in the US than any other type of cancer. Despite the prevalence of this disease in the population, treatment is not always effective. One reason for drug ineffectiveness is the natural complexity of this disease. While breast cancer may seem like a singular type of cancer, there are several molecular subtypes based on the presence and or absence of estrogen, progesterone, androgen, and HER2 (human epidermal growth factor receptor 2) receptors and proliferation markers. These subtypes present another layer of complexity to treatment as different tumors respond differently or not at all to the available drugs. Therefore, it is essential to gain a greater understanding of the underlying mechanisms causing carcinogenesis, the process by which cancer forms and potentially spreads throughout the body, to improve treatment options for this disease.

One such mechanism of carcinogenesis is inflammation (Coussens & Werb, 2002). Briefly, inflammation is an immune response triggered by bodily injury or damage that results in pain, redness, and swelling. The molecules that initiate and facilitate the immune response through cellular communication are called cytokines (Zhang & An, 2007). Interestingly, tumors are able to produce their own cytokines that recruit other immune cells to the tumor location (Coussens & Werb, 2002). In response to stimulation from the tumor, immune cells secrete more cytokines, creating an inflamed environment surrounding the tumor. This environment enhances carcinogenesis by promoting angiogenesis, the development of blood vessels, which provides nutrients and oxygen to the tumor, genomic instability, which leads to increased mutations, and tumor growth and migration. Combined, these processes allow tumors to thrive and the disease to rapidly progress.

Molecular Subtypes of Breast Cancer

Breast cancer (BC) is not simply defined by the tissue of origin, but by the presence and absence of growth and hormone receptors and proliferation markers (Dai, Xiang, Li & Bai, 2016). Two important receptors that have been significantly correlated with carcinogenesis are the estrogen and progesterone receptors. Loss of either or both of these receptors fuels carcinogenesis and results in more aggressive cancer subtypes and poor prognosis. Conversely, tumors that have high expression levels of these receptors are generally less aggressive in that they do not grow fast and respond better to hormone therapy (Badowska-Kozakiewicz, Patera, Sobol & Przybylski, 2015). Another receptor, androgen receptor (AR), is expressed in 70-90% of breast cancer tumors (Rahim & O'Regan, 2017) and has shown to be a marker of improved prognosis. Antagonism of the androgen receptor, for example, has inhibited proliferation in several BC cell lines, such as MCF7 and ZR-75-1 (Rahim & O'Regan, 2017). Much like PR and ER negative tumors, HER2 (human epidermal growth factor receptor 2) positive tumors have been associated with more aggressive disease course and higher patient mortality as mutations in the HER2 gene promote cell proliferation and thus, tumor growth.

Other common molecular markers of proliferation are KI67 and DNA topoisomerase II alpha (TOP2A) (Dai, Xiang, Li & Bai, 2016). KI67 is a protein specifically associated with cell division; its levels fluctuate throughout cell division, having the highest expression during S phase when the cells are growing and DNA is replicating and no expression during G0 and early G1 when the cells are resting (Juríková, Danihel, Polák & Varga, 2016). Since uncontrolled cell growth (cell division) defines cancer, this protein serves as a valid marker for excessive proliferation. TOP2A, an essential enzyme involved in processes related to DNA structural changes during transcription, such as chromatin condensation and relaxation (NCBI GENE), is also newly used marker of cell-cycle turnover (Zhang & Yu, 2011). Amplification of this protein has been associated with cell proliferation and increased HER2 expression since the *TOP2A* gene is close to HER2 on chromosome 17.
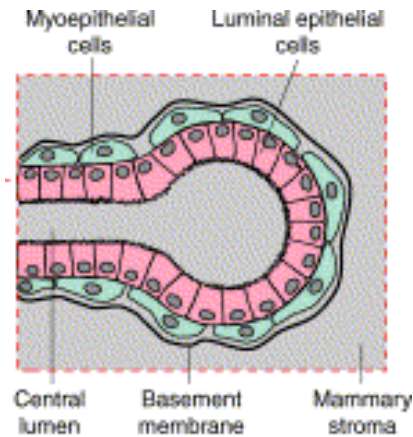
Figure 1. Diagram of cell layers in mammary duct (modified from: Radisky, Hirai & Bissell, 2005).

Taking the above markers into account, the major molecular subtypes of breast cancer are: luminal, HER2 positive, triple negative, and molecular apocrine cancer (Dai, Xiang, Li & Bai, 2016). Luminal cancer, which originates in the luminal cells of the mammary ducts (Figure 1), is further divided into two subgroups: luminal A and luminal B. Luminal A is considered to be the least aggressive form of breast cancer as tumors under this classification are not missing estrogen or progesterone receptors, are HER2 negative, and KI67 negative. Luminal B is more aggressive and is generally characterized by the presence of estrogen and progesterone receptors, the expression of KI67, and the presence or absence of HER2. HER2 positive breast cancer is marked by the overexpression of HER2 and the absence of both estrogen and progesterone receptors. Triple negative breast cancer (TNBC), as indicated by the name, is PR, ER, and HER2 negative and is considered the most aggressive breast cancer as there is no known cure and the tumors respond poorly to treatment (Masoud & Pagès, 2017). Within this category are more specific subtypes: basal, claudin-low, metaplastic breast cancer, and interferon-rich, with basal making up most triple negative breast cancer cases. Taking a look into the SEER database mortality rates, not only are African-American women most affected by TNBC (Plasilova, Hayse, Killelea, Horowitz, Chagpar, & Lannin, 2016), but they have higher mortality rates than white women (Figure 2). This observation reveals issues regarding treatment of TNBC and perhaps screening availability to these women.

Age-Adjusted U.S. Mortality Rates
By Race/Ethnicity
Female Breast, All Ages, Female
1975–2014

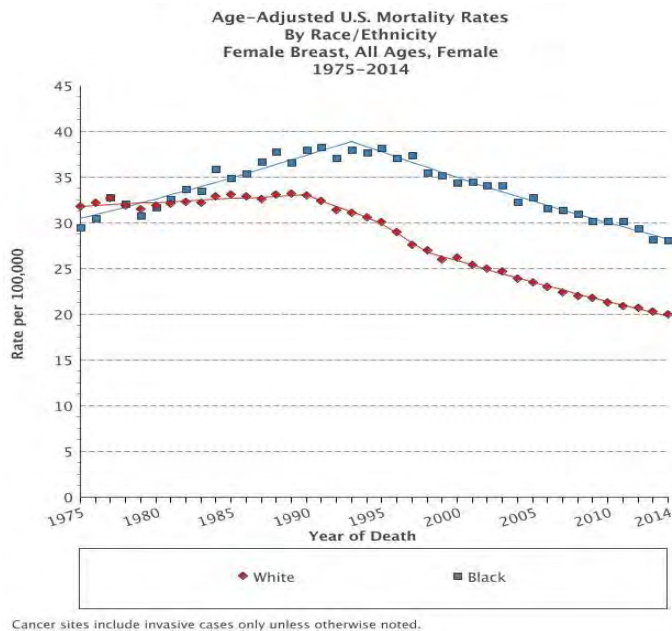Cancer sites include invasive cases only unless otherwise noted.

Figure 2. Age-Adjusted U.S. Mortality Rates By Race/Ethnicity Female Breast, All Ages, Female 1975-2014 was created using the FastStats program mortality data of the SEER database (SEER, 2016).

Common Methods of Treatment and Drug Resistance

Currently, seven different drugs are being used to treat breast cancer: Afinitor/everolimus, Avastin /bevacizumab, Herceptin/trastuzumab, Kadcyla/T-DM1, Perjita/pertuzumab, and Tykerb/ lapatinib (Masoud & Pagès, 2017). Each of these works by interfering with molecular pathways that promote cell proliferation and survival. Avastin /bevacizumab prevents the formation of new blood vessels, which consequently limits the amount of blood flow and thus, oxygen and nutrients tumors receive. This treatment essentially attempts to starve the cells so that they die. Herceptin/trastuzumab, Kadcyla/T-DM1, Perjita/pertuzumab, and Tykerb/ lapatinib all function by interfering with cell signaling so that cancer cells are unable to receive growth signals.

Despite the variety of pharmaceuticals available, drug resistance is high in breast cancer patients, especially in more aggressive subtypes like triple negative. Commonly, patients undergo chemotherapy and experience short term positive effects (Blake, Dragan, Tirona, Hardy, Brackstone, Tuck, … Bhattacharya, 2017). However, continual treatment does not always benefit as the tumors gain resistance to the drug(s) being used. This gained ability is indicative of adaptation, meaning that the tumors have accumulated mutations that allow them to survive in the presence of chemotherapy drugs. ABC superfamily and ABCG family transporters have shown to play a role in drug resistance by controlling the flux of drugs in and out of the cell, thus changing intra and extracellular drug concentrations (Caetano-Pinto, Jansen, Assaraf, & Masereeuw, 2017). Resistance is of particular concern since the mortality rates of breast cancer are relatively high among patients with aggressive subtype of BC, emphasizing a need for new and improved methods of treatment.

Inflammation in Breast Cancer and the STAT3-IL6 Pathway

The inflammatory response is regulated by many interconnected pathways. One such pathway is the STAT3-IL6 pathway, which helps regulate levels of IL6. This mechanism begins at the surface of the cell, as seen in Figure 3, where extracellular IL6 binds to gp130 receptors and activates Janus kinases (JAKs), which phosphorylate STAT3 (Fonseca et al., 2009). Phosphorylated STAT3 dimerizes, becomes activated, and travels into the nucleus of the cell where it binds to the DNA and promotes the transcription of genes associated with cell survival, proliferation, and inflammation. One of these genes, *SOCS3*, is key to the regulation of the STAT3-IL6 pathway. SOCS3 acts as a suppressor of JAK, in this way it inhibits the activation of STAT3 by preventing its phosphorylation, which results in decreased expression of IL6 (Junttila et al., 2015). Another protein, DUSP22, a dual specificity phosphatase with the ability of dephosphorylating STAT3 at tyrosine and serine/threonine residues, can inhibit STAT3 translocation into the nucleus (Sekine, Tsuji, Ikeda, Sato, Aoki, Aoyama, & Matsuda, 2006). Together, SOCS3, JAK, and DUSP22 regulate the STAT3-IL6 pathway to maintain levels of IL6.

However, when this pathway is dysregulated, IL6 is continuously expressed and binds to gp130 receptors more often, triggering a cascade that increases its transcription (Pratt et al., 2012). This amplification creates a positive feedback loop that continuously activates the pathway and thus, the inflammatory response (Junttila et al., 2015).

Dysregulation of this pathway is evident in breast cancer by analyzing levels of IL6 and STAT3 activation. Several studies have confirmed that IL6 levels are typically elevated in the circulating blood and tumors of breast cancer patients (Dethlefsen, Højfeldt, & Hojman, 2013). In fact, BC patients can have as much as tenfold more IL6 circulating through their bodies than healthy individuals and approximately 50% of breast cancer tumors have elevated IL6 levels. Additionally, STAT3 is constitutively active in more than 50% of BC tumors and cell lines. Together, elevated IL6 and constitutively active STAT3 have the ability of promoting inflammation and tumor growth and proliferation.
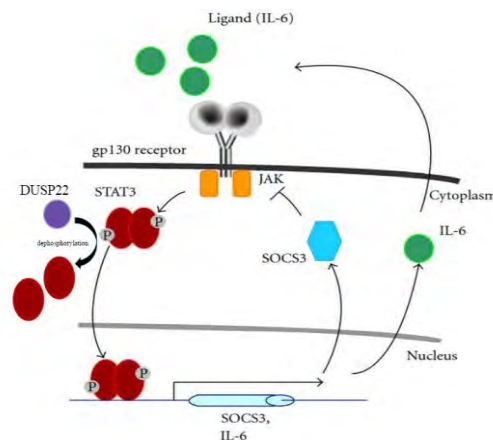

Figure 3. Displays the feedback loop of the STAT3-IL6 pathway (Modified from Ozawa et al., 2011)

DUSP22 in Breast Cancer

The role DUSP22 plays in STAT3-IL6 regulation has been previously studied. Sekine et al. (2006) conducted a series of experiments involving expression and coprecipitation analyses in cancer cell lines and discovered several important interactions and mechanisms in which DUSP22 is involved. Upon stimulation with IL6, it was found that DUSP22 expression levels increased, while overexpression of DUSP22 caused IL6-dependent STAT3 phorylation to decrease. It was also found that DUSP22 has the ability to interact directly with STAT3 and dephosphorylate it at tyrosine 705 (tyr705) and or serine 727 (ser727). This modification deactivates STAT3 and prevents its translocation into the nucleus and thus, inhibits the ability of STAT3 to promote the transcription of proinflammatory cytokines. However, dephosphorylation of tyr705 is responsible for the negative regulation seen in the STAT3-IL6 pathway. Combined, these results reveal the regulatory role DUSP22 plays in the STAT3-IL6 pathway. Sekine et al. also found that DUSP22 regulates estrogen receptor-alpha signaling, which plays a role in cell differentiation and development, by dephosphorylating serine 118 of ER-alpha, revealing that DUSP22 acts as a negative regulator of pathways via dephosphorylation.

A 2008 study conducted by Bernard-Pierrot et al. built upon the current understanding of DUSP22 in breast cancer. The 8p11-12 chromosomal region is amplified in approximately 10-15% of all breast carcinomas (Bernard-Pierrot, Gruel, Stransky, Vincent-Salomon, Reyal, Raynal, . . . Delattre, 2008). Tumors that are 8p-amplified constitutively overexpress *LSM1, BAG4, DDHD2, PPAPDC1B*, and *WHSC1L1*. However, *PPAPDC1B* knockdown revealed that this gene was involved in cell survival and transformation and disrupted several pathways, including the JAK/STAT pathway. More significantly, Bernard-Pierrot et al. found that *DUSP22* was upregulated by this gene after knockdown and was generally underexpressed in 8p-amplified tumors compared to other breast tumors. These findings further indicate the dysregulation of the pathway in breast cancer cells.

Epigenetics and Breast Cancer

While changes to the DNA sequence, such as gene amplification, are typically associated with dysregulation, other changes to the DNA that do not affect gene sequence can also cause dysregulation. Epigenetics involves the study of changes to gene expression that are not caused by direct changes to the DNA sequence (Karouzakis, Trenkmann, Gay, Michel, Gay, & Neidhart, 2014). These modifications include: microRNAs, methylation, and histone acetylation and methylation. MicroRNAs (miRNAs) are short, non-coding RNAs involved in post-transcriptional gene regulation and, in eukaryotic cells, can bind directly to their target mRNA and tag them for degradation (Song, Li, He, Guo, & Yang, 2015). Methylation and histone modifications can alter gene expression by changing the structure of DNA (Wada, Araki, Sato, Aizaki, Yokota, Kim, … Mimura, 2014). DNA methylation occurs at the fifth carbon of a cytosine that occurs before a guanine and generates 5-methylcytosine (Hawtree, Muthana, & Wilson, 2013). The locations of these methyl groups are referred to as CpG dinucleotides and, when they are grouped together, are called CpG islands. When DNA becomes hypermethylated, an excess of methyl groups accumulate at the promoter region of a gene and suppresses gene expression.

Hypomethylation is conversely characterized by a lack of methyl groups and an increase in gene expression. CpG islands are commonly unmethylated, while CpG dinucleotides are usually hypermethylated. Histones can become acetylated or deacetylated, which affects gene expression. Acetylation is accomplished by histone acetyltransferases (HATs), which transfer an acetyl group from acetyl-CoA onto the histone tail. This modification causes the DNA to have a more relaxed structure, resulting in increased gene expression. Deacetylation occurs when histone deacetylases (HDACs) remove acetyl groups and transfer them back to CoA. Consequently, the DNA condenses and suppresses gene expression. Histone methylation is unique in that it does not follow the same gene expression patterns that DNA hyper and hypomethylation cause. Methylation at specific site in specific histones produce different expression patterns (Li, Luo, Wang, Jiang, & Zheng, 2012). For example, methylation of histone H3, lysine 4 is associated with increased gene expression while methylation of histone H3, K9 is associated with condensed chromatin structure and gene suppression. These epigenetic elements affect many inflammatory pathways through the altered expression (over and underexpression) of key regulators (Bayarsaihan, 2011). Epigenetics also affects inflammation in cancer by, for example, facilitating the switch from normal to transformed cancerous cells via the NF-kB pathway (Figure 4). Noticeably, the NF-kB pathway overlaps with the STAT3-IL6 pathway, which promotes oncogenic transformation.
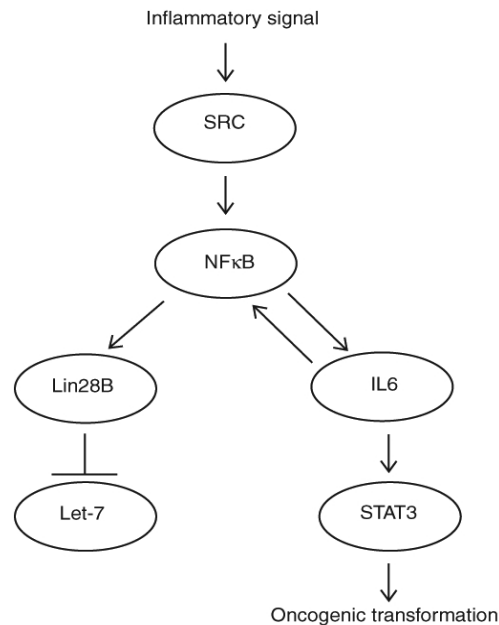
Figure 4. depicts a schematic in which inflammation leads to oncogenic transformation (Bayarsaihan, 2011)

Studying the Epigenetic Regulation of DUSP22 in the STAT3-IL6 Pathway

The STAT3-IL6 pathway, one of the many inflammatory pathways, is often dysregulated in BC patients, as marked by elevated systemic and intratumoral levels of IL6 and constitutive STAT3 activation in greater than 50% of breast cancer tumors and cell lines (Dethlefsen, Højfeldt, & Hojman, 2013). The major regulators of this

pathway are JAK, STAT3, and SOCS3. Together, they work to regulate IL6 levels during the inflammatory response. DUSP22 is another negative regulator of this pathway that could be contributing the dysregulation of the STAT3-IL6 pathway seen in BC patients. DUSP22 is a dual specificity phosphatase that regulates the pathway through the dephosphorylation (tyr705) of STAT3, which prevents its activation and subsequent translocation into the nucleus (Sekine et al., 2006). It was shown in one previously published paper that *DUSP22* was hypermethylated at a CpG site in lymphocytes from rheumatoid arthritis patients (Glossop, Emes, Nixon, Haworth, Packham, Dawes, … Farrell, 2014), suggesting that DUSP22 may be epigenetically regulated. However, to date, it has not been determined if DUSP22 is epigenetically regulated and what role this might play in the regulation of the STAT3-IL6 pathway. Therefore, we hypothesize that DUSP22 is under epigenetic control and that this mechanism is a source of regulation for the STAT3-IL6 pathway. To test this hypothesis we have exposed the breast cancer cell line MCF7 to low doses of methotrexate (MTX), an anti-inflammatory and chemotherapy drug with demethylating abilities. To determine the effects MTX has on this cell line, we have determined growth, *DUSP22* expression, and global DNA methylation levels.

Filling this knowledge gap has obvious applications to the common good as gaining a greater understanding of the STAT3-IL6 pathway and its regulation may have later applications in treatment methods. Breast cancer presents a unique challenge in the face of treatment since tumors with varied expression patterns of receptors react differently to the available drug options and often exhibit resistance. Understanding the underlying mechanisms of carcinogenesis and mechanisms that are common to other forms of cancer has the potential to improve treatment options by providing a newer, unconventional approach to treatment. Further, by better understanding hormone-independent mechanisms, such as inflammation, we increase the overall biological knowledge of this disease. As mentioned earlier, there is a racial gap in mortality rates in the US; African-American women have higher mortality rates due to breast cancer than white women. Since African-American women are more likely to suffer from more aggressive subtypes of cancer, mainly triple negative, it remains essential to close this disparity gap. Broadening the general knowledge regarding inflammation may have potential in improving treatment for these women, bringing us closer to closing this racial mortality gap.

Methotrexate as an Anti-Inflammatory and Chemotherapy Drug

Methotrexate (MTX) is commonly prescribed as an anti-inflammatory drug for rheumatoid arthritis patients and has also been used as a chemotherapy drug (Sramek, Neradil, & Veselska, 2017). It is known to act as a folate inhibitor, which consequently inhibits the enzyme dihydrofolate reductase (DIFR), but has other lesser understood mechanisms including its anti-inflammatory, cell differentiation, and demethylating effects on cells. However, it appears that the observed effects of MTX on cells are dose-dependent and vary based on cell line. For example, 1uM MTX exposure was sufficient to induce demethylation in melanoma cells, while 50nM MTX exposure in CD4+ T-lymphocytes was sufficient to induce demethylation. A recently published paper by Cribbs et al. found that MTX was able to demethylate the *FOXP3* upstream enhancer in lymphocytes of rheumatoid arthritis patients and restore

previously impaired regulatory T cell function. Connecting MTX to DUSP22, this drug has the potential to demethylate the promoter region of *DUSP22* and increase gene expression.

MATERIALS AND METHODS

Cell Culture
MCF7 cells were grown in DMEM (Gibco) with 10% FBS and 1% antibiotics at 37ºC and 5% CO_2. Cells were grown and maintained in treated culture plates. Cells were exposed to 0uM, 1uM, 5uM, and 10uM Methotrexate (Sigma-Aldrich) for three and or six days.

RNA Isolation and Reverse Transcription
Total RNA was isolated using an RNeasy Plus Minikit (Qiagen) following the manufacturer's protocol for total RNA isolation including small RNAs. Total RNA was reverse transcribed using an iScript cDNA synthesis kit by BIORAD. Briefly, this technique uses viral reverse transcriptase to convert mRNA into single stranded complementary DNA. TaqMan real-time PCR was used to quantify expression of DUSP22, by using a TaqMan real-time assay from Life Technologies for *DUSP22* and *GAPDH* as the reference gene. This process utilizes probes that amplify the gene of interest and release of fluorescent molecule that can be detected.

DNA Isolation
Total DNA was isolated using a Qiagen DNeasy Blood & Tissue kit. Briefly, cells are lysed and the extract is applied to an extraction column. The DNA binds to the silica filter of the column while a series of different washes are used remove proteins and other cell debris. Once cleansed of impurities, the DNA is eluted in a buffer.

Global DNA Methylation Determination (LUMA)
Total DNA for each sample was digested with two different reactions. In the first reaction, DNA is exposed to *EcoRI* and *HpaII* and in the second reaction, to *EcoRI* and *MspI*. This digest creates different sized DNA fragments. Pyrosequencing using the digested DNA was conducted using a Pyromark Q24 LUMA assay, a luminometric-based assay for determining global DNA methylation. To determine methylation levels the following equation was used: $1-(HpaII\Sigma G/\Sigma T)/(MspI\Sigma G/\Sigma T)]$ X 100. This equation compares the pyrosequencing results from the two reactions.

RESULTS
MCF7 Growth in the Presence of MTX
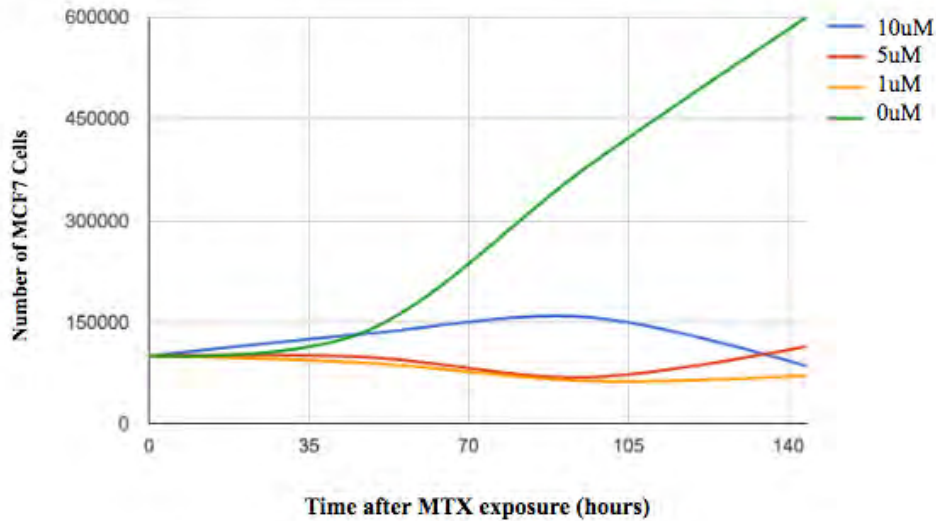
Figure 5. MCF7 Cell Growth in the Presence of MTX shows the number of cells present at various concentrations of MTX (0uM, 1uM, 5uM, and 10uM) over a six day, 144 hour time period. The observed points are the result of averaging four samples.

To determine the effects methotrexate (MTX) has on MCF7 growth, cells were exposed to 0uM, 1uM, 5uM, and 10uM MTX for six days. Cells were measured using a hemocytometer and counted every other day over the course of six days. As seen in Figure 5, the untreated cells population consistently increased over the time period while the cell population exposed to various concentrations of MTX did not increase consistently. Cells treated with 1uM, 5uM, and 10uM exhibited growth inhibition compared to controls, ending with a population slightly above or below the starting number of cells.

Global DNA Methylation in MCF7 Cells After MTX Exposure
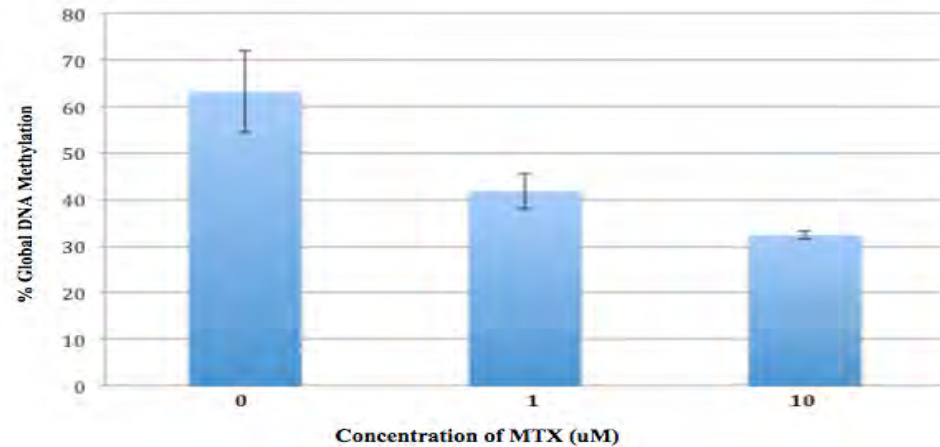
Figure 6. Changes in Global DNA Methylation After MTX Exposure shows changes in global DNA methylation in MCF7 cells by LUMA after exposure to 1uM and 10uM MTX for three days. The error bars represent the variable range of % global DNA methylation from the average of duplicate experiments.

We hypothesized that DUSP22 was under epigenetic control in MCF7 cells, meaning that DUSP22 expression is influenced by DNA methylation levels. To verify this effect, we first determined global DNA methylation levels after 1uM and 10uM MTX exposure for three days using LUMA. As seen above in Figure 6, percent global DNA methylation in MCF7 cells decreased after exposure at both concentrations. Further, this demethylating effect occurred in a dose-dependent manner in which the higher dose resulted in a more dramatic demethylating effect on global methylation levels.

DUSP22 Expression Changes After MTX Exposure

Figure 7. Changes in Changes in DUSP22 Expression at Varying Concentrations of MTX shows gene expression levels in MCF7 cells at 0uM, 1uM, and 10uM MTX after exposure for three days. The error bars represent the variable range of gene expression from averaging duplicate samples. *Statistically significant at $p < 0.05$.

Figure 8. Changes in *DUSP22* Expression Over Time depicts the varying levels of gene expression in MCF7 cells after exposure to 1uM and 10uM for three and/or six days. The error bars represent the variable range of gene expression from averaging duplicate samples.
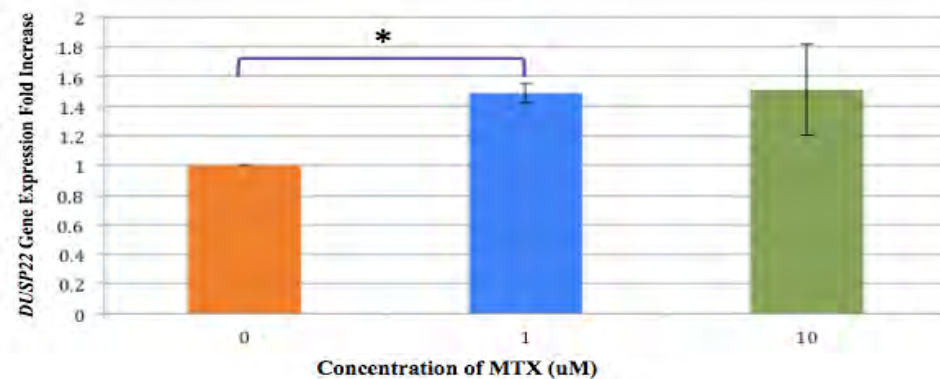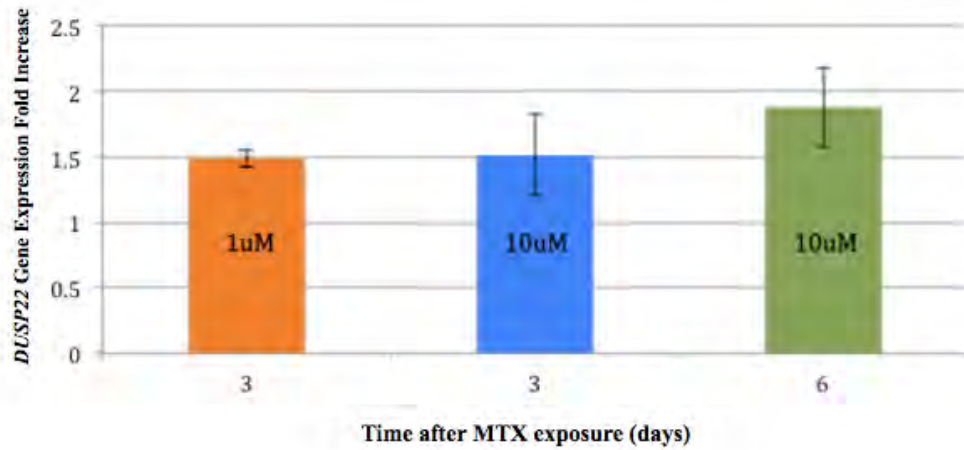
To further test our hypothesis, we determined DUSP22 expression levels when exposed to varying concentrations of MTX for three days. Compared to controls, DUSP22 expression increased after exposure to both 1uM and 10uM MTX (Figure 7). Additionally, expression levels were slightly higher in MCF7 cells exposed to 10uM MTX than cells exposed to 1uM MTX. However, this observation is not statistically significant. Compared to controls, the increase in DUSP22 expression after 1uM exposure was statistically significant at $p < 0.05$. We also determined overtime expression levels of DUSP22. MCF7 cells were exposed to 1uM MTX and 10uM MTX for three and or six days. As seen in Figure 8, DUSP22 expression was higher after longer exposure to MTX.

DISCUSSION

Methotrexate (MTX) is a commonly prescribed anti-inflammatory drug and has been used as a chemotherapy drug (Sramek, Neradil, & Veselska, 2017). While methotrexate is known to act as a folate antagonist, its effects on DNA methylation have not been broadly studied. A recent study reported that the FOXP3 promoter was demethylated after MTX treatment and restored Treg cell function (Cribbs, Kennedy, Penn, Amjadi, Green, Read, … Williams, 2015). Breast cancer, as an inflammatory disease marked by significant increases in intratumoral and systemic IL6 (Dethlefsen, Højfeldt, & Hojman, 2013), has also been studied in relation to MTX. Here, we exposed MCF7 cells to varying concentrations of MTX and studied the effects it has on cell growth, global DNA methylation, and expression of DUSP22, a negative regulator of the STAT3-IL6 inflammatory pathway, to gain a greater understanding of the epigenetic regulation of this pathway.

MCF7 Growth in the Presence of MTX

MCF7 cells were exposed to 0uM, 1uM, 5uM, and 10uM MTX and were counted regularly for six days. Compared to controls, the treated cells exhibited growth inhibition and decreased viability, as seen in Figure 5. This result matches the results seen in other cancer cell lines, including hepatoma, leukemia, lymphoma and gastric cancer cells (Wu, Liu, Hung, Wei, Yu & Yiang, 2017). While the underlying mechanism of this observation is not well understood, these results show that MTX has the ability to act independently as a growth inhibitor in MCF7 cells. It has been noted though, that breast cancer cells, particularly more aggressive cell lines, have decreased uptake of MTX, which decreases the efficiency of MTX as a chemotherapy drug for breast cancer.

DUSP22 Expression Changes After MTX Exposure

Since breast cancer patients have elevated levels of IL6, it is possible that there is a loss of regulation in the STAT3-IL6 pathway. More specifically, it is possible that a negative regulator, such as DUSP22, is being underexpressed. To determine levels of *DUSP22* expression, we conducted a TaqMan qPCR using RNA from MTX treated and untreated MCF7 cells. MTX exposure increased *DUSP22* expression at 1uM and 10uM, but was only statistically significant at 1uM (Figure 2.). This observation could mean that the effect is less significant at lower concentrations. However, expression at 10uM MTX exposure is approaching statistical significance, which is likely due to a lack of experimental repetition. Further, MCF7 cells were exposed to 10uM MTX for three and six days. *DUSP22* expression was higher in cells that were exposed to MTX for the longer period of time (Figure 3.). This result mirrors the effect overtime exposure to 5-aza-2'-deoxycytidine, a confirmed demethylating agent, has on gene expression. Gene expression increased as time increased over a three day period (Andrews, Nemunaitis, Tompkins, & Singer, 1989).

Global DNA Methylation in MCF7 Cells After MTX Exposure

MTX has been shown to have a demethylating effect. After MCF7 cells were exposed to 1uM and 10uM MTX for three days, total DNA was extracted, digested, and analyzed using LUMA. It was found that when treated with MTX, global DNA methylation in MCF7 cells decreased in a dose dependent manner. There was a noticeable decrease in global DNA methylation after exposure to 1uM MTX and an even greater decrease at 10uM (Figure 6). This result is in accordance with a previous study that found 1uM MTX treatment induced DNA demethylation in melanoma cells (Sramek, Neradil, & Veselska, 2017). The precise mechanism underlying the demethylating effects of MTX remain unclear. However, there are several proposed mechanisms involving SAM (S-adenosylmethionine) metabolism and folate levels, both of which are involved in donating methyl groups and carbon during DNA methylation. Additionally, this result is similar to the results obtained in a study using various concentrations of 5-aza-2'-deoxycytidine. They found that DNA methylation decreased in a dose-dependant manner when exposed to 5-aza-2'-deoxycytidine (Ramos, Wijetunga, McLellan, Suzuki & Greally, 2015). Another interesting implication of this result is its connection to overtime *DUSP22* expression. While not

verified, it is likely that MTX causes the promoter region of *DUSP22* to become demethylated, which would increase its expression.

Conclusion

Combined, we have demonstrated for the first time that DUSP22 expression levels increased as MTX exposure and time increased and that global DNA methylation decreased in a dose-dependent manner when exposed to MTX. While our hypothesis that DUSP22 is under epigenetic control was not confirmed, the study has expanded our current knowledge regarding DUSP22. It is possible that methotrexate demethylates the promoter region of *DUSP22*, which then allows for enhanced expression. However, further experimentation is required to confirm this. Future research will encompass methylation analysis of the *DUSP22* promoter using methylation specific qPCR to determine if MTX is in fact demethylating this particular gene.A western blot analysis of whole cell levels of STAT3 and p-STAT3 will also be able to clarify whether the suspected increased amounts of DUSP22 decrease the amount of p-STAT3 in the cells. This study along with additional experimentation will provide a greater understanding of the STAT3-IL6 pathway in breast cancer. Exploring this hormone-independent mechanism is important to future advancements in BC treatment as hormone therapies are commonly ineffective, particularly in triple negative BC. Contributing to the growing body of knowledge regarding the molecular mechanisms and regulators of inflammation may provide the information necessary for inventing new therapies using inflammatory response regulators as targets.

REFERENCES

Andrews, D. F., Nemunaitis, J., Tompkins, C., & Singer, J. W. (1989). Effect of 5-azacytidine on gene expression in marrow stromal cells. *Molecular and Cellular Biology*, *9*(6), 2748–2751.

Badowska-Kozakiewicz, A. M., Patera, J., Sobol, M., & Przybylski, J. (2015). The role of oestrogen and progesterone receptors in breast cancer – immunohistochemical evaluation of oestrogen and progesterone receptor expression in invasive breast cancer in women. *Contemporary Oncology*, *19*(3), 220–225. http://doi.org/10.5114/wo.2015.51826

Bayarsaihan, D. (2011). Epigenetic Mechanisms in Inflammation. *Journal of Dental Research*, *90*(1), 9–17. http://doi.org/10.1177/0022034510378683

Bernard-Pierrot, I., Gruel, N., Stransky, N., Vincent-Salomon, A., Reyal, F., Raynal, V., . . . Delattre, O. (2008). Characterization of the recurrent 8p11-12 amplicon identifies PPAPDC1B, a phosphatase protein, as a new therapeutic target in breast cancer. *Cancer Research, 68*(17), 7165-75.

Blake, A., Dragan, M., Tirona, R. G., Hardy, D. B., Brackstone, M., Tuck, A. B., …

Bhattacharya, M. (2017). G protein-coupled KISS1 receptor is overexpressed in triple negative breast cancer and promotes drug resistance. *Scientific Reports*, *7*, 46525. http://doi.org/10.1038/srep46525

Caetano-Pinto, Jansen, Assaraf, & Masereeuw. (2017). The importance of breast cancer resistance protein to the kidneys excretory function and chemotherapeutic resistance. *Drug Resistance Updates, 30*, 15-27.

Coussens, L. M., & Werb, Z. (2002). Inflammation and cancer. *Nature*, *420*(6917), 860–867. http://doi.org/10.1038/nature01322

Cribbs, A. P., Kennedy, A., Penn, H., Amjadi, P., Green, P., Read, J. E., … Williams, R. O. (2015). Methotrexate Restores Regulatory T Cell Function Through Demethylation of the FoxP3 Upstream Enhancer in Patients With Rheumatoid Arthritis, *67*(5), 1182–1192. doi:10.1002/art.39031

Dai, X., Xiang, L., Li, T., & Bai, Z. (2016). Cancer Hallmarks, Biomarkers and Breast Cancer Molecular Subtypes. *Journal of Cancer, 7*(10), 1281-1294.

Dethlefsen, C., Højfeldt, G., & Hojman, P. (2013). The role of intratumoral and systemic IL-6 in breast cancer. *Breast Cancer Research and Treatment, 138*(3), 657-664

Glossop, J. R., Emes, R. D., Nixon, N. B., Haworth, K. E., Packham, J. C., Dawes, P. T., … Farrell, W. E. (2014). Genome-wide DNA methylation profiling in rheumatoid arthritis identifies disease-associated methylation changes that are distinct to individual T- and B-lymphocyte populations, *9*(9), 1228–1237.

Hawtree, S. G., Muthana, M., & Wilson, A. (2013). The role of histone deacetylases in rheumatoid arthritis fibroblast-like synoviocytes. *Biochemical Society Transactions, 41*(3), 783-788.

Junttila, I., Vidqvist, K., Korpela, M., & Silvennoinen, O. (2015). Original article The activity of JAK-STAT pathways in rheumatoid arthritis : constitutive activation of STAT3 correlates with interleukin 6 levels, (November 2014), 1103–1113. doi:10.1093/rheumatology/keu430

Juríková, Danihel, Polák, & Varga. (2016). Ki67, PCNA, and MCM proteins: Markers of proliferation in the diagnosis of breast cancer. *Acta Histochemica, 118*(5), 544-552.

Karouzakis, E., Trenkmann, M., Gay, R. E., Michel, B. A., Gay, S., & Neidhart, M. (2014). Epigenome Analysis Reveals TBX5 as a Novel Transcription Factor Involved in the Activation of Rheumatoid Arthritis Synovial Fibroblasts. *The Journal of Immunology*, *193*(10), 4945-4951. doi:10.4049/jimmunol.1400066

Li, K. K., Luo, C., Wang, D., Jiang, H., & Zheng, Y. G. (2012). Chemical and Biochemical Approaches in the Study of Histone Methylation and Demethylation. *Medicinal Research Reviews*, *32*(4), 815–867. http://doi.org/10.1002/mrr.20228

Masoud, V., & Pagès, G. (2017). Targeted therapies in breast cancer: New challenges to fight against resistance. *World Journal of Clinical Oncology, 8*(2), 120.

Plasilova, M. L., Hayse, B., Killelea, B. K., Horowitz, N. R., Chagpar, A. B., & Lannin, D. R. (2016). Features of triple-negative breast cancer: Analysis of 38,813 cases from the national cancer database. *Medicine*, *95*(35), e4614. http://doi.org/10.1097/MD.0000000000004614

Radisky, D., Hirai, Y., & Bissell, M. (2005). Delivering the message: Epimorphin and mammary epithelial morphogenesis. *Trends in Cell Biology, 13*(8), Trends in Cell Biology, 2005, Vol.13(8).

Rahim, B., & O'Regan, R. (2017). AR Signaling in Breast Cancer. *Cancers*, *9*(3), 21. http://doi.org/10.3390/cancers9030021

Ramos, M.-P., Wijetunga, N. A., McLellan, A. S., Suzuki, M., & Greally, J. M. (2015). DNA demethylation by 5-aza-2′-deoxycytidine is imprinted, targeted to euchromatin, and

has limited transcriptional consequences. *Epigenetics & Chromatin*, *8*, 11. http://doi.org/10.1186/s13072-015-0004-x

Sekine, Y., Tsuji, S., Ikeda, O., Sato, N., Aoki, N., Aoyama, K., … Matsuda, T. (2006). Regulation of STAT3-mediated signaling by LMW-DSP2, *1*, 5801–5806. doi:10.1038/sj.onc.1209578

Song, Y., Li, G., He, J., Guo, Y., & Yang, L. (2015). Bioinformatics-Based Identificationof MicroRNA-Regulated and Rheumatoid Arthritis-Associated Genes. *PLOS ONE*, *10*(9), e0137551. doi:10.1371/journal.pone.0137551

Sramek, Neradil, & Veselska. (2017). Much more than you expected: The non-DHFR-mediated effects of methotrexate. *BBA - General Subjects, 1861*(3), 499-503.

Surveillance, Epidemiology, and End Results (SEER) Program (www.seer.cancer.gov) SEER*Stat Database: Mortality - All COD, Aggregated With State, Total U.S. (1969-2014) <Katrina/Rita Population Adjustment>, National Cancer Institute, DCCPS, Surveillance Research Program, Surveillance Systems Branch, released December 2016. Underlying mortality data provided by NCHS (www.cdc.gov/nchs).

Wada, T. T., Araki, Y., Sato, K., Aizaki, Y., Yokota, K., Kim, Y. T., … Mimura, T. (2014). Aberrant histone acetylation contributes to elevated interleukin-6 production in rheumatoid arthritis synovial fibroblasts. *Biochemical and Biophysical Research Communications*, *444*(4), 682-686. doi:10.1016/j.bbrc.2014.01.195

Wu, C. W., Liu, H. C., Hung, Y. T., Wei, C. L., Yu, Y., & Yiang, G. (2017). Combined treatment with Vitamin C and methotrexate inhibits triple-negative breast cancer cell growth by increasing H_2O_2 accumulation and activating caspase-3 and p38 pathways. *Oncology Reports, 37*(4), 2177-2184.

Y Sekine, S Tsuji, O Ikeda, N Sato, N Aoki, K Aoyama, . . . T Matsuda. (2006). Regulation of STAT3-mediated signaling by LMW-DSP2. *Oncogene, 25*(42), 5801.

Zhang, J.-M., & An, J. (2007). Cytokines, inflammation, and pain. *International Anesthesiology Clinics*, *45*(2), 27–37. doi:10.1097/AIA.0b013e318034194e

Zhang, W., & Yu, Y. (2011). The Important Molecular Markers on Chromosome 17 and Their Clinical Impact in Breast Cancer. *International Journal of Molecular Sciences*, *12*(9), 5672–5683. http://doi.org/10.3390/ijms12095672

⬥ Literature 405

"To Curb the Will of the Nobility": The Tribunes' Power Grab in *Coriolanus*

Anna Shakova

In *Coriolanus*, Shakespeare retells the story of the early Roman general Caius Martius Coriolanus. However, he makes certain important changes throughout the play from his original sources. These changes serve to condense and dramatize the historical aspect of Coriolanus's biography, but Shakespeare's changes also comment on the models of power within his vision of Rome. Giorgio Agamben's analysis of constituting and constituted powers applies to the events occurring throughout the play. According to Agamben, constituting power "is situated outside the state," where it can work to establish law and governments, while constituted power "exists only in the state" (39). Constituted power has already been established and needs an established state to function—a state held firmly in the hands of the patricians in *Coriolanus*. Without constituting power, there would be no constituted power. At the same time, when constituting power becomes constituted power, it runs the risk of reestablishing the "sovereign exception," where the sovereign is simultaneously the source of the law and outside of it (Agamben 15). Throughout the play, constituting

power resides in the hands of the people or ordinary citizens, but various characters attempt to manipulate the constituting power and use it for themselves. For example, Caius Martius is a patrician who does not believe in the ability of the people to wield power, and he resents the establishment of the office of the tribunes. He does not believe that the common people should have a say in matters of the state because they are too uneducated to understand politics. Though the patricians establish the office of the tribunes to protect the rights of ordinary citizens, the tribunes, Sicinius and Brutus, plot to use the citizens' constituting power to raise their own position in society. While Sicinius's and Brutus's class is not specified in the play, the office of tribune was traditionally held by plebeians—the position was intended to be a check against the patrician senators. With Caius Martius Coriolanus at the head of the patricians and Sicinius and Brutus at the head of the plebeians, the play is driven by a power struggle in Rome along class lines. At the end of the play, when Volumnia sacrifices Caius Martius, in order for the Roman republic to survive, constituting power resolves itself, but Agamben's sovereign exception still exists within the new political order. The sovereign exception does not bode well for the citizens, since it renders their lives "bare" or expendable. The play begins with the citizens' rebelling against a cruel mother Rome "who has not fed her children enough" (Adelman 148). However, as the play continues, this image of Rome morphs into something much more horrible: a cannibal mother that will easily sacrifice her children for the continuation of her own existence. And the Roman citizens raised in this city have no choice but to become just as cruel and pitiless for the sake of survival. Although constituting power seems to have worked out in favor of the plebeians by the end of *Coriolanus*, Shakespeare casts doubts on that assumption through multiple enactments of the sovereign exception: Caius Martius Coriolanus's attack on Rome, the Tribunes' successful manipulation of the plebeians, and Volumnia's sacrifice of Coriolanus.

In the first act of *Coriolanus*, the citizens argue with Menenius over the matter of the inflated price of corn during a famine, marking the strenuous relationship between constituted and constituting power in this wartime period. Because the ordinary citizens have nothing to eat, they are angry that the patricians are charging so much. Above all, they blame Caius Martius, who will be renamed Coriolanus for "the services he has done for his country," despite being a "dog to the commonality" (1.1.24-25). From the very beginning of the play, Shakespeare positions Caius Martius against the people. Even though he has worked hard for the good of Rome in battle and won many victories, Caius Martius does not conduct himself well towards the people. The citizens hate him for his haughty manner. While the citizens wait for Caius Martius to make an appearance, Menenius Agrippa, also a patrician, comes on stage instead. The citizens claim that he "hath always loved the people," so they attempt to reason with him and get him on their side (1.1.44-45). However, Menenius proves to be just as dismissive of the people's' needs as they accuse Caius Martius of being. When the plebeians complain that "[i]f the wars eat us not up, [the patricians] will; and there's all the love they bear us," Menenius dismisses their complaints (1.1.77-78). Because of the constant fighting, a famine occurs, and the people feel that they are stuck between wars and a noble class that does not care about them. The plebeians worry that the noble class wants to starve them out, and they believe that

Menenius might help them get what they want. Despite their hopes, Menenius's words hardly support the citizens' cause. Menenius accuses them of being "rascal[s], that art worst in blood to run" (1.1.157). In this vein, Menenius charges the citizens with being poor soldiers who run from battle by a defect of courage inherent to their class. When the plebeians come into the public space to protest their treatment, Menenius treats them dismissively because "the depiction of [them] as craftsmen, not soldiers, makes their irruption into the political space of Rome even more scandalous" (Kaouk 423). The nobles do not believe that the citizens have any right to protest. Furthermore, Menenius suggests that perhaps the patricians do not believe the plebeians are worthy of being citizens at all because they do not do their military duty. The patricians feel that the plebeians only want to be protected and fed without any sacrifices on their part. Menenius represents the opinions of the patricians, or the constituted power. They believe that the citizens are useless to Rome's interests and, because they do not fight for Rome, they should not overstep the confines of their position. Despite such a disparaging evaluation, the citizens challenge their position by protesting.

Shortly after this scene, Caius Martius appears before the protesting citizens and Menenius. He attacks the citizens with insults, but the source of his anger seems to stem from the position of the tribunes that were granted to the people in response to their protests. Martius does not believe that the office of the tribunes should have been established "to defend [the plebeians'] vulgar wisdoms" (1.1.222). Because he thinks the citizens are unworthy of participating in politics, Caius Martius does not think that the tribunes, also plebeians, should be in the government at all. Martius rejects the constituting power of the citizens because he does not think they are capable of making informed decisions—that they are too ignorant. Earlier in the scene, the citizens mention that Martius has worked for the good of Rome, but they believe that his arrogance is too much to tolerate. This arrogance comes from Martius's "excess of virtue" (Langis 4). In this case, virtue refers to the Roman value of *virtus*, which is the "Stoic notion of constancy, understood as fortitude, endurance, and consistency of action" within both political and military action (Langis 4). Martius is a character whose virtue exceeds the norm, which should work in his favor. However, he also exhibits behavior unbefitting a virtuous man by acting prideful and being too quick to judge the plebeians for not living up to his standard of virtue. Martius seems to believe that everyone can attain his standard of virtue. This mindset prevents him from understanding human imperfection and, as a result, he judges the plebeians as inferior to the patricians, who have more time to participate in government and the military. Another downside of Martius's virtue is that it is rooted in the Roman culture "that trains its people for conquest, destruction, appropriation, and havoc" (Hillier 370). In order to maintain the consistent growth of the Roman empire, Roman citizens are raised in an atmosphere that requires them to maintain a martial countenance. Martius then turns this attitude against the plebeians, and he demands that they "earn civic entitlements" instead of expecting corn for free (Langis 8). Because of his overpowering Roman virtue, Martius expects all Roman citizens, patricians or plebeians, to live up to his example. Thus, when he finds that they cannot, Martius throws insults at the plebeians and scorns their capacity for constituting power. And yet this fundamental constituting power allows the plebeians to get what they want: tribunes that work to represent their interests in the senate.

Following the establishment of the tribunes, in Act 1, scene 3, Shakespeare establishes Martius's home life and develops the character of his mother, Volumnia, who mirrors the Roman ideals inherent in Shakespeare's martial vision of Rome. Volumnia rejoices in the prospect of war because she knows Martius finds success in battle. Volumnia tells Virgilia, Martius's wife, that "[t]o a cruel war [she] sent [Martius]; from whence he returned, his brows bound with oak" when he was still young (1.3.375-377). Martius's success pleases Volumnia when he returns from the war successful in battle, because military achievement is an important aspect of *virtus*. When Virgilia asks Volumnia how she would react if Martius were to die in that battle, Volumnia professes that she would "rather [have] eleven [sons] die nobly for their country than one voluptuously surfeit out of action" (1.3.386-387). Volumnia believes that *virtus* and loyalty toward Rome surpass the importance of plain life, something that Martius seems to agree with because his "heroic passion . . . acts with complete disregard for death, upholding virtue over life itself" (Langis 10). In Agamben's terms, Caius Martius's life of *virtus* is a life worthy of sacrifice, while the plebeians' lives are "bare life," unworthy of sacrifice and, thus, dispensable (7). Volumnia's views reflect a problem with the idea of loyalty ingrained into, at the very least, this Roman patrician family. The image of Rome that Volumnia and Martius summon up with their lofty ideas of *virtus* demands as much from its subjects as possible, and more. This martial Rome requires that its citizens conquer everything around them or die trying. As Rome itself, Volumnia expects the utmost virtue from her son or, falling short of that, an honorable death. Her expectations mirror those of Rome herself. Both Volumnia and Rome can be seen as a "cannibalistic mother who denies food and yet feeds on the victories of her sweet son" (Adelman 158). Volumnia demands that her son shed his human qualities in order to prioritize martial success.

Meanwhile, Caius Martius, with his new name vaunting his victory at Corioli, returns to a senate ready to name him consul within the constituted power of the Roman empire. When Coriolanus returns from battle with the Volsces, the senators vote to elect him as consul, a position that grants Coriolanus emperor-like authority in times of peace (Miller 273). However, he must bequeath the position to a dictator in times of war (Miller 274). While the senators, made up of patricians, accept Coriolanus as consul, the people must also agree with his election before the decision finalized. In order to ask for the support of the people, Coriolanus must don the "toga, without a tunic under it," a custom possibly established by the early Romans "because they wished the greater humility of their [leaders'] garb . . . to display the tokens of their bravery, in case they bore wounds" (Plutarch as quoted by Miller 283). The people, plebeian and patrician, consider wounds gotten in the defense of Rome to be of the highest honor. The honor of wounds received in battle comes up in *Cymbeline*, as well, when Belarius proudly tells his foster sons that his "body's marked/With Roman swords" (3.3.61-62). For Belarius, battle scars are the highest form of honor, because they remind him of the wounds he suffered in defense of his country. And yet Coriolanus shies away from this custom, claiming that he "cannot/Put on the gown, stand naked and entreat them/For [his] wounds' sake" (2.2.1391-1392) and that he "shall blush in acting" (2.2.1403). Coriolanus begs the senators to let him avoid going in front of the people. Though Coriolanus previously expressed his disdain for the people, his desire to avoid the public display of his body stems from another source:

his virtue. He clearly understands the value of his wounds, as he invokes them in his plea to the senators, but he feels discomfort at the thought of showing them. Displaying his wounds and, consequently, his body to "the common rabble" is more than the "hypervirtuous Coriolanus, like a squeamish virgin," can bear (Langis 11). He does not believe that it is appropriate to show off his body to the citizens or use his wounds to win their support. To do so would debase the sanctity of the *virtus* that led to those wounds in the first place. Coriolanus's lack of love for the people parades his virtue as pride, earning their doubts when he should be earning their love. Furthermore, his request attempts to disrupt a custom established when the empire turned from kings to consuls. This custom, then, symbolically harkens back to the former constituted power and also, ominously, to the constituting power that brought about a change in constituted power. Coriolanus refuses to be a ruler that has to prove his worth to citizens who have not proven theirs.

Before Coriolanus arrives at the marketplace to speak to the plebeians about electing him as consul, the citizens discuss their thoughts about the election. They hesitate to resist Coriolanus's appointment despite their misgivings about his attitude towards them. The third citizen asserts that "if he tell us his noble deeds, we must also tell him our noble acceptance of them. Ingratitude is monstrous" (2.3.1430-1433). Coriolanus is a virtuous patrician and has distinguished himself in battle defending Rome. To reject a hero of such proportions would make them look like monsters, even if they had a valid reason for being put off by him. The first citizen also believes it would be best to simply accept the selection of Coriolanus as consul, but the second asserts their notions of propriety. He claims that they "may [deny him], sir, if we will" (2.3.1426). Along that line, the second citizen suggests that the common people are truly able to choose a leader. He wishes to elect a consul, rather than give a meaningless stamp of approval to whomever the senate decides should be consul. This wish "take[s] the form of a modest (but nevertheless utterly radical demand): that the already existing institutional space of the marketplace can fulfill its promise as an arena for the people's deliberations" (Kaouk 435). The current constituted power restricts the abilities of the plebeians to participate in the governmental deliberations, but having more power interests the citizens. They want to have the real rights that institutions like that of the marketplace represent. Even if they drop the conversation, this instance is a budding moment of constituting power.

After speaking with Coriolanus, the citizens reluctantly agree to secure his bid for consul, but Brutus and Sicinius push them to take their agreement back. The plebeians start to discuss the way Coriolanus "mock'd [them] when he begg'd [their] voices" (2.3.1601). Coriolanus's haughty demeanor does not sit well with the very same people that he insulted at the beginning of the play. They already had little confidence in his opinion of them, but he further proved his disdain when he asked them to elect him consul. The second citizen, who earlier insisted on the citizens' ability to choose, emphasizes that Coriolanus refused to show "[h]is marks of merit, wounds received for's country," something they agreed their vote would be contingent upon before they met with Coriolanus (2.3.1607). Finally, the plebeians decide that they want to be taken seriously in matters concerning their country. They use the constituting power that emerged earlier in their discussions to reject a consul they feel would not care much for their needs. In this way, they set a precedent important for

building a republic. The plebeians reject Coriolanus at Brutus's and Sicinius's prodding, but this outburst of constituting power is short-lived. Despite stressing the importance of the citizens' voices throughout the conversation, the tribunes quickly take over the proceedings when it comes time to oppose Coriolanus. Coriolanus gets angry at Brutus and Sicinius's proclamation that the citizens decided to take their voices back, accusing the tribunes of "set[ting] them on," (3.1.1773) in order "[t]o curb the will of the nobility" (3.1.1776). While he is right about the tribunes, the plebeians would not have gone along if Coriolanus had proven to them that he cared about their interests. Knowing that the patricians wish to install Coriolanus as consul, the tribunes seek to further their own power by engineering a rejection. They are not above using the constituting power of the people to fight back against the constituted power, so long as the constituting power will give them more authority. Other nobles support Coriolanus's assertion that the tribunes are fighting against custom. The patricians oppose the common people's desire to use their constituting power to amend the constituted republic that heavily favors the decisions of the nobility. For example, Cominus "implies that any political actions the plebs take to alter the constitution of Roman political life are violations of the principles upon which Rome was built" (Kaouk 438). The very thought of the plebeians' wanting to be heard causes the patricians to accuse them of fighting against tradition. For the nobles, Rome's political system functions as it should, but the citizens and tribunes do not see it that way. The tribunes' first obstacle is Coriolanus, who opposed the creation of their office from the very beginning and, now, they are creating turmoil in his election to prevent him from becoming an even greater hurdle. Ultimately, the tribunes push the people to assert their constituting power only as a power grab and, when the citizens leave the marketplace, the tribunes seize the constituting power for themselves.

Once the citizens succeed in blocking Coriolanus from becoming consul, they completely hand off their power to the tribunes, so that the tribunes can presumably fight for the will of the people. While the tribunes conspired with the people to get rid of Coriolanus, they now work to seize control of power for themselves. In their machinations, they exhibit their proficiency in deceitfulness, and this deceitfulness is in direct opposition to Coriolanus's limited arsenal of "force and aggression" in the political arena (Hillier 362). Coriolanus's martial abilities can only go so far outside the battlefield. Sicinius sends a messenger with information about how the tribunes intend to conduct Coriolanus's trial before the people, saying "If I say fine, cry 'Fine;' if death, cry 'Death'" (3.3.2359-2362). Instead of goading the people on until they reach a conclusion the tribunes agreed with, now the tribunes dictate the matter of Coriolanus's fate completely. They do not trust the people to say what they want them to say, so they are warning them of the plan in advance. The tribunes want to make sure that everything goes in their favor, and they are not above using "a din confused" to "[e]nforce the present execution" (3.3.2367-2368). The way Sicinius and Brutus want to set up the trial mimics the traditional election of the marketplace, where the citizens have no choice but to approve whomever the senators tell them to approve. Once the plebeians play the role the tribunes want them to play, Sicinius quickly dismisses the plebeians, telling the messenger to "[b]id them home:/Say their great enemy is gone," (4.1.2594-2595). The tribunes have as much use for the citizens as the patricians now that they "have shown [their] power" before the nobility and

shown, further, what a force the tribunes have gathered behind them (4.1.2591). When the tribunes, Brutus and Sicinius, try to push Coriolanus out of Rome, they "endanger the very borders—of Rome and its residents—that they claim to safeguard," but they do it anyway because their political advancement is all that concern them (Kuzner 186). In this sense, the tribunes are no better than the patricians. They desire to use the constituting power of the citizens to change the current Roman political order, only in order to acquire all the power for themselves. Otherwise, they are content to allow the plebeians to remain voiceless. Thus, Sicinius and Brutus show a proclivity for the same "Roman capacity for deception" that fueled the "spirit of conquest" necessary for expanding the borders of the Roman empire (Hillier 363). Hillier explains that the Roman empire was able to grow as much as it did because of the combination of "force and aggression" towards enemies and "crafti[ness] [in] gradually absorb[ing] its allies as subjects" (362). The tribunes prevail, because they exhibit sneakiness whereas Coriolanus can only exhibit might.

After Coriolanus's exile, he returns on the side of the Volsces, ready to conquer Rome, only to be thwarted by the arguments of his mother. Volumnia will sacrifice Coriolanus to protect Rome. Whereas before she took control of every situation and played to Coriolanus's aggression by declaring that "[his] valiantness was [hers], [he] suck'dst it from [her]," now Volumnia kneels before him to show just how low his actions brought her (3.2.2318). Volumnia is using manipulation to get her way. When Coriolanus still had a chance to fight back against his exile, Volumnia tried to get him to see that he needed to employ some craftiness to win the people back to his side. When he earlier argued that he could not abandon his virtue to deception, she reminded him that he owed his success to her. However, faced with the imminent threat of the Volscian army headed by Coriolanus, Volumnia changes her tactics, saying instead that she "kneel[s] before [Coriolanus]; and unproperly/Show[s] duty, as mistaken all this while/Between the child and parent" (5.3.3552-3554). As Volumnia kneels, she reminds Coriolanus of what he means to do. If he goes through with the attack on Rome, then he will kill his family members as well as the Roman citizens. By reminding Coriolanus of what she has to lose if he proceeds with his plans, she convinces him to stop the attack from happening at all. Volumnia cannot participate in the martial action of *virtus*, but she proves her loyalty to Rome by going to Coriolanus and convincing him to give up his attack. As the tribunes did, Volumnia honed her craftiness into a fine weapon, which Coriolanus either cannot or will not resist. Coriolanus agrees to stop the planned sack of Rome, knowing full well that to do so means his death. He acknowledges that she "won a happy victory to Rome;/But, for [her] son . . . Most dangerously [she had] with him prevail'd,/If not most mortal to him" (5.3.3699-3702). Even though Volumnia wins a victory for Rome, she does it at the cost of Coriolanus's life. Shakespeare even seems to hint at her knowledge of the cost of her success because Volumnia leaves for Rome as a hero without attempting to help Coriolanus. She previously stayed by his side and tried to convince him to give up his pride. Now, she leaves him all alone. It is hard to believe that Volumnia would naively assume that Coriolanus would somehow get past this failed attack on Rome alive. This time, Volumnia wields the power associated with being a hero, rather than just being the mother of the hero, and she intends to take advantage of it. Ironically,

she only succeeds because she did exactly what her son could not: Volumnia humbled herself before her adversary.

For the sake of Rome, Volumnia wins Coriolanus over by reminding him of the humanity that she had long insisted that he eschew. In her speech, she explicitly refers to the fact that if Coriolanus were to go through with the sack of Rome, he would have "to tread…on [his] mother's womb/That brought [him] to this world" (5.3.3631). She reminds him of his humanity and his dependence on her guidance. His double rebellion against mother Rome and Volumnia would force him to tread on the mother and the country that gave him life. As a result, Coriolanus finds that he cannot go through with his attack. Volumnia's actions bring Coriolanus back to the womb that he tried to escape, and he yields his life to her. In this Rome, "mother serpents must devour their young" to ensure their survival (Hillier 380). Just as Rome has to consume her citizens, Volumnia consumes her son, taking over his role as Rome's protector for her own. In the beginning of the play, Coriolanus would have died for Rome's constituted power, but the actions of the tribunes forced him to turn away from Rome. Because of the threat he posed to Rome's continued existence, Volumnia ends up sacrificing him, purportedly for Rome, but truly for her own power. As Rome's new protector, she takes his power for her own. Her unnatural sacrifice and the difficult circumstances surrounding Rome's shift to a republic reestablish the sovereign exception within the new laws of Rome. The ending of the play implies that "Shakespeare's Romans, mothers and sons, are all reared at the breast of cruel Mother Rome" (Hillier 371). So long as Rome lives on, all her subjects are replaceable. This ending threatens rather than preserves the citizens, because it implies that they are even more expendable than Coriolanus. While they have the power to change Rome's fate by refusing to elect a consul picked by the senate, Sicinius and Brutus manipulate the plebeians into being nothing more than their pawns, who still have to beg for their share of corn.

Because the citizens cannot hold on to their constituting power and mold it for their own benefit, Shakespeare calls into question the establishment of a republic that the rejection of Coriolanus seems to facilitate. Whenever the citizens win minor victories over the rigid hierarchy of the Roman empire—such as when they convince the patricians to establish the seat of the tribunes, or when they assert their right to elect their leaders—other characters push back against them. At first, the patricians undermine the validity of the citizens' desires and abilities, and then the tribunes steal the force of the citizens' constituting power. Even without Coriolanus's overt disdain for the plebeians, they have enemies on all sides. And the sacrifice of Coriolanus for the well-being of Rome reestablishes the sovereign exception within the newly constituted power of the republic. Power changes hands many times throughout the play but, regardless of who possesses it, the citizens always seem to lose. Although they are the foundation of constituting power, their lives rise only to Agamben's level of "bare life," and they remain unworthy of self-sacrifice for cruel mother Rome (7).

REFERENCES

Adelman, Janet. *Suffocating Mothers: Fantasies of Maternal Origin in Shakespeare's Plays,* Hamlet *to* The Tempest. New York, N.Y.: Routledge, 1992. Print.

Agamben, Giorgio. *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life*. Translated by Daniel Heller-Roazen, Stanford University Press, 1998. Print.

Hillier, Russell H. "'Valour Will Weep': The Ethics of Valor, Anger, and Pity in Shakespeare's *Coriolanus*." *Studies in Philology* 113.2 (2016): 358-396. Web.

Kaouk, Theodore F. "Homo Faber, Action Hero Manqué: Crafting the State in *Coriolanus*." *Shakespeare Quarterly* 66.4 (2015): 409-439. Web.

Kuzner, James. "Unbuilding the City: Coriolanus and the Birth of Republican Rome." *Shakespeare Quarterly* 58.2 (2007): 174-199. Web.

Langis, Unhae. "*Coriolanus*: Inordinate Passions and Powers in Personal and Political Governance." *Comparative Drama* 44.1 (2010): 1-27. Web.

Miller, Nichole E. "Sacred Life and Sacrificial Economy: Coriolanus in No-Man's-Land." *Criticism* 51.2 (2009): 263-310. Web.

Shakespeare, William. "Coriolanus." 1607 *The Complete Works of William Shakespeare*. Peter Norton. San Diego: Canterbury Classics, 2014. 1060-1105. Print.

Shakespeare, William. *Cymbeline*. 1609. Barbara A. Mowat and Paul Werstine. New York: Washington Square Press, 2003. Print.

⬧ International Criminal Justice 401

COMBATTING THE BLACK MARKET OF COUNTERFEIT ANTIMALARIAL MEDICATIONS IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

JOSEPH GANCI

ABSTRACT

This paper presents a literature review of the black market in counterfeit antimalarial medication in sub-Saharan Africa. The author analyzed general trends and assessed the magnitude of this industry. Next, the author described the problem of the counterfeit industry in sub-Saharan Africa and the social, economic, and political issues pertaining to it. Next, the author examined the problem through the framework of two major theories of criminology—routine activity theory and containment theory—and discussed policy implications of these theoretical perspectives. Finally, the author explored potential solutions, making specific policy recommendations regarding a multifaceted approach to addressing the transnational criminal issue.

INTRODUCTION

THE GLOBAL TRADE IN COUNTERFEIT MEDICATIONS constitutes a major transnational criminal problem that poses a threat to public health in virtually every nation in the world. In sub-Saharan Africa, the unlawful manufacture, distribution, and sale of counterfeit antimalarial medications has presented a major challenge to public health authorities entrusted with the responsibility of containing the deadly epidemic of malaria (Akiny, 2004). The trade in counterfeit antimalarial medications in sub-Saharan Africa has grown significantly over the past several decades, resulting in hundreds of thousands of deaths due to patients receiving treatment with falsified and substandard medications (Akunyili & Nnani, 2004). Improperly treated infections make malaria outbreaks more prevalent and containment much more difficult in endemic regions. The transnational criminal industry in counterfeit antimalarial medications is not merely a matter of intellectual property law; it is a crime against humanity and a matter of life and death (Aldhous, 2005) (Akunyili, 2007).

When counterfeit antimalarial medications enter the legitimate pharmaceutical marketplace, they cause severe risks to consumers and patients because the ingredients are illegitimate or toxic, and resources of time and money are wasted on ineffective treatment that can result in adverse drug reactions and additional or worsened ailments (Blackstone et al, 2014). Furthermore, the mass distribution of counterfeit medications poses a public health and safety hazard to society as a whole, because illegitimate antimalarial medications contribute to severe outbreaks and epidemics (Dondorp et al, 2011). This poses a threat to endemic regions of sub-Saharan Africa and neighboring countries. The improperly treated malaria epidemic also poses a public health threat to the world as a whole, as globalization has accelerated the spread of contagious illnesses across vast distances. There is urgent need for improved legislative and law enforcement efforts to combat the harmful effects of the counterfeit antimalarial medication industry (Akunyili, 2007). This paper will present a thorough review of literature regarding the transnational trade in counterfeit antimalarial medications in sub-Saharan Africa, an analysis of the size and scope of the problem, an examination of theoretical issues, an overview of current prevention practices, and a discussion of the implications of this important field of research.

The black market in counterfeit antimalarial medications in sub-Saharan Africa represents a criminal industry that can be better understood and explained in terms of several prominent theories of criminology. Rational choice theory and social control theory, including containment theory, are among the most useful criminological theories that offer insight into the causational factors behind this industry and the motivations of key players involved in the counterfeit drug trade in sub-Saharan Africa. A theoretical analysis of the counterfeit drug trade using these theories of criminology provides several important policy implications for legislative and law enforcement efforts to effectively combat the problem. This paper will conduct such a theoretical analysis and discussion of policy implications.

Because of the large scale and scope of drug counterfeiting in sub-Saharan Africa, most experts agree that public-private partnerships will play an integral role

in preventing and combatting the proliferation of this harmful black market (Cockburn et al, 2005). Transnational cooperation will also be essential to addressing this problem (INTERPOL, 2010). There are a number of innovative technological solutions that law enforcement and regulatory agencies may implement to help track and detect counterfeit antimalarial drugs (Bansal et al, 2012). This paper will evaluate the effectiveness of current preventative efforts and provide research-driven recommendations for future policy.

METHODS

Research for this paper was conducted using the resources of the Lloyd Sealy Library of John Jay College of Criminal Justice. The library's extensive collection of online databases of academic journals, books, and news media sources contained a great deal of information on the topic of transnational drug counterfeiting.

The main library databases consulted for this study included LexisNexis Academic, Elsevier, ProQuest, Springer Journals, SagePub, and Wiley Online Library. Most of the sources referenced were peer-reviewed journal articles published during the past decade, from 2007 to 2017. Books and newspaper and news magazine sources provided some general overview of the topic, and this overview helped produce search terms for the more intensive academic databases. Preliminary search terms included topical words such as "Counterfeit", "Medications", "Pharmaceuticals", and "Drugs". Further research included search terms specific to locations, including "Nigeria", "India", and "China", and specific types of counterfeit medications, including "Antibiotics", "Antimalarials", "Malaria", "Antivirals", "Biologics", "Vaccines", and terms pertaining to prevention efforts, including "law enforcement", "detection", "technology", "legislation", and "policy". The content of a given source would very often lead to additional searches using specific search terms drawn from that source.

Because the scope of my initially chosen topic was so broad, it soon became apparent that it would be necessary for me to narrow the area of focus to a more specific aspect of the global counterfeit drug industry. My preliminary research had produced a lot of interesting results pertaining to the region of sub-Saharan Africa, and the proliferation of counterfeit antimalarial medications there. In order to proceed with a more appropriately narrow scope, I found it necessary to put aside much of the early-stage research and conduct a secondary phase of more focused research into the specific issues of counterfeit antimalarial medications in sub-Saharan Africa.

Analysis of the problem was conducted using various theories of criminology drawn from the study of criminological theory as an undergraduate student of John Jay College of Criminal Justice. My college textbooks and course materials and lecture notes helped inform my theoretical analysis and discussion (Lilly et al, 2011).

GENERAL TRENDS AND MAGNITUDE OF THE PROBLEM

Globally, counterfeit drugs—and their manufacture, distribution, and sale--constitute a multibillion dollar industry. Efforts to combat the counterfeit drug trade have yielded staggering results in recent years. According to Interpol Task Force reports, the anti-counterfeit initiative "Operation Pangea" resulted in the seizure of

20.7 million fake and illicit pills in 2015 (INTERPOL, 2015). The government of Nigeria reported that law enforcement initiatives effectively reduced the circulation of counterfeit drugs from 40% to 17% between 2001 and 2005 (Adewole, 2016). It is important to acknowledge that these statistics, like most official statistics, are at least somewhat politically motivated. The law enforcement statistics described here are likely intended to demonstrate the effectiveness of current transnational operations like Interpol's "Pangea" and to boast the success of Nigeria's own national efforts to curb the counterfeit drug trade. While these statistics should not be dismissed entirely, they must be considered somewhat subjective and perhaps deliberately inflated to provide reassurance to stakeholders that the problem is under control (Andreas & Greenhill, 2010).

Counterfeit medications are especially problematic in sub-Saharan Africa, where rates of malaria transmission and mortality are staggering. According to the World Health Organization, the WHO African Region carries a disproportionately high share of the world's malaria burden. 2015 WHO statistics indicate that in this year, the African Region was home to 90% of malaria cases and 92% of malaria deaths (World Health Organization, 2016). The WHO has determined that some 13 countries – mainly in sub-Saharan Africa – account for 76% of malaria cases and 75% of malaria deaths worldwide (World Health Organization, 2016).

In the developing nations of sub-Saharan Africa, where rates of malaria infection and transmission are very high, fake and illicit antimalarial medicines make up a significant portion of the counterfeit drug trade. Counterfeit antimalarial pills pose a severe threat to public health both in Africa and around the world. According to the World Health Organization (WHO), 3.3 billion people are at risk of malaria worldwide (Adewole, 2016). Between 655,000 and 1.2 million people die from malaria each year, and children in sub-Saharan Africa are among the highest-risk groups (Adewole, 2016). Another recent study claimed that the annual global death toll from malaria is 1 million people per year, the vast majority of whom are children younger than five (Hay et al, 2004). The WHO research indicates that in areas with high transmission of malaria, children under 5 are particularly susceptible to infection, illness and death. Furthermore, over two thirds (70%) of all malaria deaths occur in this age group. Although the under-5 malaria death rate fell by 29% globally between 2010 and 2015, malaria remains a major killer of children under five years old, taking the life of a child every two minutes (World Health Organization, 2016). According to research from nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), it is estimated that over 100,000 African children die each year as a result of receiving counterfeit antimalarial medication (Fenoff & Wilson, 2009). It is important to consider that these statistics, like the law enforcement statistics, are not above the influence of political motivations. Because the governments and agencies combatting the counterfeit antimalarial trade are devoted to raising awareness and raising money to fund their efforts, it is safe to assume that these numbers are likely somewhat inflated (Andreas & Greenhill, 2010). Even if the statistics provided are deceptively high estimates, there is little doubt that malaria is a major global problem with especially acute effects on the populations of sub-Saharan Africa.

Inadequate regulation is largely to blame for the booming trade in counterfeit antimalarials and other medications. 30% of the world's countries lack a regulating

agency comparable to the United States FDA (Food & Drug Administration) (Nayyar et al, 2012). This lack of regulation is especially problematic in Africa, where rates of counterfeit medications are extremely high. Nigeria is one of the world's most significant centers for the manufacture, distribution, and sale of counterfeit medicines (Fenoff et al, 2009). It is estimated that 30% of drugs sold in Africa-- and over 70% of drugs sold in Nigeria-- are counterfeit (Fenoff et al, 2009). Without significantly heightened regulation efforts and expansion of existing regulatory agencies' jurisdiction, the problem is unlikely to see much improvement.

DESCRIPTION OF THE PROBLEM

The manufacture, distribution, and sale of counterfeit antimalarial drugs in Africa is a small but significant part of a much larger global industry in counterfeit medication. Counterfeit antimalarial drugs are of special international concern because malaria is an epidemic. Although the malaria epidemic is especially prevalent in sub-Saharan Africa and Southeast Asia, untreated or improperly treated malaria threatens to cause havoc far beyond the borders of endemic regions, as outbreaks may spread and antimalarial drug resistance may develop among the various strains of malaria (Dondorp et al, 2011).

Counterfeit antimalarial medications—and their active ingredients—are most commonly manufactured and exported from several main source countries. These primary points of origin are China, India, and Nigeria (Atemnkeng, 2007). Due to the covert and transitive nature of these counterfeit drug manufacturing operations, it is very difficult for national and international law enforcement to track down and prosecute the masterminds behind the counterfeiting operations. Nigeria is the pharmaceutical industry capital of sub-Saharan Africa and is home to over 130 pharmaceutical corporations, but less than half of these firms are involved in active manufacturing of drugs. The bulk of medications in Nigeria come from Asia. An estimated 70% of drugs in Nigeria are imported from countries like India and China, which makes prevention efforts complicated and detection challenging for law enforcement agencies and health system regulators (Chinwendu, 2008).

It is believed that most of the counterfeit antimalarial drugs that enter Nigeria from China are made in factories controlled by highly sophisticated organized crime syndicates (Chinwendu, 2008). Because penalties for counterfeit pharmaceutical manufacturing and distribution are far less severe than the penalties for illicit narcotics trafficking, organized crime networks have increasingly turned to medicine counterfeiting as a lucrative enterprise with significantly less risk of interception and prosecution (Nayyar et al, 2012). Nigeria is a preferred base of operations for drug counterfeiters and distributors because of loose control systems, poor regulatory capacity, conflicting drug legislation, overly weak penalties for drug counterfeiting, and low availability of affordable medication, which creates a high demand for cheap alternatives (Akiny, 2013). Counterfeiters exploit these conditions at the regional, national, and local level.

Part of the difficulty in combatting the black market in counterfeit antimalarials stems from the insufficient official data regarding the key players involved in the manufacturing and distribution of counterfeit drugs. Much of the available literature regarding the counterfeit black market is generated from

investigative reporting on the local level (Cockburn et al, 2005). The level of public inquiry into the criminal enterprise is extremely limited relative to the massive scale of the problem. Similarly, the effects of counterfeit antimalarial medications on patients are difficult to precisely detect and accurately quantify, as they are mostly concealed in public health statistics. Scientific data on the epidemiology of counterfeit pharmaceuticals are kept secret by government agencies and the pharmaceutical industry (Cockburn et al, 2005).

The pharmaceutical industry takes on much of the responsibility of tracking down and breaking up transnational counterfeiting rings, but the results of such operations are rarely made public. Pharmaceutical companies hire investigators to locate and close down the manufacturing and distribution operations of counterfeit medicines, but data derived from these internal enforcement operations is kept private (Cockburn et al, 2005).

While there is certainly need for more transparency and open communication regarding the criminal trade in counterfeit antimalarials, the available information strongly indicates that this black market poses a serious threat to individual, regional, and global health and safety. A recent study found that 64% of antimalarials in Nigeria were reported to be substandard or counterfeit (Blackstone et al, 2014). In Nigeria, major cities are plagued by an abundance of extremely unregulated, open air drug markets where counterfeit medications are widely sold, traded and distributed. Mid-level and low-level players in the counterfeit trade operate from stalls, street corner stands, and kiosks, with relative impunity (Chinwendu, 2008). In African urban centers, pharmaceutical drugs are openly traded through the informal economy in huge, unregulated, open markets alongside fruit and vegetables. Hospitals are unable to buy drugs directly from the pharmaceutical companies because the medicines are too expensive and the purchase orders are too small, so hospitals are forced to buy drugs from unlicensed local suppliers (Hovig & Westley, 2014).

Far from a victimless crime, antimalarial counterfeiting is extremely harmful to individuals and society as a whole. Aldhous (2005) studied the impact of counterfeit antimalarial drugs on the front lines of the developing world where these drugs are widely sold to unwitting patients, who pay with their lives when they place their hope in treatments that are marketed as legitimate medicines but turn out to be substandard and counterfeit drugs (Blackstone et al, 2014). The criminals who manufacture, transport, distribute and knowingly sell these fake medicines are essentially complicit in a form of profit-motivated murder (Aldhous, 2005).

Karunathamoori (2014) conducted a thorough analysis of 105 studies on the counterfeit antimalarial trade and concluded that counterfeit manufacturing and distribution and sale are not merely murder, but are in actuality a crime against humanity. According to the research, antimalarials can be considered a weapon of mass destruction. Karunathamoori outlined several key ways in which the antimalarial black market wreaks havoc on individuals and society in endemic regions and around the world. Counterfeit and substandard drugs cause economic sabotage, treatment failure, heightened risk of the evolution and spread of resistant strains of malaria, undermining of public faith and confidence in health care infrastructure, and severe potentially lethal side effects for patients. All of these devastating effects of the counterfeit antimalarial trade support the notion that this enterprise can be accurately

deemed a crime against humanity (Karunamoorthi, 2014). In this way, counterfeit antimalarial trade in sub-Saharan Africa is not just a local, national, or regional issue, but instead is a transnational issue with global ramifications.

One of the most severe harmful impacts of such substandard and counterfeit antimalarials is the development of resistance by strains of malaria to the most commonly used, efficacious treatments. Artemisinins are a class of highly potent, rapidly efficacious antimalarial drugs that were first developed in China in the 1970s (Dondorp et al, 2011). Since the 1990s, artemisinin combination therapies have become globally popular and have been effectively used to significantly reduce malaria rates in many affected regions, including endemic regions of sub-Saharan Africa (Dondorp et al, 2011). Today, one quarter of malaria afflicted countries have shifted their objective from malaria control to malaria elimination, and efficacious artemisinin drugs are integral to achieving this goal (World Health Organization, 2016). The World Health Organization recently launched a Global Plan for Artemisinin Resistance Containment, in partnership with several stakeholders (Global Plan for Artemisinin Resistance Containment, 2011). The trade in counterfeit antimalarial products threatens to thwart this important mission. Widespread marketing and use of counterfeit and falsified drugs containing trace amounts of the active ingredient artemisinin causes individual cases and local outbreaks of malaria to go untreated, contributing to the threat of artemisinin resistant strains of malaria evolving and spreading (Dondorp et al, 2011). Artemisinin resistance would be disastrous for the regional control and treatment efforts, and it would make elimination entirely impossible (Global Plan for Artemisinin Resistance Containment, 2011).

Recent studies demonstrate that the problem of counterfeit antimalarial medications is widespread in sub-Saharan Africa. Nayyar et al (2012) reviewed published and unpublished studies reporting assessments of packaging and chemical analyses of antimalarial medications to investigate the severity of the problem of counterfeit and substandard antimalarial drugs in endemic regions of Southeast Asia and sub-Saharan Africa. Of 21 surveys of antimalarials from 21 sub-Saharan African countries, 35% failed chemical analysis, 36% failed packaging analysis, and 20% were determined to be falsified (Nayyar et al, 2012).

Atemunkeng et al (2007) conducted lab testing and quantitative analysis of content of ingredients of artemisinin-derivative antimalarials marketed in Kenya and DR Congo to measure and assess quality control standards of these medications. The researchers found problematically varying dosages of active ingredients and determined that a significant portion of medicines studied were substandard and/or fake (Atemunkeng et al, 2007).

Gaudiano et al (2007) conducted a study of antimalarials obtained from the informal medicines market in Congo, Burundi, and Angola. The researchers performed various chemical analyses on samples as well as evaluations of labels and packaging characteristics to determine the frequency of counterfeit and substandard drugs in these informal markets. The researchers found that the samples exhibited several different kinds of problems, including insufficient or inaccurate labeling and expiration dates, low content of active ingredients, presence of other unlisted chemical ingredients, and low technological properties that could negatively affect the efficacy

of the medicines (Gaudiano et al, 2007). This study highlights the problem of the informal medicine markets that are so common in the economically depressed nations of sub-Saharan Africa.

Bate et al (2008) conducted a study of antimalarial drugs obtained from private pharmacies in malaria endemic regions of sub-Saharan Africa. The study took place across six countries—Ghana, Kenya, Nigeria, Rwanda, Tanzania, and Uganda—which are among the most malarious parts of Africa and the world. Two common chemical analyses were performed to measure the content of active ingredients against internationally approved standards for antimalarial medicines. 35% of samples obtained failed one or both chemical analysis tests. 33% of samples contained artemisinin monotherapies—not the internationally approved artemisinin combination therapies—most of which were manufactured in violation of international accords for quality control in malaria eradication efforts. According to the researchers, the high prevalence of counterfeit and substandard medicines, as well as the unacceptable persistence of banned monotherapy treatments, pose severe threats to local and regional health and to global malaria control and elimination objectives (Bate et al, 2008).

THEORETICAL ISSUES

Routine activity theory is one of the theories of criminology that is particularly useful in analyzing the problem and potential solutions for addressing the black market of counterfeit antimalarials in sub-Saharan Africa. Unlike traditional theories of criminology that focus on criminal offenders and the factors that motivate them to commit crimes, routine activity theory is a branch of opportunity theory that is based on the assertion that criminal offenders can only commit crimes if the opportunity to do so is present. Developed by Marcus Felson, routine activity theory posits that much like a chemical reaction, a criminal event can only take place when a certain set of conditions or "ingredients" are combined together (Lilly et al, 2011). According to Felson, the chemistry for crime requires a "motivated offender", which is a person who possesses criminal intentions and the capacity to criminally offend. The motivated offender can only carry out a crime if opportunity is present. Opportunity requires a "suitable target"—an object, person, or property that the motivated offender seeks to take or control—and the "absence of a capable guardian", an individual or agency that would prevent crime if present. When these three factors—a motivated offender, a suitable target, and the absence of a capable guardian—converge at a point in time and space, predatory crime becomes possible (Lilly et al, 2011).

The transnational trade in counterfeit antimalarial drugs in sub-Saharan Africa can be better understood in terms of the "chemistry for crime" described by Felson's routine activity theory. The motivated offenders include the individuals and groups who manufacture counterfeit drugs—often in least developed countries like India, China, and Nigeria (Adewole, 2016). Other motivated offenders include the individuals and groups who transport the counterfeit drugs across international borders and those who distribute the counterfeit antimalarial drugs at drug markets in populous urban centers in Nigeria. At the bottom of the distribution chain are the low-

level motivated offenders who knowingly purchase and sell counterfeit antimalarial medications to NGOs and hospitals as well as directly to patients and their families (Chinwendu, 2008).

The suitable targets in the counterfeit antimalarial trade are the organizations and individuals who are seeking legitimate antimalarial medications for legitimate health care objectives of treating individual cases of malaria and controlling outbreaks to prevent the spread of the epidemic. Billions of dollars are spent on antimalarial medications, and this represents a major opportunity for counterfeiters to exploit at the expense of the individuals and organizations spending money on malaria treatment (Blackstone et al, 2014).

In sub-Saharan Africa, there is a notable absence of capable guardianship to prevent and control the booming black market of counterfeit antimalarials. Counterfeiters and counterfeit drug distributors and vendors operate in an environment in which regulatory agencies are weak or totally absent, and law enforcement is poorly equipped with financial and information resources needed to effectively combat their criminal enterprises and operations (Akiny, 2013).

When analyzed through the framework of routine activity theory, drug counterfeiting--and distribution and sale—is basically a crime of opportunity. Drug counterfeiters and distributors and vendors are primarily opportunistic criminal offenders who are motivated by the "windfall profits" that they effectively generate from dealing in counterfeit medications with relatively low risk of interception and minor legal penalties (Chaudhry & Stumpf, 2013). Therefore, the main policy implications of this theoretical analysis are that efforts to combat the counterfeit drug black market require situational crime prevention. In the case of counterfeit antimalarial medicines in sub-Saharan Africa, situational crime prevention requires increased regulation of the pharmaceutical trade, law enforcement prioritization and coordination of anti-counterfeiting initiatives, the imposition of stricter penalties for counterfeiting crimes, the implementation of anti-counterfeiting technologies, and the design and dissemination of public awareness and consumer education campaigns. Together, these solutions will reduce the capacity of the motivated offenders, detract from the suitability of the target, and address the glaring absence of capable guardianship, thereby significantly lowering the opportunity for crime to occur. These proposed solutions will be explored in greater depth in the later sections of this paper.

Containment theory is another criminological theory that offers a useful framework for understanding and addressing the black market of counterfeit antimalarials in sub-Saharan Africa. Developed by Walter Reckless, containment theory is a branch of social control theory that emerged in the early 1960s based on the great social transformation of life in America from basic, cohesive, agrarian societies into vast, complex, industrialized and technologically sophisticated urban environments (Lilly et al, 2011). According to Reckless, this evolution of social arrangements and the differentiation and division of labor presented individuals with new opportunities to assume distinct identities. Containment theory explores the set of factors that may "push" an individual toward criminal enterprise, as well as the criminal opportunities that may "pull" an individual into a life of criminality. In addition to these pushes and pulls, containment theory is concerned with the external, conforming factors that bind individuals to the group—known as "outer

containment"—and the internal, individual factors that make individuals conform—known as "inner containment"(Lilly et al, 2011).

Containment theory is useful for analyzing the black market of counterfeit antimalarial drugs in sub-Saharan Africa, particularly because the nations of sub-Saharan Africa have undergone significant social transformation over the past several decades, as major industrialized urban settings have become firmly entrenched in formerly simple, rural, agrarian societies. As the influences of globalization have radically transformed the societies of sub-Saharan Africa, the division of labor has changed. Major industries like manufacturing, shipping, and pharmaceuticals have presented new opportunities, including the thriving black market opportunities of piracy, counterfeiting, and the trade in counterfeit merchandise and drugs (Adewole, 2016).

According to containment theory, the counterfeit antimalarial industry in sub-Saharan Africa is thriving because of inadequate social controls. While containment theory is mostly concerned with conformity, it implies that deviance—delinquency and criminality—will occur when forces of containment weaken or are absent (Lilly, 2011).

Criminal motivation in sub-Saharan Africa can be understood in terms of pushes and pulls. Some of the pushes that motivate individuals to participate in criminal enterprise include the major poverty that exists across most of the region. Social conditions are extremely troubled. There are extremely limited opportunities for legitimate means of living. The factors that pull individuals to commit these crimes include the highly accessible criminal underworld that is concentrated in urban centers of Nigeria and other centers of trade and commerce in sub-Saharan African nations (Erhun et al, 2001) (INTERPOL, 2008). Because the demand for antimalarial medications is so high in endemic regions of sub-Saharan Africa, the black market in counterfeit drugs represents a tremendous, lucrative opportunity for individuals to earn a living, albeit an illegitimate one (Burns, 2006).

The forces of outer containment in sub-Saharan African society are problematically weak. There is massive social disorganization, and nations like Nigeria are plagued by poverty and rampant corruption (Akiny, 2013). This social disorganization creates a social atmosphere in which conventional behavior is not sufficiently reinforced, and socially responsible relationships are not supported. According to one World Health Organization official, "the dismantling of the health-care system in most African countries has created the vacuum into which counterfeiters have been able to slip" (INTERPOL, 2008).

The forces of inner containment in sub-Saharan African society are also severely lacking. In developing nations there is a weakening and erosion of normative commitment, and low acceptance of conventional values, laws, and ways of behaving (Cockburn et al, 2005) (Lilly et al, 2011).

When considered in terms of containment theory, the policy implications for combatting the black market in counterfeit antimalarial drugs are based on the objectives of limiting the push and pull factors that motivate counterfeit manufacturers, distributors, and vendors to participate in this devastating industry of death. Relevant policy implications are also based on the objectives of increasing and enhancing forces of inner and outer containment to reduce delinquency and improve

normative commitment among the members of vulnerable populations of sub-Saharan African nations. Accordingly, solutions to this transnational criminal problem entail the need for transnational, collaborative law enforcement efforts to tame the thriving drug counterfeiting industry and the need for public-private partnerships to control the markets of counterfeit medicines and empower citizens with public awareness and consumer education, and the need for the stimulation of legal economies, and the development of legitimate employment opportunities (Kubic, 2011) (Adewole, 2016) (Chinwendu, 2008) (Cockburn et al, 2005) (Chika et al, 2011). Some of these strategies will be explored in greater depth in later sections of this paper.

PREVENTION PRACTICES

The World Health Organization (WHO) is the United Nations Agency entrusted with the daunting responsibility of containing the global spread of malaria, which includes the task of combatting the devastating trade in counterfeit antimalarial medications at the international, regional, national, and local level (World Health Organization, 2016). In its 2011 Global Plan for Artemisinin Resistance Containment, the WHO set forth clear objectives regarding the removal of substandard and counterfeit drugs from the global health care system. In order to halt production and distribution of substandard and counterfeit drugs, the WHO applies pressure on the governments of nations in which illegal drug manufacturing is common. WHO agencies and partners conduct quality-control screening to assess the presence and prevalence of poor quality drugs. In places where such drugs are found to be prevalent, the WHO conducts field operations to remove poor quality drugs from the marketplace, issuing fines and closing offending vendors when necessary and possible. The WHO attempts to provide incentives and equipment to certain vendors to empower them with the ability to identify and remove poor quality drugs from their facilities (Global Plan for Artemisinin Resistance Containment, 2011).

In addition to removing substandard and counterfeit antimalarial drugs from the health care system, the WHO also dedicates efforts to education initiatives. The WHO oversees campaigns to educate patients and health workers about malaria control, with special focus on the hazards of using oral artemisinin-based monotherapies and poor-quality drugs and the importance of adherence to artemisinin combination therapy treatments. Such campaigns are broadcast through relevant local media channels. The WHO encourages the ministry of health to hold education campaigns for public health providers on malaria diagnosis and treatment, including special procedures for artemisinin combination therapies. The WHO also launches education campaigns for private health retailers on malaria diagnosis and treatment and the proper use of artemisinin combination therapies as well as the risks of artemisinin-based monotherapies (Global Plan for Artemisinin Resistance Containment, 2011).

Industry regulation and law enforcement are other important components of combatting the black market of counterfeit antimalarial drugs in sub-Saharan Africa. Since Nigeria is such a central base of operations for counterfeit drug manufacturing and distribution, one of the most integral key players in regulation and law enforcement efforts pertaining to the counterfeit drug trade in sub-Saharan Africa is Nigeria's National Agency for Food and Drug Administration and Control

(NAFDAC). NAFDAC is "the government agency in Nigeria that is fully empowered to regulate and control the importation, exportation, manufacture, advertisement, distribution, sale and use of drugs in order to ensure that safe and quality drugs are available to the public" (Chinwendu, 2008). Previously an organization plagued by greed and corruption, NAFDAC came under the leadership authority of Dora Akunyili in 2001. Akunyili immediately began working to stamp out corruption in the nation's fight against the counterfeit drug industry (Chinwendu, 2008). Over the past two decades, NAFDAC has earned the support of the United States Food and Drug Administration (FDA) and the World Health Organization (WHO). NAFDAC has importantly raised public awareness about counterfeit drugs and stepped up surveillance at Nigerian customs points. Still, the agency has come up against many challenges, including the persistent corrupt dealings between lawmakers and politicians and counterfeit and substandard drug manufacturers (Akiny, 2013). Another shortcoming has been the agency's inability to shut down the unlicensed, unmonitored, unregulated open air drug markets in Nigeria that serve as central distribution centers and the bulk suppliers of many pharmacies and drug vendors (Akunyili, 2007). According to a NAFDAC report, these drug outlets are the preferred first line for malaria treatment seekers because "they are cheap, close proximity, no consultation fees, flexible payment method, perception of confidentiality; they feel that the quality of care and attention received are adequate, high stock out rate at the health facilities" (Akunyili, 2007) As long as the demand remains high, it will be challenging to achieve meaningful long-term results from the mere closure of outlets and temporary disruption of the market and penalizing of substandard and counterfeit drug vendors. NAFDAC is in desperate need of greater support from the national government and relevant stakeholders, including customs, police agencies, and the judiciary (Erhun et al, 2001). The Nigerian government needs to implement and enforce harsher legislation to shut down the informal drug market with long-term results.

Elsewhere in sub-Saharan Africa, public-private partnership efforts to regulate the informal drug markets and thereby curb the counterfeit and substandard antimalarial industry have demonstrated some serious promise. In Tanzania and Ghana, the government initiated a program of mandatory licensure and accreditation of drug dispensing outlets under the control of the national drug regulating authority. The governments of Tanzania and Ghana partnered with the nonprofit group Management Sciences for Health (MSH) and the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation to adopt and enact the Accredited Drug Dispensing Outlet (ADDO) Program (Hovig &Westley, 2014). This program entails the licensure, regulation, and training of drug vendors to better provide ethical pharmacy practices and improve services to health care consumers. The reported success of this initiative demonstrates the powerful capacity for public-private partnerships to help bring about meaningful change in the counterfeit antimalarial black market crisis (Kubic, 2011).

The World Health Organization (WHO) has made some important strides in its law enforcement initiatives pertaining to the transnational counterfeit antimalarial trade in sub-Saharan Africa. In late 2006 the WHO launched the International Medical Products Anti-Counterfeiting Taskforce (IMPACT) with the aim of eliminating the counterfeit drug industry. IMPACT is a global coalition of stakeholders that seeks to

improve and develop collaboration between WHO member states, NGOs, international organizations, law enforcement agencies, and health care professionals to raise awareness of the dangers of counterfeit drugs and to curb the manufacture and distribution of these products (INTERPOL, 2008). The IMPACT taskforce actively encourages the public, distributors, pharmacists, and hospital staff to inform the authorities about their suspicions regarding the authenticity of medications. In conjunction with this communication function, the taskforce helps governments wage war on corruption in the sectors of their police forces and customs authorities charged with law enforcement responsibilities. The key members of IMPACT are national drug regulatory authorities and law enforcement agencies. The WHO also seeks involvement of other international organizations, pharmaceutical manufacturing and wholesaling industry associations, patient advocacy groups, and health workers (INTERPOL, 2008).

In 2008, the WHO carried out Operation Mamba. Between September 29 and October 5, combined police forces, drug authorities, and revenue authorities of INTERPOL and the WHO executed raids in Tanzania and Uganda to inspect facilities and confiscate counterfeit medicines. 191 locations in Tanzania, including pharmacies, warehouses, and illegal markets were inspected, resulting in the seizure of 100 types of products and the forced closure of 4 pharmacies and 18 drug shops. The raids resulted in the opening of 44 new police cases. In Uganda, raids were carried out on 45 locations, resulting in the investigation of 38 unlicensed or improperly controlled pharmacies and shops, and the seizure of unregistered medicines and suspected counterfeits (INTERPOL, 2008). Operation Mamba represented the first combined INTERPOL-WHO operations targeting counterfeit pharmaceutical products in Africa under the IMPACT framework. Efficiency and effectiveness of Operation Mamba were maximized through the delivery of a two day training program led by INTERPOL and IMPACT agents to brief personnel on methods and procedures in advance of the raids. This type of collaborative international effort is extremely important for continued progress in the fight against the counterfeit industry (INTERPOL, 2008).

Following Operation Mamba, IMPACT has continued to execute some massive raids and generated some significant results toward its mission of eradicating the counterfeit drug trade in sub-Saharan Africa. In 2010, a combined international operation across East Africa, called Operation Mamba III, targeted counterfeit medical products and pharmaceutical crimes, resulting in the seizure of at least 10 tons of counterfeit and illicit medical products and the arrests of 80 individuals suspected of participation in the illegal manufacture, trafficking or sale of counterfeit and diverted medicines (INTERPOL, 2010). Operation Mamba III involved police, customs and drug regulatory authorities, coordinating INTERPOL and WHO IMPACT efforts across Burundi, Kenya, Rwanda, Tanzania, Uganda and Zanzibar. The operation also included forensic support from the laboratories of the Singaporean Health Science Authority and assistance from the World Customs Organization. According to Aline Plancon, the head of INTERPOL's Medical Products Counterfeiting and Pharmaceutical Crime (MPCPC) unit, "Operation Mamba III demonstrates that by working together collectively, countries can take concrete action on the ground to curb a crime that is still low-risk and high-profit for the criminals

involved while representing a very real danger to the general public" (INTERPOL, 2010). The operation took two months and included inspections and raids of 300 locations, resulting in ongoing investigations and seizure of large quantities of a variety of counterfeit antimalarials and other essential medications as well as illegally diverted government medications destined for illegal resale (INTERPOL, 2010).

Another noteworthy accomplishment in the battle against counterfeit antimalarials was Operation Jupiter, in which authorities used a variety of forensic tests, including mass spectrometry and pollen analysis to effectively track down the manufacturing site of fake artesunate—an artemisinin based antimalarial active ingredient—in southern China (Mansell, 2008). The operation was coordinated by the WHO, INTERPOL, and the Welcome Trust-University of Oxford. It represents an impressive achievement in that counterfeit ingredients were effectively traced up the distribution chain to the top, to the specific location in which they were manufactured and exported from China. This type of operation requires strong technical capacity and resources and coordination between authorities of different nations, all of which could be difficult in resource-strapped region of sub-Saharan Africa, but it is still important as an example of what is made possible by successful collaboration between law enforcement, national governments, and regulatory agencies. Operation Jupiter requires hefty investment in forensic analysis technology as well as collaboration of efforts and relationship-building among the various organizations involved in the anti-counterfeiting effort (Mansell, 2008).

DISCUSSION

According to my research it is clear that no single solution exists for this transnational criminal problem. Instead, a multifaceted approach is necessary in order to combat the black market in counterfeit antimalarial drugs in sub-Saharan Africa. This approach requires public awareness initiatives, increased regulation and coordination of international, national, regional, and local law enforcement efforts, and improved access to anti-counterfeit technologies.

There is an urgent need for greater transparency and improved information sharing by the pharmaceutical industry, and this public relations need is especially urgent in sub-Saharan Africa. The pharmaceutical industry has problematically maintained policies and practices of secrecy, deliberately not releasing warnings for fear of damaging public confidence in their legitimate, genuine medicines (Cockburn et al, 2005). Public statements by pharmaceutical companies express the claim that the benefits of disclosing transparent warnings are outweighed by the dangers of causing unnecessary alarm among the public (Cockburn et al, 2005). Considering the extreme prevalence of counterfeit antimalarial medications and the severe individual, societal, and global health risks associated with the malaria crisis in sub-Saharan Africa, any alarm created by public awareness is certainly not unnecessary (Blackstone et al, 2014).

The WHO and researchers have emphasized the importance of raising public awareness on the growing counterfeit drug trade and the associated health risks, but there is insufficient research data about present levels of public awareness of these problems. There is also insufficient research data about consumers' ability to identify

or suspect counterfeit medications. Mhando et al (2016) conducted a cross-sectional study in Tanzania to assess public awareness and measure consumers' ability to identify counterfeits based on appearance, packaging, labeling, and leaflets. The researchers determined that respondents with knowledge of the health effects of counterfeit drugs were more likely to distinguish between counterfeit and genuine drugs, which suggests the importance of public empowerment in the fight against the black market of counterfeit antimalarials (Mhando et al, 2016).

Other research emphasizes the urgent need for educational and information-sharing programs that can be disseminated through national media, healthcare systems, and legislative networks to improve the level of knowledge of patients, patients' families, and health workers. These initiatives will empower the citizens of sub-Saharan African countries with knowledge of the nature of the threat posed by drug counterfeiting, thereby encouraging greater community resistance to the prevalent informal drug markets and the rampant corruption and greed that afflicts drug outlets and endangers and poisons the legitimate pharmaceutical trade (Mhando et al, 2016) (Adewole, 2016) (Cockburn et al, 2005).

Continued coordination of regulatory bodies and law enforcement agencies like the World Health Organization (WHO), IMPACT, INTERPOL, and NAFDAC, as well as the governments of other nations across sub-Saharan Africa, will be crucial for curbing the tide of falsified, hazardous, counterfeit, and banned medical products into and throughout the region. Missions like Operation Jupiter, Operation Mamba, Operation Mamba III, and others demonstrate the remarkable success that is possible through close collaboration between law enforcement, international political organizations, the health sector, and non-governmental organizations. In order to more efficiently coordinate knowledge, experience, financial and technical resources, and intelligence, organizations should improve and streamline communication capacities and information sharing through universally accessible databases. These successful transnational collaborative efforts are also important because they combine law enforcement initiatives with campaigns to augment public awareness, resources, and educational efforts, all of which are crucial for continued progress in the struggle to stop counterfeit manufacturing, distribution, and sale (INTERPOL, 2008) (INTERPOL, 2010) (Chinwendu, 2008) (Mansell, 2008).

Anti-counterfeiting technology must also be utilized by regulatory and law enforcement agencies in addressing the counterfeit antimalarial crisis in sub-Saharan Africa. Important technologies include identification technology, which enables authorities and vendors and health workers to screen for counterfeits, packaging technologies, and track-and-trace technologies (Bansal et al, 2012).

In order to prevent fatalities and curb the spread of malaria and to prevent the emergence of drug-resistant strains of malaria, health workers and medicine inspectors in endemic regions of sub Saharan Africa must be equipped with efficient, affordable technology to identify counterfeit artesunate medicine products. Koesdojo et al (2014) developed a high-speed, low-cost, user-friendly, colorimetric-based kit for detecting counterfeit artesunate with a high degree of accuracy. While further research is necessary to perfect and optimize the application of this proof-of-concept, this simple, cost-effective technique is likely to be valuable for government officials

and local pharmacies to prevent the diversion of ineffective and dangerous counterfeit antimalarials into the legitimate drug market (Koesdojo, 2014).

Other important technologies that the pharmaceutical industry needs to employ pertain to packaging of medications and track-and-traceability. Because chemical analysis can be complicated and expensive, packaging design needs to be improved to make it more resistant to forgery, using the same type of barcode technology and security devices used in currency notes (Burns, 2006). Fortunately, there are already a wide variety of anti-counterfeit technologies currently being used by the pharmaceutical industry. These technologies include tamper-resistant or tamper-evident packaging, product authentication features, and track and trace technologies. Product authentication features may be overt features such as holograms and color-shift ink, covert features such as embedded images and digital watermarks, or forensic features like chemical and biological tags and microtaggants. Track and trace technologies are the systems and databases that enable authorities to trace the route of medicine products from their manufacture to their point of sale (Bansal et al, 2012). In the fight against the black market of antimalarial drugs in sub-Saharan Africa, pharmaceutical companies should coordinate efforts with customs agencies and law enforcement agencies in order to implement such technologies and ensure that they are being used properly to their maximum potential (Cockburn et al, 2005) (Burns, 2006) (Bansal et al, 2012).

CONCLUSION

The malaria crisis in sub-Sahara Africa is extremely severe, and it poses a major threat to the safety of individual patients, the general population in endemic regions, and the health and safety of the entire world. The thriving black market in counterfeit antimalarial drugs represents not just an industry of intellectual property theft, but a crime of murder. Patients die from therapeutic failure as a result of receiving medications that are falsified and substandard or entirely lacking the necessary active ingredients. Young children are among the most vulnerable to fall victim to this terrible fate. In terms of the threat that counterfeit antimalarial medications pose to economies, health care systems, and the health and safety of entire populations, the counterfeit antimalarial trade is indeed a crime against humanity. Previously declared objectives of malaria eradication are already in serious jeopardy. Artemisinin resistance threatens the stability of health of the entire world, for artemisinin resistant strains of malaria may lead to devastating, untreatable outbreaks and global epidemics.

Major theories of criminology provide a useful framework for analyzing the transnational criminal industry of counterfeit antimalarial manufacturing and distribution. Routine activity theory offers the perspective that the counterfeit antimalarial black market is essentially a criminal enterprise of opportunity, involving motivated offenders, suitable targets, and the absence of adequate guardianship. Containment theory offers the perspective that the counterfeit antimalarial black market is part of a phenomenon resulting from push-and-pull factors in tumultuous sub-Saharan African societies and the insufficient social controls to promote

conformity—and prevent delinquency—among those individuals who neglect community values and opt for involvement in this destructive criminal industry.

The policy implications of my extensive research and in-depth theoretical analysis fall into several key categories. Continued international law enforcement initiatives and collaborative efforts among regulatory agencies, governments, and health care systems is imperative to curbing the influence of the counterfeit drug industry and improving communication and resource sharing and technical capacities among stakeholders. Leaders in the pharmaceutical industry must be pressured to adopt policies of transparency and openness about privately conducted anti-counterfeiting operations. Public health authorities and political leaders at the local, regional, national, and international level must promote public awareness and empower citizens with crucial knowledge of the dangers of counterfeit antimalarials as well as information about pharmaceutical ethics and the skills necessary to identify counterfeit medicines. Community empowerment will help the effort to shut down dangerous, unregulated markets where these products proliferate. Governments and public health authorities must also devote resources to continued research and development and implementation of anti-counterfeiting technology, ideally with the extensive financial and technical support of the pharmaceutical industry. If the above conditions are met, the total devastating impact of the counterfeit antimalarial drug industry may just be averted.

REFERENCES

Adewole, I. (2016). Information sharing and capacity building are key to fighting counterfeit drugs in the African region. 66th session of the WHO Regional Committee for Africa: day 5. August 23, 2016. http://www.afro.who.int/en/sixty-sixth-session.html

Aldhous, P. (2005). Counterfeit pharmaceuticals: murder by medicine. Nature. 434(7030), 132-136.

Akini, O. (2013). Counterfeit drugs in Nigeria: a threat to public health. African Journal of Pharmacy and Pharmacology. 7(36), 2571-2576.

Akunyili, D. (2007). Counterfeiting medicines: a serious crime against humanity. Proceedings of the Director General of the National Agency for Food and Drug Administration and Control (NAFDAC). 2007(10), 1-7.

Akunyili, D.N. & Nnani, I.P. (2004). Risk of medicines: counterfeit drugs. International Journal of Risk & Safety in Medicine. 16(3), 181-190.

Andreas, P. & Greenhill, K. (2010). Sex, Drugs, and Body Counts: The Politics of Numbers in Global Crime and Conflict 1st ed.

Atemnkeng, M.A., DeCock, K., Plazier-Vercammen, J. (2007). Quality control of active ingredients in Artemisinin-derivative antimalarials within Kenya and DR Congo. Tropical Medicine and International Health. 12(1), 68-74.

Bate, R., Coticelli, P., Tren, R., & Attaran, A. (2008). Antimalarial drug quality in the most severely malarious parts of Africa—a six country study. PLoS ONE. 3(5), article e2132.

Bansal, D., Malla, S., Gudala, K., & Tiwari, P. (2013). Anti-counterfeit technologies: a pharmaceutical industry perspective. Scientia. 81(1), 1-13.

Blackstone, E. A., Fuhr, J. P. Jr., Pociask, S. (2014) The health and economic effects of counterfeit drugs. American Health Drug Benefits. 2014(7), 216-224.

Burns, W. (2006). WHO launches taskforce to fight counterfeit drugs. Bulletin of the World Health Organization. 84(9), 689-690.

Chaudhry, P.E. & Stumph, S.A. (2013). The challenge of curbing counterfeit prescription drug growth: preventing the perfect storm. Business Horizons. 56(2), 189-197.

Chika, A., Bello, S. O., Jimoh, A. O., & Umar, M. T. (2011). The menace of fake drugs: consequences, causes and possible solutions. Research Journal of Medical Sciences. 5(5), 257-261.

Chinwendu, O. The fight against fake drugs by NAFDAC in Nigeria. Amsterdam: Royal Tropical Institute, 2008. http://apps.who.int/medicinedocs/documents/s18405en/s18405en.pdf.

Cockburn, R., Newton, P. N., Agyarko, E. K., Akunyili, D., & White, N. J. (2005). The global threat of counterfeit drugs: why industry and governments must communicate the dangers. PLoS Medicine. 2(4), article 302.

Dondorp, A. M., Fairhurst, R. M., Slutsker, L., MacArthur, J. R., Breman, J. G., Guerin, P. J., Wellems, T. E., Ringwald, P., Newman, R. D., & Plowe, C. V. (2011). The threat of Artemisinin-resistant malaria. The New England Journal of Medicine. 365(12), 1073-1075.

Erhun, W.O., Babalola, O.O., & Erhun, M.O. (2001). Drug regulation and control in Nigeria: the challenge of counterfeit drugs. Journal of Health & Population in Developing Countries. 4(2), 23-24.

Fenoff, R.S. & Wilson, J.M. (2009). Africa's counterfeit pharmaceutical epidemic: the road ahead. Center for Anti-Counterfeiting and Product Protection Paper Series. http://a-capp msu.edu/sites/default/files/files/africapharmapaperfinal.pdf

Gaudiano, M.C., Di Maggio, A., Cocchieri, E., Antoniella, E., Bertocchi, P., Alimonti, S., & Valvo, L. (2007). Malaria Journal. 6(22)

Global plan for artemisinin resistance containment. Geneva: World Health Organization. (http://www.who.int/malaria/publications/atoz/artemisinin_resistance_containment_2011.pdf.)

Hay, S.I., Guerra, C.A., Tatem, A.J., Noor, A.M., & Snow, R.W. (2004). The global distribution and population at risk of malaria; past, present, & future. The Lancet Infectious Diseases. 4(6), 327-336.

Hovig, D. & Westley, E. (2014). Improving primary care for the poor by leveraging drug sellers at scale: Tanzania's accredited drug dispensing outlets program. Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation. http://www.impatientoptimists.org/Posts/2014/11/Improving-Primary-Care-for-the-Poor-by-Leveraging-Drug-Sellers-at-Scale-Tanzanias-Accredited-Drug-Dispensing-Outlets-Program

Interpol. (2008). Operation Mamba (IMPACT) – targeting counterfeit medicines in Tanzania and Uganda. https://www.interpol.int/News-and-media/News/ 2008/N20081029.

Interpol. (2010). East Africa's Operation Mamba III bolsters fight against counterfeit medicines with INTERPOL-IMPACT support. https://www.interpol.int/ News-and-media/News/2010/PR065.

Interpol. (2015). Operations: Operation Pangea. https://www.interpol.int/Crime-areas/Pharmaceutical-crime/Operations/Operation-Pangea

Karunamoorthi, K. (2014). The counterfeit anti-malarial is a crime against humanity: a systematic review of the scientific evidence. Malaria Journal. 13(1), article 209.

Khan, A.Y. & Ghilzali, N.M. (2007). Counterfeit and substandard quality of drugs: the need for an effective and stringent regulatory control in India and other developing countries. Indian Journal of Pharmacology. 2007(39), 206-207.

Koesdjojo, M. T., Yuanyuan, W., Boonloed, A., Dunfield, E. M., & Remcho, V. T. (2014). Low-cost, high-speed identification of counterfeit antimalarial drugs on paper. Talanta. 130(2014), 122-127.

Kubic, T.T. (2011). Enforcement efforts and partnership with industry: a needed strategy addressing counterfeit drugs. Journal of Commercial Biotechnology. 17(3), 254-259.

Lilly, J. R., Cullen, F. T., & Ball, R. A. (2011). Criminological Theory: Context and Consequences 5th ed.

Lybecker, K.M. (2007). Rx roulette: combatting counterfeit pharmaceuticals in developing nations. Managerial and Decision Economics. 28(4-5), 509-520.

Mansell, P. (2008). Operation Jupiter rains on fake antimalarials. http://www.in-pharmatechnologist.com/Regulatory-Safety/Operation-Jupiter-rains-on-fake-antimalarials.

Mhando, L., Jande, M. B., Liwa, A., Mwita, S., & Marwa, K. J. (2016). Public awareness and identification of counterfeit drugs in Tanzania: a view on antimalarial drugs. Advances in Public Health, article 6254157, 2016.

Nayyar, G. M. L., Breman, J. G., Newton, P. N., & Herrington, J. (2012). Poor-quality antimalarial drugs in southeast Asia and sub-Saharan Africa. The Lancet Infectious Diseases. 12(6), 488-496.

Onwujekwe, O., Kaur, H., Dike, N., Shu, E., Uzochukwu, B., Hanson, K., Okoye, V., & Okonkwo, P. (2009). Quality of anti-malarial drugs provided by public and private healthcare providers in south-east Nigeria. Malaria Journal. 8(1), article 22.

World Health Organization. (2016) Media fact sheets: malaria. http://www.who.int/mediacentre/factsheets/fs094/en/

Yadav, S. & Rawal, G. (2016). The menace due to fake antimalarial drugs. International Journal of Pharmaceutical Chemical Analysis. 3(1), 53-55.

⬥ Literature 400

ON LESBIANISM

STEVEN TIKELLIS

WHEN I WAS YOUNGER and a classmate or someone asked me to identify myself in terms of my heritage, I typically started off by saying that my father is a *Lesbian*. That is to say that my father moved to the United States when he was just twenty years old from a Greek island in the northeast Aegean called *Lesbos* (or Lesvos with a *v)* which makes him a *Lesbian* in the same way that those from Boston are Bostonians. But, if you ask him or any other of my Lesbian relatives where in Greece they call home, they'll tell you Mytilene, which is the name of the island's capital city. Everyone I have met from other Greek islands like Xios or Kalymnos told me the name of that island, not the capital city. Yet, for some reason, it still seems that everyone that says they are from Mytilene, and are actually from the complete opposite side of the island from the capital, are not only bending the truth, but doing so in avoidance of saying the word, *Lesbos*.

This struck me as odd at a young age, so I asked my father to explain. Instead of really answering, he told me about Sappho, about the statue of her gracefully wielding a harp at the port of Mytilene where all the ships come in from Athens, about how when all the men went off to the Trojan war and the women had no one to love, they loved each other. While that didn't really answer my question, years later I realized who Sappho was, and I realized that the word we use today in the English language, *lesbian*, is used in the way we use it because Sappho was one of the first poets known for her erotic poems to other women, that she was from *Lesbos*, that she was by all means a Lesbian.

I like to tell this story for a few reasons. Of course the shock value satisfies me, I always like to startle people or throw them off. Then again, it takes a basic question about my identity and throws it against the reluctant identification of my

father and everyone else from his island. It always baffled me, and still does, why they would acknowledge Sappho and her statue for all, yet they won't tell people they are from *Lesbos*. It has to do something with the way that the English language took their word, their identity, and made it something else, departing from the original style or desires of one person living thousands of years ago. It also has to do with an ironic sense of pride; the pride in oneself as, for instance, a heterosexual man like my father, but that this pride is met with the pride to let someone know where their home is, so it turns into the pride for Mytilene, not *Lesbos*, but still *Lesbos*. But what happens with too many prides? For my father, the pride he expresses both in himself and in his island are their own forms of love. He takes himself way too seriously to say *Lesbos*, which is why I take pride in doing it for him. And that is another type of love, a love that could be more bitter than sweet, but also a love with gratitude for letting me have my semi-interesting comedic moment by telling people my father is a *Lesbian*.

There's also something here about pride being a form of love that asks someone to make a private feeling public. The love my father feels for the island he grew up on, the island he did not leave until he was just about twenty years old, must be deeply rooted. But my father isn't one to express much emotion in the first place, so asking him to outwardly express this connection through a word which designates where he became a person, but has both connotations *and* denotations of homosexuality, seems unfair. Which is, again, why I take up the task for him. As a homosexual man with a different connection to the island of *Lesbos* (having spent roughly seven half-summers — vacations — there), it is much easier to outwardly let people know the history of the island. Even before I consciously knew I was gay, I was fascinated with the history of the island mainly due to the reaction it solicited from others; hearing an eight year old boy say *lesbian* five times a minute in a perfectly non-offensive and authentic context is apparently rare. So, the pride I take in the island, its history, my father's heritage, and my sexuality compose this giant love ball that has led to my love of words and interest in etymology as an adult in a large way. The pride here came from my father, was passed off from his circumstance to mine, and evolved over time, just like the word *lesbian.*

In many ways, my father's pride is a form of love that comes into contact with a boundary that restricts his ability to linguistically express his love in the most accurate way. His expectation of other's reactions to the word *Lesbos* is something that clearly makes him feel uncomforted in a way that has more to do with the other than himself. The other is trained to know the word to mean one thing, while my father anticipates the expectations of the other and why those expectations have come to be, yet avoids crossing the boundary. Why? Why doesn't he just explain if it comes up? If someone says *Lesbos? That sounds a lot like the word lesbian to me,* why not just say *well, you're right, your idea of a lesbian has its roots in the name of my island and a famed poet there named Sappho who wrote erotic poems to other women, hence the appropriation, etc.* Knowing my father, this would never happen. He does not cross boundaries of any sorts. He likes to be comfortable, he speaks very little, he avoids any kind of confrontation. But, that's what love is: confrontation. That's what pride is, facing the self and expressing it outwardly to the point that it is visible to others, which is another confrontation. My father may have crossed the boundary of

accepting the history of the word *lesbian* himself, but crossing the boundary of confronting this outwardly at his own will is just not something he would care for.

I imagine the connection that my father experiences between his pride, the word *Lesbos,* and other's reactions to this word as an incomplete triangle. His sense of self at one point can connect with the word *Lesbos,* and his sense of self at that same point can connect to the expected reaction of the other, yet he never brings this triangle to full form by connecting all three points. He knows there are three points, that it would make sense to connect them, but substitutes the point where language lives by saying Mytilene instead of *Lesbos*. It seems to me that his avoidance, his resistance to engage, is something that could have a lot to do with his own personal experience moving to the United States at the ripe age of twenty. He has now lived the majority of his life as an other, someone from a different place, and that is something that I cannot relate to. While I cannot directly relate, I can stand back and understand the relation between the three points of his sense of self, his sense of the other, and the entity of language as a figure of connections that he chooses not to engage with. Again, I seek to complete this figure for him, if not to convince him to say *Lesbos* as freely as I do, perhaps to explore the ways in which he hesitates to engage with the history of his island and the ways in which others may choose to do so for him.

And it seems like I'm not the only one with ties to the island that has decided not to avoid *Lesbos*, but to embrace it. Today, the island easily makes over half of its tourism profits by hailing in LGBTQ+ community members and those interested in the island's Sapphic legacy from all over the world. In a sense, it is a gay Mecca of sorts, and while it is worth being skeptical of the tourism board of the island's intentions here, it is also worth saying that the island is not decorated with rainbow flags or flooded with the extreme flamboyance or drunkenness of proud gays that New York City Pride parades are known for; the island is still in tact as an authentic little corner of Greece with perhaps not enough tourism. Still, it is hard to face my father after he brings me to a nude beach on the gayest island in the world at the age of twelve, but asking him to say *Lesbos* is like asking a doctor for his prescription pad. Perhaps I feel a similar resistance when I'm abroad to tell people I'm from America. Telling them I'm from New York City (which is a lie even though I've lived here three years— I'm from the suburbs of Boston, where people are much more conservative) always sounds so much better than associating myself with the entire country. And, in my defense, there's no history behind the United States that satisfies me or anyone else as a friendly conversation starter.

Even so, there's a certain resistance to be truthful about one's identity, to take pride in where one comes from, that seems to suggest that the way in which people identify with one place over another, or one place within another, is a performance of love that one may feel inclined to act upon in order to feel more comfortable in a given situation. The desire for comfort here has to do with the understanding of the self as a part of a larger entity, the self in contact with other people is not the self, but the self changed. This is inevitable because everything a person comes in contact with presents a new opportunity to connect with that thing, as well as a new opportunity to disconnect from themselves. The contact of the self with the other breaks a certain boundary, and when the other is language, the self has the opportunity to approach

such a boundary in incredible ways. Anne Carson discusses the boundaries of desire and the self, telling us that "The presence of want awakens in [the lover] nostalgia for wholeness. His thoughts turn toward questions of personal identity: he must recover and incorporate what is gone if he is to become a complete person" (31). With this in mind, is it possible that language can be both the other and the boundary? Can language both constitute and disrupt how we identify ourselves and how we identify with others? When my father wants to share a love for his island, when he says Mytilene instead of *Lesbos*, he is approaching language as a boundary itself. His words disrupt his true self; he betrays language and the language, ironically, betrays him.

I do not believe that my father or any of my relatives from *Lesbos* have negative perceptions of homosexuals, or more bluntly: I don't think they're homophobes, I just think they're aware of homophobia. My father knows I'm gay and he still talks to me, and I'm sure he loves me the same as if I were straight. The distance they create with words does seem suspicious, though. There is a certain fear of gayness going on. Or, rather, it's a fear of being associated with homosexuality when you are just trying to relate to your homeland. Is this not a betrayal to *Lesbos?* While my father and my other relatives remain in the closet as *Lesbians,* I wonder how much training went into not saying *Lesbos* through their lives, if any. And if it has just become a trend that no one really thinks about by my father's generation, is there any fault? Perhaps there is a fault in not thinking about it, about ignoring what is so obviously there. Whatever negativity my father and other *Lesbians* are anticipating comes along with the name of their island, I don't think homophobia is the right word for it. Even if it's not their dislike for homosexuality that causes them to alter their words, there is still a distance being created between the island and homosexuality with the insistence to refer to it as *Mytilene,* and that distance is a fear of something.

Would it make sense to call my father a *Lesbian* and insist it was a pun? No, not in the literal sense. The way in which we use the word today, and the way I wish my father used it, are the same word. But, if you consider even the smallest detail of change in the word, such as the capitalization of the letter *l* to separate the two, could they be eligible for a pun? According to Carson in her discussion of Socrates' "unjust" use of puns, "the lover's puns show the outline of what he learns, in a flash, from the experience of eros— a vivid lesson about his own being" (35). So, my father's avoidance of the word easily shows his experience with the English language and the way it has appropriated his island's name; he has learned to say Mytilene, which shows his acknowledgement of the language barrier. Still, Carson suggests that puns can bring truth to language, that in a sense, the words *lesbian* and *Lesbian* considered side by side express the boundaries of language which my father so precisely avoids. "Words do have edges. So do you," I would tell him if he cared to listen (35). Despite the fact that *lesbian* and *Lesbian* do not technically make sense as a literal example of a pun, considering the two words as such shows both their relation and their distinction; one could not have really been true without the other.

Again, while my father avoids the edge of meaning between *lesbian* and *Lesbian,* some living on his island today embrace the way that the English language has appropriated the identity of their homeland. They embrace the mark that Sappho

unintentionally (perhaps) left them with and cross the boundary of the self and language with pride. I'm referring to those on the island of *Lesbos* that have built a sort of LGBTQ+ travel scene on the island, who if you ask them where they're from would say *Lesbos*, not *Mytilene*. These are the same natives that throw the island's true name on their websites, like "Sappho Travel," which provides female-only retreats at some of the islands beaches, hot springs, and spas. It is hard to tell whether or not they have accepted and embraced the appropriation of the name of their island, or if they simply see opportunity to attract a specific group of tourists and seek to capitalize on their identity, on their land. While it is fair to say that all those organizing such events like the annual two week long "Lesbian Festival" (put on by a group called *Sappho Women*) may be pro-homosexuality, it would be a stretch to assume they are all homosexuals. Instead, they tweak their identity as *Lesbians* to summon lesbians to the island, to celebrate the joining of the two identities, to cross the boundaries that language has presented both groups within their own identities.

The site for *Sappho Women* also tells us in advertising the for organization's annual festival that "lesbians have been coming to Lesvos for the summer since the 50s, drawn to the birthplace of Sappho, the Greek poet who wrote about her love for women." Well, haven't *Lesbians* been there all along? And even ignoring the root meaning of the word, is this suggesting that before the 1950s, homosexual women were not going to the island? What about Sappho? This statement, while clearly having the intentions of expressing pride for the island's Sapphic history and urging other's to celebrate being a lesbian (not *Lesbian*), does the same thing my father does when he tells people he is from *Mytilene*. It discounts the fact that he is in fact a *Lesbian,* it ignores the ways in which the English language appropriated the word by using it in reference to its nuanced meaning and ignoring its roots, even by using the alternate spelling of the island's name, *Lesvos.*

This is exactly where the boundaries of language and the boundaries of love come to spar. The whole idea of blending *Lesbians* with *lesbians* in one festival actually upholds the appropriation of the word. Initially, I think *what's wrong with embracing homosexuality where it made its start?* Then, I realize that's not where homosexuality came from. One woman who wrote poems of homosexual desire on that island and marked the rest of the islands inhabitants to be associated with her homosexual desire through language, her art. Does the blending of the *(L/l)esbians* with this festival actually reclaim the word from the english language, merging the two as one? Possibly, but my father and the rest of my relatives from the island have been saying *Mytilene* since the 1950's, which clearly speaks to the ways in which the heterosexual locals approach the language of love for their homeland.

In June 2008, Dimitris Lambrou (pictured above), also a *Lesbian,* lead a case in an Athens courtroom to differentiate the usage of the word *Lesbian* to not mean homosexual woman. The *Homosexual and Lesbian Community of Greece* was offensively using the word, according to Lambrou, who proudly announced to reporters that he, his wife, and his daughter were all *Lesbians* in the original sense of the term, that they were native *Lesbos* islanders. When the court denied Lambrou, Judge Maria Petsali reasoned that "the controversial words at stake should not be seen as an insult to an individual's personality, nationality or social standing, and should not be taken as an individual or collective insult the people of *Lesbos*" (Anast). Many

reasoned against Lambrou, urging that no one was meaning to offend *Lesbians* or *lesbians,* that the word was just the word, that it "evolved harmlessly from history and mythology," that "claiming that the word insults their history is racist," as stated by lesbian activist Evangelia Vlami (Anast). So, we have those defending the word in both its original and its modern meaning, we have those strongly offended by the modern meaning of the word, and we have those that — like my father — remain fairly ambivalent to solidifying what it means to be a (*L/l)esbian.* What they all have in common, it seems, is that each one of them are caught up in what other people perceive the word to be, they all have a certain desire to use the word one way, especially when met with the other, the third force (even my father, who doesn't use the word much one way or the other, who just avoids it). Both Lambrou and Vlami are claiming possession of a word to express a certain identity and neither will budge. Either way, I'm curious as to whether or not the origin of the name of the island came into play during this court case. After all, the island was named after its first ruler, King *Lesbos,* a man, and now we call women who are sexually attracted to other women *lesbians* because of a woman who lived on an island ruled by, and named after, a man. Nevertheless, it seems that for either side to consider tweaking the word they use express one's homosexuality or origin from an island would be too devastating for either party.

Yet, my father and others from the island tweak their identities by telling people they are from Mytilene. My father once told me that before he moved to the United States, in his first twenty years of life, he had only been to the island's capital three times. Despite this, he tells people he's form there because no one would know where or what his village (*Skalachori)* actually is, given its small size and population on the complete opposite side of the island from the capital. His choice to alter his identity, to say he comes from one place when he comes from another, is one of connection. He prefers to reference himself with Mytilene because it is something more familiar to the other than *Skalachori*, and less scandalous to the other than *Lesbos.* In a way, he does this to make himself more desirable. To say he is from somewhere that someone has heard of is to say he is from somewhere at all. To say he is from a village no one has heard of, and so many probably never will, is to say he is from nowhere. In the same sense, if I ever tell people that I am originally from Boston, I'm tweaking the truth that I'm actually from a city/town called Methuen, a suburban area twenty miles north of Boston on the border of New Hampshire. When I do ever tell people I'm from Methuen, Massachusetts, there is a lack of interest that I receive that then disappoints me. *Where? Oh.* If I tell people I'm from Boston, I'm met with a more fruitful *I've been there once, what a cute little city!,* or an *I've always wanted to go! What's it like?*

This is where I find myself a hypocrite to criticize my father's reluctance to identify with *Lesbos.* I am a culprit of self-satisfaction through the false identification with a place that is larger than myself. I admit I want to have the insider-scoop, *I know the city like the back of my hand.* The type of desire of others to engage in conversation about Boston translates to a desire to converse about me. I want the attention, I want to tell you what I know, I want to tell you that Boston is too quiet and much too conservative for my taste and that's why I moved to New York City. But, it's not something that I would just outright tell someone who has not expressed some interest

towards where I'm from, it is something that has to be prompted. That's where the triangle comes into play. At one point I know where I'm from (the point of self), at another point someone asks me where I'm from (the point of the other), and at the third point I alter myself in hopes to connect all three points (the self-changing in contact with the other), to convey a sense of desirability, to engage a conversation and connect all three points with something that can be called familiar. This is where the boundaries of love, language, and self are at play. This is where "the change gives him a glimpse of a self he never knew before," where the pride for oneself and the pride for one's origin becomes a performance (37).

The idea of connecting with a certain place in the way that I relate to Boston (and sometimes New York depending on the crowd) and the way that my father relates to Mytilene is a prime example to the boundaries that language hold over our experiences, our senses of self. The more familiar something is, the more desirous that thing is, and this is true of many things. We like to think that we can be ourselves, connect to others in unique ways that make us special, but the reality seems to be that we just want to be seen at all and being able to reference ourselves with things that are familiar to others makes this connection effortless. It wouldn't take that much effort for my father to tell others he is from *Lesbos,* yet the ease of saying something else appears to him because of his experience through doing so. The same in regards to my reference to Boston, it's just quicker, easier to say than *Methuen, do you know Lawrence? Or Salem, New Hampshire? It's right near there.* We don't want to be *near there,* we want to be there. So, we use these references for the ease of interaction, for the desire to be familiar, despite conveying a fraudulent identity.

So, there's something about the word *Lesbian* that is erotic on the most basic level, that the word has moved, transformed over time. It has expanded and contracted meaning through its placement in different times and places, almost the same way I respond differently to the question *Where are you from?* given the time or the place. This is all to say that when something or someone is altered when met with an external force, an other, there lays an expression of desire. Possibly the most interesting part of the erotic movement of words like *Lesbian* is what Carson calls "the edge," the point at which the change occurs, the point at which the self and the other react almost chemically.

It is also useful to note that many other words are as erotic, have shifted, in similar ways to how *Lesbian* has. Take the word *platonic,* for instance. Today, the word is used commonly within the phrase *platonic relationship* to describe a relationship that does not experience the physical/sexual bond of two individuals, but rather the more abstract bond, the bond of friends or family, etc. However, if one looks through Plato's *Symposium* with only a quick glance, it is hard to miss details of Plato's relationships with some very young men that share both the physical and the abstract. The very root of the word *platonic* — in terms of relations between two individuals — suggests a bond that shares sexual favors as well as knowledge. At what point did either *Lesbian* or *platonic* change its meaning and who decided so? And could it be a coincidence that both these words with Greek roots have been not only appropriated by the English language to mean something completely different from their original format, but that one has been sexualized and the other has been desexualized? A coincidence, maybe, or not. Still, the eroticism through language,

through words and communication, can be seen evolving with cultures over time, reshaping themselves within a certain context in order to survive.

Or, take the word *bittersweet,* via Carson. The word in its original form as used by Sappho, *glukupikron*, translates to *sweetbitter,* and the English language actually has it reversed. While the word is still there, two dimensions of eros fused into one, the order in which one experiences the hybrid word on the page is completely altered. Also, knowing this to be true, I can't accept the English version in the same way I once did. Every time I see or hear *bittersweet* now, all I can think of is how fraudulent that word is, and how genuinely thankful I am to Carson for bringing this to light for me. Even if I spoke fluent Greek (which is something I've been bitter about my father not teaching me very early in life), I don't think I would have caught that word reversal. But, then again, I was never looking for such a thing. Now, in the aftermath of reading Carson, the Greek language that I've heard my father and other relatives speak my whole life takes on an entirely new, raw, authentic meaning to me. In the same way my father taught me about Sappho and what *Lesbian* meant, Carson (arguably through Sappho) has shown me something very similar. Bitter am I to have a father who neglected teaching me Greek as an infant, but how sweet it feels to see words in their truest sense.

REFERENCES

Anast, Paul. "Lesbos Islanders Lose Lesbian Ban Court Case." *The Telegraph*, 22 July 2008, www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/greece/ 2445282/Lesbos-islanders-lose-lesbian-ban-court-case html.

Carson, Anne. *Eros the Bittersweet*. Princeton University Pres, 2016.

"Festival 2017." *Sappho Women*, www.womensfestival.eu/travel-packages/festival-2017/.

"Photo of Dimitris Lambrous at Athens Court." *Telegraph UK*, AFP/Getty, 22 July 2008, i.telegraph.co.uk/multimedia/archive/00780/lesbos-460_780044c.jpg.